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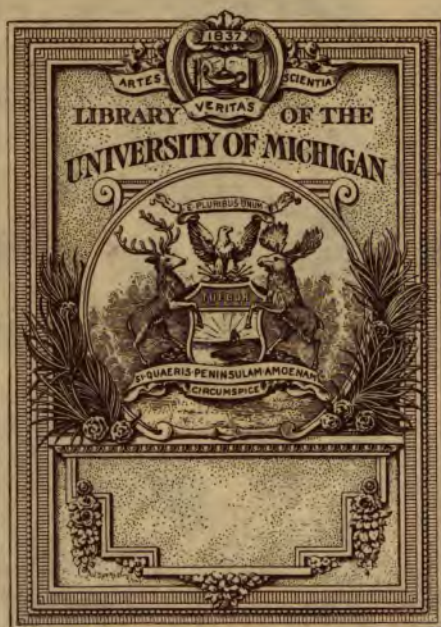
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THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

FOR

APRIL 1889 : JULY 1889

VOLUME XXVIII.

LONDON
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
SPOTTISWOODE & CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE, E.C.
1889

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THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

N^O LV. APRIL 1889.

ART. I.—EPISCOPAL COMMENTS ON THE
LAMBETH CONFERENCE.

1. *The Counsels and Principles of the Lambeth Conference of 1888.* A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Church Committee-men of the Diocese of Bombay, in St. Thomas's Cathedral, on Wednesday, January 9, 1889, by LOUIS GEORGE MYLNE, fourth Bishop of Bombay. (Bombay, 1889.)
2. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Meath, in St. Patrick's National Cathedral, at his Third Annual Visitation, August 30, 1888,* by C. P. REICHEL, D.D., Bishop of Meath. (Dublin, 1888.)
3. *Home Re-union and the Lambeth Conference.* An Address delivered at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Dublin Christian Convention, October 23, 1888, by the Most Reverend LORD PLUNKET, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. (Dublin, 1888.)
4. *The Lambeth Conference and Church Reform in Spain and Portugal.* Being the Substance of an Address delivered by the Archbishop of Dublin at the Annual Meeting of the Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society, August 7, 1888. (Dublin, 1888.)
5. *Diocese of Albany: The Bishop's Address, 1888.*
6. *The Lambeth Conference and Church Reunion.* A Charge delivered at the Annual Synod of the United Diocese of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, at St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, on Wednesday, August 29, 1888, with Preface and Appendix. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of the Diocese. (Edinburgh, 1889.)

BESIDES the publications which appear at the head of this article the Church newspapers in America, in the Colonies, and at home, have printed many Charges and Addresses

delivered by bishops at their diocesan visitations, synods, conventions, councils, &c., which have treated with more or less fulness the subject of the Lambeth Conference of last year and its results, and many of which do not appear to have been issued in a separate form. It is not without its interest to consider the commentaries upon the proceedings of the Conference furnished by those who themselves took part in it. And nothing could more completely establish the great moral weight and authority which attaches to the utterances of the Lambeth Conference than the manner in which the text of its Resolutions and of its Encyclical Letter are treated by its own members. We are not unacquainted with the sight presented by bishops of the Roman obedience examining with scrupulous care the text of a Papal Rescript, all professing readiness to submit to its decisions, but differing among themselves as to its precise sense and application in certain particulars. And it certainly speaks with clear voice to the singular importance which the bishops themselves attribute to the Lambeth Resolutions when, even on the occasion of sharply defined differences, each claims to have the true sense of the Conference's judgment on his side. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol and the Archbishop of Dublin may differ on the sense that properly belongs to the Lambeth Resolutions dealing with the reforming movement in Spain and Portugal; the Bishop of Albany, with the Bishop of Bombay, may be separated by as wide a divergence from the Bishop of St. Andrews in the interpretations of the Resolutions on Home Reunion; but all alike profess to be in accord with the Conference's decisions. Indeed, already the formal pronouncements of the Conference are treated with a respect that reminds one of the words of 'his Majesty's Declaration' prefixed in our Prayer Book to the Articles of Religion: 'Even in those curious points in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church of England to be for them.' It is certainly remarkable that an assembly in no sense claiming the authoritative position of a synod, and in no sense so constituted as legitimately to make such a claim, is yet regarded throughout the whole Anglican Communion with a measure of consideration akin to reverence. And mature reflection justifies the growing sentiment.

In a recent number¹ we dealt with the results of the Conference as they presented themselves in its Resolutions, Reports, and Encyclical Letter. But in view of various subsequent utterances of the bishops on the topics discussed, and in con-

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1888.

sideration of the essential importance of certain of the questions treated, we make no apology for again bringing the subject before our readers. And let us in the first instance endeavour to estimate fairly the real position which the Lambeth Conference of 1888 is likely to occupy in the historical records of the Anglican Communion, to picture its form and methods of procedure, and to present some of the lessons which the gathering of that great assembly may fitly suggest to Churchmen.

It will be remembered that not many weeks after the close of the Conference Canon Liddon communicated to the *Guardian* (September 19, 1888) the estimate which had been formed of its importance by Dr. Von Döllinger. 'Nothing of equal importance in the history of the Church of England,' the veteran historian declared, 'had taken place for, at any rate, more than two centuries.' 'The spectacle,' he added, 'of an assembly of 146 bishops dealing with burning questions, and deliberating with perfect freedom, could not but have a considerable effect throughout Europe—throughout Christendom.' We believe that the closer study of the proceedings at Lambeth, while revealing some defects and errors which it was perhaps scarcely possible to wholly avoid, will not fail to justify the judgment of Dr. Döllinger.

During the course of seven centuries many events of deep interest in the regions of both civil and ecclesiastical history have been associated with the ancient pile of buildings that, under various changes, has formed the archiepiscopal residence at Lambeth. But none of the scenes witnessed by those venerable walls can be held, when rightly estimated, to have surpassed in real importance and far-reaching influence the great assemblies of bishops of the Anglican Communion who have met together in council on three different occasions within the last twenty-one years. In the main the incidents that connect themselves with the older historical records of Lambeth Palace were confined, even when of widest concern, to the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury, or at most to the realm of England. But the assemblies of 1867 and 1878, and notably that of 1888, possess, and will continue to possess, interests, direct and indirect, for millions of English-speaking people who may never set foot upon the shores of Great Britain, and for millions of other and alien races that occupy the wide-spread field of Anglican missionary effort.

From almost every quarter of the globe the fathers and rulers of the Church were drawn together. The episcopate of

England, Ireland, and Scotland naturally bulked largely ; but Canada, the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, our great Indian Empire in the East, the great independent Republic of the United States in the West, were all well represented.¹ To the meeting-place at Lambeth they gathered from the most varied fields of labour, from centres of the busy life of trade such as Manchester, Liverpool, New York, Chicago, Quebec, Toronto, Calcutta, Bombay, Sydney, Colombo, and Capetown, and again from wide districts, sparsely populated, such as the remoter regions of our North American and Australian possessions, and distant territories in the Far West of the United States. Some came from ancient ecclesiastical sees, representing the history and ordered life of many centuries. Of these we may take as examples Lincoln and York and London, from each of which cities fifteen hundred years ago, and while the empire of old Rome stood intact, a bishop had journeyed to the Council of Arles on the summons of the Emperor Constantine, as a representative of the British Church. Or we may think of Armagh, founded (as the bishops at Lambeth were reminded by the present occupant of the see of St. Patrick) a hundred and fifty years before the missionary St. Augustine planted his episcopal chair at Canterbury. But, indeed, the progress of civilization in these islands is inextricably interwoven with the history of the episcopate ; and memories crowd quick upon the mind at the mention of such names as Durham, Exeter, Lincoln, Lichfield, Salisbury, St. Andrews, Elgin, Kilkenny, Cashel, Dublin. But at Lambeth, side by side with the occupants of ancient and historic bishoprics, sat those whose episcopal dignity was associated with remote regions even now scarcely within the borderland of civilized life, the uncouth and unfamiliar titles of whose sees—such as Moosonee, Saskatchewan, and Waiapu—remind us at once of the contact of the English race with other blood and other tongues.²

¹ Bishop Herzog, who was present at the closing service in St. Paul's, records his impressions in the *Katholik* of August 18, 1888. The oecumenical character of the gathering, he declares, was forcibly brought home to him on finding himself asking the Bishop of Japan whether he intended travelling back to his diocese 'east or west.'

² The writer of this article is not ashamed to confess that till recently he knew nothing of the diocese of Moosonee. He is now informed that the Bishop exercises jurisdiction over an area as large as Europe, extending all round the Hudson's Bay territory. Ten thousand people are under his charge, scattered through this vast region, and there is no resident minister of any other body of Christians beside the Bishop and his seven clergy. The distances are enormous, and the shortest way to the northern part of his diocese is to

There was yet again another class represented at the great gathering in July, the 'missionary bishops,' properly so called, some of whom labour in lands where neither the British Crown nor the American States possess any jurisdiction or exercise any protectorate—men that have need to be of the type that has given us Mackenzie and Patteson and Hannington, soldiers of the Cross, ready to jeopard their lives unto the death in 'the high places of the field.' While others of the missionary bishops present at Lambeth are engaged in a task of even more engrossing interest, as it seems to us, than the civilizing and christianizing of the wild tribes of the Niger territory or of Central Africa—the task of guiding the contact of Christianity with the subtle intelligence and highly complex civilizations of China and the yet more wonderful Japan. Not one of the bishops—whether 'missionary bishops' technically so named or not—whose duties bring them into contact with non-Christian races, has been followed back in thought to his distant labours by more interested and eager watchers than the younger Bickersteth.

The number of bishops present at the Conference of 1867 was 76; in 1878 it reached exactly 100; and in last July it rose to 145.¹ It is unnecessary here to do more than refer to the doubts and discouragements, the forebodings, and even dislike, that was expressed by persons of influence when the idea of a 'Pan-Anglican Synod,' as it was popularly though incorrectly styled, was first seriously put forward. But the fact that such conferences meet a real want made their success assured, in spite of an opposition that it must, however, be acknowledged was never very serious. The increasing numbers present at the successive gatherings were attributable to the increasing recognition of the importance of these assemblies, to the disproof (yielded by facts) of most of the apprehended evils, and, as of course, to the rapid growth of the episcopate of the Anglican Communion. At the last Conference, as we

come to England and go in the yearly ship which visits Hudson's Bay. Among the Bishop's qualifications are that he is a good bootmaker, carpenter, bricklayer, and painter. He has worked in the region for nearly forty years. Every man has a proper gift of God. Who will venture to say that even the statesmanlike qualities of a great ruler like Temple, or the scholarship and stupendous learning of a Lightfoot, have given the Church greater, nobler, or more precious work than that of these far-off labourers for Christ?

¹ We observe that the Bishop of Albany (*Address* to his Diocesan Convention) and Dr. Döllinger (in the passage already quoted above, p. 3) reckon the bishops at Lambeth at 146. The number mentioned in the opening of the *Encyclical Letter* is 145.

have already observed,¹ the number fell only five below that of the second Œcumenical Council of the undivided Church, —‘the synod of the one hundred and fifty’—the Council of Constantinople, to which we owe our ‘Nicene Creed’ in what is substantially its present form. And the number at Lambeth in 1888 would easily have surpassed the number of the Council of Constantinople had not the President determined (doubtless wisely) that his invitation should extend only to bishops ‘having superintendence over dioceses or lawfully commissioned to exercise episcopal functions therein.’ Again, in considering the numbers present it must be remembered that the Archbishop of Canterbury does not pretend to ‘summon,’ but only to ‘invite.’ These facts considered, it cannot but be acknowledged that the number present at last year’s Conference was a remarkable proof of the recognized value of these great periodical assemblies.

The Lambeth Conferences have, among other wholesome influences, been helping the average English Churchman to realize the truth of the essentially spiritual character of the episcopate. If many of the bishops were widely separated from others in the nature of their work and the geographical position of their fields of duty, so too was there much variety of position in regard to their relations to the State, the measure of their official endowments, and the civil honour bestowed upon them. There were present many fathers and rulers of churches wholly unconnected with civil governments, or the wealth, distinctions, and prerogatives that a State connexion can confer. There were representatives of churches which, like that of the United States, stand in the same relation to the civil government as any other voluntary and organized association of Christians. There were representatives of churches no longer established and endowed, like the Church of Ireland, dealt with by a hostile Parliament in our own day, or like the Scottish Church, which, just two hundred years ago, was not only despoiled of her emoluments and earthly honours, but was also made to suffer the further indignity of having another religious community transferred into the place she had occupied, and which now, in the eye of the law, is a mere body of ‘dissenters’ from the Presbyterian establishment. Again, there were representatives of churches that have still very real and important and recognized relations to the State, varying in various countries, such as the Church in India and the Church in some of the British colonies. Lastly, there was represented the Church of England, possessed of vast material

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1888.

wealth of her own, and honoured in the positions of authority and of dignity assigned to her clergy and bishops by the law of the land. Yet, in the spiritual republic of 'the city of God,' as figured in miniature by the gathering of the Church's chiefs, there was not the slightest distinction observed between those who were great, fortunate, and powerful, in the world's esteem, and those others who, without wealth, patronage, or civil dignity, shared in the spiritual gift of the apostolic episcopate. Those who were entitled to the high honour of occupying a place in what Englishmen are fond of regarding as the most august assembly in the world—the Upper House of the Imperial Parliament—possessed, as such, no more authority or influence in the councils of Lambeth than the nine-and-twenty simple citizens and subjects of the American Republic, or the seventeen bishops who represented the disestablished Churches of Ireland and Scotland. The President of the assembly, the Archbishop of Canterbury, is granted by right and usage a dignity of civil precedence that places him above the most ancient of the noble houses of the kingdom, and next in honour to princes of the blood royal; but that is a mere accident in the eyes of the properly instructed churchman, and his Grace would probably occupy the same place of honour with the episcopate of the Anglican Communion throughout the world, though a turn of the wheel of political fortune were to reduce the Church of England before the next Lambeth Conference to the same position as that which the Irish Church has occupied since 1869, and the Scottish Church since 1688.

Some whom Sydney Smith would probably class among his 'gig-bishops,' and some whose lordly progresses, if we may venture to conjecture, are made mostly upon 'Shanks's mare,' and who may be tempted to envy even his brother, the proud prelate, a-riding in a gig, certainly secured for themselves in the Palace of Lambeth measures of respect and influence that were not always yielded, as matters of course, to those members who were entitled to seats on the episcopal bench in the Palace of Westminster across the river. Yet, we think, it will be generally acknowledged that, as a matter of fact, it was from among the bishops of the Church of England in England (if we must, for clearness, use such a periphrasis) that, with perhaps one or two exceptions, the foremost leaders of the Conference stepped forward. One of our American brethren is said to have remarked: 'This English way of appointing bishops by the sole authority of the Crown is in theory almost the worst conceivable; but what men it has given to the Church

of England !' Bishops Temple, Lightfoot, Magee, Goodwin, Stubbs, King, and Moorhouse, each in his own way, and with his own special gifts and attainments, held the attention of the Conference, and reached positions of influence that were not surpassed by any. This may be said without the slightest disparagement of such able men as Bishops Doane, Coxe, Whipple, Seymour, Neely, Potter, Paret, and others from among our brethren of the United States, nor of several of the admirable representatives from the 'home Churches,' and of the Churches of India and the British Colonies. Indeed, it is acknowledged (we speak on the authority of the Bishop of New York¹) that the American Church had at least its due weight in the Councils of Lambeth.

'From first to last,' said the Bishop of New York, 'there was in the Conference an atmosphere of openmindedness on the part of our English and Colonial brethren towards anything from an American source which left nothing to be desired. Indeed, if there was a bias in any direction it seemed to me rather in favour of anything and everything American, and sometimes apparently merely because it was American; and my brethren in our episcopate must have been differently constituted from myself, if they were not occasionally made a little uncomfortable by a praise or prominence given to our own very moderate achievements, which might very properly have been transferred to that heroic Colonial episcopate, which has been, from its beginning, among the Church of England's pre-eminent glories.'

On one occasion more especially—the discussion on what is known as 'Home Reunion'—the combination of staunch ecclesiastical conservatism with the largest Christian liberality on the part of the principal American speakers made a memorable impression, and beyond question helped to determine the overwhelming majority when the crucial question was decided.

In the address of the Bishop of New York from which we have just quoted, the writer refers to the high social position and domestic state of the English prelates, from which 'he believes most of the episcopal visitors to England devoutly thanked God they were free.' Yet, if nothing else, the generous hospitalities of last summer at Lambeth Palace, at Auckland Castle, at Farnham, at Ely, and at other episcopal residences, may suggest the suspicion to visitors that there are many ways in which large revenues may be not unsuitably expended and may rapidly disappear. And from other sources we have learned enough to suspect that among the bishops of undowered Churches there may be as many harassing and worldly

¹ See his *Address* to his Diocesan Convention, September 26, 1888.

cares in trying to make both ends meet, as in maintaining a great household and supporting the dignified position of a member of the House of Lords.

But, to sum up the teaching of the Lambeth Conference on this matter, it may be said briefly, that the whole proceedings formed an impressive illustration of the truth that in things spiritual 'a bishop is a bishop,' or (if the doctrine ought to be enunciated in ecclesiastical Latin and under the authority of a great name) of the truth of St. Jerome's declaration, 'ubicunque fuerit episcopus sive Romæ sive Eugubii . . . ejusdem meriti, ejusdem et sacerdotii.'¹ In respect to the essentials of the episcopate, Canterbury ranks no higher than Milwaukee or Waiapu. The Lambeth Conferences are indeed helping men to dissociate the accidental from the essential in Church organizations.

Again, the Lambeth Conferences have been a visible exponent of the truth that Churches entirely independent of one another, and not without considerable diversity in their disciplinary canons, their modes of worship, and even in their doctrinal formularies, may yet find a centre of real unity in the episcopate.

The exact measure of the independence of the several Colonial Churches varies in different cases, and it may be well questioned whether it is desirable that in all instances entire independence of the Church of England should be aimed at in the earlier stages of their life. But there were present at the Lambeth Conference representatives of at least four Churches, whose independence of one another is unquestioned and unquestionable. There was, beside the Church of England, first, the venerable Church of Ireland, whose episcopate was not derived from England and whose long succession of bishops is traceable to a point in history that runs up beyond the most ancient of the existing lines of the English episcopate. The Irish Church has her own separate organization, her own legislative assembly, her own disciplinary canons, her own judicial tribunals, her own final Court of Appeal. Moreover she possesses her own formularies of worship. Scarcely was she freed by the State to do as seemed wisest to her in this respect, than she exercised her undoubted right to make such modifications in the Prayer Book as the majorities of her prelates, priests, and lay representatives believed best suited to her altered circumstances. Some of us, while acknowledging some real merits, cannot but deplore what was done in those days of feverish excitement. But with the criticism of the Irish

¹ *Epist. Cl. ad Evangel.; Opera* (edit. Vallarsii), i.

Book of Common Prayer we are not here concerned. We point only to the fact that it is (and that not in merely unimportant particulars) a *different* book from the English Prayer Book.

Similarly, the Scottish Church, though during the strange vicissitudes of her varied history she was forced, upon at least two separate occasions, to obtain the episcopal succession from the Church of England, owes to the Church of England no subjection. She possesses her own organization complete, with legislative and judicial powers, and she possesses, in addition to the Book of Common Prayer, a distinctive liturgy known as the Scottish Communion Office, which has exercised an influence far beyond the confines of Scotland in giving its characteristic features to the Communion Service of the American Church.

Lastly, there is the great American Church with some sixty bishops, besides those engaged in the mission-field. She, too, is an absolutely independent Church. Seabury, her first bishop, was consecrated in Scotland in 1784. A few years later, England supplied two other bishops. Since that date she has exercised her own independent life. She has her own code of canons, her own diocesan and general conventions, her own tribunals—in a word the complete organization of an autonomous corporation. Her Prayer Book has been twice revised. At the first revision the Athanasian Creed was excised, and all reference to it as a creed that 'may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture' removed from the Articles of Religion.¹

Here, then, we have independent Churches varying from one another, not only in ritual and liturgical 'use,' but even in what seems much more important, the formularies of the Faith. The Faith indeed is, as it must be, the *common* Faith—the *one* Faith; but if that essential be inviolably preserved, Churches have the power (though it is obviously a power that ought to be exercised with the most extreme caution) of modifying the framework of the expression of the Faith.²

¹ The Church of Ireland allows the Athanasian Creed to stand as heretofore in her Prayer Book, but has removed the rubric enjoining its use.

² The Church of England in the sixteenth century departed from the pre-Reformation form of the Nicene Creed in one important particular, and from the pre-Reformation form of the Athanasian Creed in more than one.—See *Church Quarterly Review* (July 1879), in the article 'The Anglican Version of the Nicene Creed.' See also *Report of the Committee of Bishops on the Revision of the Text and Translation of the Athanasian Creed* (London, 1872), p. 16. As early as 1723 Waterland, in his *Critical*

Whether the American and Irish Churches have been wise in making the important changes referred to, is not a question now before us. What is pointed to is the fact that Churches thus differing in non-essentials may find in the episcopate a real centre of unity.

In this connexion it may be of interest to observe that the Lambeth Conference of 1888, among its formal resolutions, declared that 'as regards newly-constituted Churches, especially in non-Christian lands,' their clergy 'should not necessarily be bound to accept in their entirety the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion,' although we should demand, as 'a condition of the recognition of them as in complete intercommunion with us, that we should receive satisfactory evidence that they hold substantially the same doctrine as our own.' In fact it was abundantly evident during the discussions of the Lambeth Conference that the unity of the Faith was not regarded as essentially tied to those formularies (so full of local and temporary colour and form) that were put forth in England during the struggles of the sixteenth century. It is remarkable, indeed; to find a body so naturally and reasonably conservative in temper as the bishops declaring themselves as follows in the Encyclical (p. 19): 'A certain liberty of treatment must be extended to the cases of native and growing Churches, on which it would be unreasonable to impose as conditions of communion the whole of the Thirty-nine Articles, coloured as they are in language and form by the peculiar circumstances under which they were originally drawn up:' while the Report of the Committee on Authoritative Standards of Doctrine and Worship makes the following statement:—

'With regard to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, we thank God for the wisdom which guided our fathers, in difficult times, in framing statements of doctrine, for the most part accurate in their language and reserved and moderate in their definitions. Even when speaking most strongly and under the pressure of great provocation our Communion has generally refrained from anathemas upon opponents, and we desire in this to follow those who have preceded us in the faith. The omission of a few clauses in a few of the Articles would render the whole body free from any imputation of injustice or harshness towards those who differ from us. At the same time we feel that all the Articles are not of equal value, that they are not, and

History of the Athanasian Creed, made evident, beyond dispute, that the variations between the *Quicumque vult* of the Sarum Breviary and the form of the Creed in the Book of Common Prayer are due to the fact that the divines who are responsible for the Prayer Book of 1549 translated from a Greek translation that does not correspond throughout with the Latin.

do not profess to be, a complete statement of Christian doctrine, and that, from the temporary and local circumstances under which they were composed, they do not always meet the requirements founded under totally different conditions' (p. 110).

The course of debate in both the Committee and the Conference is said to have shown in a manner more marked than could be gathered from the guarded language which is quoted above, that the Thirty-nine Articles were not to the bishops objects of such profound religious veneration as would place them beyond the possibility, under all circumstances in the future, of revision and modification. In a similar spirit the discussion on Home Reunion resulted in making the basis on which an approach to union might be effected nothing more extensive on the side of dogmatic formulæ than the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, together with the doctrine of the Scriptures as 'containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as being the ultimate rule and standard of faith.¹

But to return. It was from Churches varying from one another in the manner we have attempted to describe, that the bishops mustered at Lambeth. Quite apart from its *Acta* the gathering was *itself* a fact of the highest interest. Even had the deliberations of the bishops resulted in absolutely no decision of any kind upon the topics submitted for consideration, it would yet have been a result of the deepest significance that the bishops had so deliberated. The Conference itself, if one may speak in paradox, may have been its own greatest achievement; for it *was* a great achievement—a great demonstration of the real unity that may subsist between Churches entirely independent of each other and owing no allegiance

¹ If we are not misinformed, a vigorous, lively, and humorous attack was made on the Thirty-nine Articles—if regarded as a sufficient and effective setting forth of the doctrine of the Anglican Communion for the use of inquirers—by one of the ablest, best-known, and most deservedly respected of the bishops of the Church of England, and in a style so little like the reverential, awe-stricken manner in which this sixteenth-century formulary is ordinarily treated that—so the story goes—it brought to the rescue the revered prelate who may be considered their official guardian. 'Harold Browne on the Thirty-nine Articles' was never happier. In a charming speech, candid and conciliatory, and abounding in frank concessions, he successfully set the Thirty-nine Articles on their feet again. But between the two bishops there was in truth no fundamental difference. The one deplored the unsuitableness of the Thirty-nine Articles as an account of Church doctrine to which persons might be referred who desired an answer to the question, 'What does the Church of England teach?' The other established their value as an historical document defining the relations of the Church of England to unbelief and the unreformed Churches of the sixteenth century, and as not altogether unserviceable in our own day.

to any earthly head outside their own respective boundaries.¹

The *personnel* of the assembly was full of interest. Many of the bishops were, of course, far advanced in years. There were some who had attained the priesthood, and even the episcopal dignity, whilst others who sat close to them in the library at Lambeth were yet unborn or still in the nursery. Who would not be struck with the keen and animated face of the Bishop of Chichester, in his eighty-sixth year? and the tall, erect, and striking figure of the Bishop of Guiana, who was consecrated in 1842, will, it is said, be remembered by all, as he sat facing the general body of the bishops on the raised dais among the metropolitans that surrounded the President. In appearance there were some dignified and stately in bearing, and fully qualified, if looks might count, for the thrones of 'prince-bishops'; there were others whose stooped figures and projected heads suggested thoughts of the student's desk. There were pallid faces, and faces bronzed by tropical suns. There were many great heads, and many foreheads lined with thought and care. On the whole the bishops formed a remarkable-looking body of men; nor should the large photograph, taken by Fry of Brighton, of the bishops displayed in *echelon* before the main doorway of Lambeth Palace, be assumed as faithfully representing the appearance of the assembly when not suffering from the cataleptic stupor that falls even upon the best of men when subjected to the hideous fascination of the camera's great glassy eye.

Again, while the majority were no more than good, earnest, and practical men, with no special distinction in the world beyond the fulfilment of their own proper work of ecclesiastical superintendence and rule, there were a few who had attained eminence as statesmen-bishops, or as theologians, or scholars, or historians, or men of letters, or preachers. The gathering numbered Archbishop Thomson and Bishops Temple,

¹ Since the above words were written, the Bishop of London has expressed himself in somewhat similar language in his address before the London Diocesan Conference: 'I confess that if we were to judge simply of the results which were produced, I should say that a small body would have produced quite as much worth receiving by the Church at large as was produced by this great Conference; but to take part in it was to learn that it was not so much what was done or said as the fact that all united in what was done or said—the fact that this deepened their sense of their unity with one another—and that whatever the Church has to do it has behind it the accumulating and gathering power which comes from their being inspired with a sense of their own brotherhood, and therefore working with the constant feeling of being members of a vast and real body' (*Guardian*, March 13, 1889).

Lightfoot, Johnson (of Calcutta), John Wordsworth, Stubbs, Ellicott, Churton, Harold Browne, Goodwin, Reichel, Alexander, Magee, Whipple, Wilkinson, Doane, Charles Wordsworth, Barry, Coxe, Maclagan, Potter, Boyd Carpenter—all more or less known as writers or preachers.

The Bishop of Bombay has reprinted, as an appendix to the Charge the title of which appears at the head of this article, 'An Account of the Lambeth Conference' which he had communicated to the *Diocesan Record* of Bombay. The account is both accurate and graphic; and we gladly commend that excellent paper, together with the Charge, to those who are desirous of gaining a correct view of the constitution and procedure of the Conference. Nothing more admirable for accuracy of statement and soundness of criticism has come under our notice. It cannot be too emphatically insisted on, as the Bishop of Bombay declares, that,—

'The Conference of 1888 like those of 1867 and 1878, was simply a gathering of bishops from all parts of the world, who had responded to the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury to meet and take counsel with him on such matters as he might see fit to lay before them. In deciding what these subjects were to be, the Archbishop had the benefit of the advice of a committee of English bishops, and suggestions, invited more than a year in advance, were laid before his Grace and his advisers, to be dealt with at their discretion. Throughout the deliberations of the Conference, the subjects to be discussed, the manner of their discussion, the length of time and the number of speakers allowed to each subject, the committees which reported upon them, and the manner in which the reports of those committees were dealt with, were each and all settled at the absolute discretion of the president; a discretion used in every case after the fullest and most courteous endeavours to ascertain the wishes of the Conference, but used by the Chair with absolute authority after such consultation of the members' (p. 54 *sq.*).

In strictness of statement there is no doubt that at the Lambeth Conference there was not 'freedom of debate' such as would have been simply a matter of right in a duly constituted ecclesiastical council, where the length of the sessions would be determined by the necessity of giving every constituent member of the body an opportunity of expressing his opinion on the subject under consideration. At Lambeth the selection of speakers and the narrow restrictions of time, reminded one rather of a Church Congress than of a sacred Synod. Ten-minute speeches and the tinkle of the Bishop of Gloucester's little bell secured a lively variety which prevented the proceedings from ever flagging in interest, but at

the same time could not but in some degree detract from the grave dignity and thoroughness of discussion that would have become some of the solemn subjects upon which the Anglican episcopate assembled to deliberate. A great argumentative effort from a master of debate, such as might influence opinion and determine votes, is often incapable of being compressed into very narrow limits. However, so it was ruled by the President, and we are not prepared to say that under the circumstances it was not wisely ruled.¹ But it is impossible not to fear that some of the business may have been hurried through without adequate discussion, and more particularly that the work of the committees may have been in some instances so hastened as not to allow of time even for very obvious and necessary inquiries. The difficulties attendant on the prolonging of the sessions of the Conference would doubtless be considerable ; but the meetings being only at intervals of ten years, and many of the members of the Conference coming from great distances, it might be worthy of consideration whether his Grace might not extend the work of the Conference and its committees to six or even eight weeks. The Encyclical Letter, which is issued in the name of each member of the Conference,² should beyond all question have been in draft in the hands of each some time before he was called upon to give his assent to it or to offer suggestions for its emendation. The Bishop of Bombay thus describes the course of procedure in respect to the Letter :—

‘The letter, ready drafted by the Primate with the assistance of trusted advisers, was first read out as a whole. Then it was repeated paragraph by paragraph. At the conclusion of every paragraph it was open to any member of the Conference to make suggestions upon any part of its contents. It was impossible to modify its utterance in a body of 140, but as each suggestion was made and discussed, the President took the sense of the meeting whether his letter would express our minds more fully if it were modified in such and such a direction, or if it were left to stand as first drafted. If it was plain that some modification commended itself to the mind

¹ More than once during the Conference the thought must have occurred to many which they afterwards found expressed by the Bishop of Southwell in the Address to his Diocesan Conference at Derby on October 9 : ‘The Archbishop of Canterbury in his position as head, accepted not legally or officially, but by sentiment and historical precedence, not only by Colonial but also by American Churches, illustrates many of the relations out of which gradually grew Papal claims to actual rule over Churches properly independent.’ (*Guardian*, October 31, 1888.)

² ‘We Archbishops, Bishops Metropolitan, and other Bishops . . . one hundred and forty-five in number,’ &c. (*Encyclical Letter*.)

of the Conference, the President undertook that it should be made, the details being entirely in his own hands.'¹

The scamper through work that marked the close of the Conference perhaps left no alternative to this hasty method of constructing a document which in every sentence and every phrase and word should have been weighed with the most punctilious accuracy, and which should certainly have been seen in its final form by the Conference itself. While without a shadow of sympathy with the subject-matter of the Bishop of Liverpool's promptly published protest, we feel there is justice in the objection to a form of statement that makes a man responsible for what he has neither seen nor approved.

Again, it would be easy to point out, now that one has leisure to consider it, how the mind of the Conference could have been more perfectly expressed in several paragraphs. To content ourselves with one illustration of what we mean—the September (1888) number of the *Month* contained a mocking article, *more suo*, on the 'Pan-Anglican Conference.' We wish that in one particular it had not some just cause for its criticism. The *Encyclical* declares 'we have expressed our disapproval of a reputed practice of substituting some other liquid [than true wine] in the celebration of the Holy Communion.' The *Month* pounces on this 'mild' utterance as being 'in itself a complete refutation of the claim of Anglicanism to the name of Catholic.' The inference is, of course, absurd; but it is unfortunate that the *Encyclical* so inadequately represented the words of the resolution on the subject adopted by the Conference, which runs thus:—

'The Bishops assembled in this Conference declare that the use of unfermented juice of the grape or any other liquid than true wine, diluted or undiluted, as the element in the administration of the cup in the Holy Communion, is unwarranted by the example of Our Lord, and is an unauthorized departure from the custom of the Catholic Church.'

Most of the bishops who have commented on the Lambeth Conference of 1888 have not failed to express their sense of the brotherly spirit—the spirit of forbearance and of love that, with scarcely an exception, characterized the discussions, both in the Conference itself and in its committees. There is, perhaps, not one of the prelates that formed the assembly at Lambeth whose judgments secure for themselves more immediate respect in the estimate of thoughtful men than

¹ *Counsels and Principles of the Lambeth Conference of 1888*, p. 63.

those of the (then) Bishop of Chester. In his address to his Diocesan Conference the Bishop declared :

‘The whole Church of God saw the great body of English-speaking bishops—the English, Irish, American, Colonial, and Missionary Episcopate of the Anglican Communion—met, not to assert claims for pre-eminence, not to wrangle over points of internal controversy, or to close questions that should fairly be left open, not to contrast or compare its condition or its action with that of other communions, or to proclaim its own the only way of faith, but to take counsel together for the common action of the whole body against prevailing and increasing forms of sin, and towards the consummation in love and unity of the work of righteousness. There was not a word of self-aggrandizement or of disparagement of other communities of Christians spoken in that great assembly ; such differences of opinion as must have existed were subordinated to the great end of peaceful energy, and the result in blessing is one not to be estimated in words.’¹

And the Bishop of Bombay² writes as follows :—

‘Perhaps the most interesting feature all throughout was not even the high intellectual level which was maintained by the speeches, not the wonderful variety of gifts, the encyclopedic learning of some speakers, the practical grasp of others, the wide experience which tempered some utterances, the intense zeal which glowed through some others, the racy wit of several speakers, or the logical acumen and moral force which made others such a treat to listen to. What impressed me far the most, all throughout, was the brotherliness, the delicacy, the self-restraint, the absence of all exaggeration by which the truth could be in the slightest degree compromised, the fearless belief on every hand that every word which was said in that room would be accepted as spoken among brethren.’

Nor is this eulogy overstrained, if it be acknowledged, as common report alleges, that once, though for but a short time, something very like just cause of provocation on the part of one speaker, whose natural vehemence of manner gives over-emphasis to his words, made the assembly conscious that too great a strain may be put on even the angelic temper of Anglican bishops. The Bishop of Derry at the meeting of his Diocesan Synod (October 16 1888), speaking of the Lambeth Conference, observed :—

‘To one thing I may be allowed to bear witness : to the spirit of Pentecostal love and unity which prevailed throughout our discussions. Much, no doubt, was due to the sweet gracefulness—not wanting in strength or dignity when needed—of our President, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Unquestionably in that body of 145

¹ *Guardian*, Oct. 31, 1888.

² *Counsels and Principles of the Lambeth Conference of 1888*, p. 62.

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members there were different shades of thought. The bishops of our Church are not drilled in a dead uniformity. Yet in those protracted debates once only, and then for not more than half an hour, did we seem to enter the heated atmosphere of polemical strife. When we had passed out of that, no bitter or unkind memory remained.¹

And what was said by the Bishop of Derry will be acknowledged, we do not doubt, by every member of the Conference. Again and again during the course of the proceedings we have heard of some who felt themselves carried triumphantly over the hesitancies of a naturally sceptical temperament, and were forced to exclaim: 'This is indeed the Lord's doing. This outpouring of the spirit of forbearance and love can be none other than the answer to the countless supplications that have gone up on our behalf from thousands of Christian hearts.'

The exceptional and transitory incident to which the Bishop of Derry refers might almost seem to have been permitted in order that the bishops should thus learn how rapidly any intemperate and provocative language from even one person might degrade the level of debate. The unhappy character of the incident was intensified by the abrupt descent from the noble pleadings of love uttered by the Bishop of Lincoln in a speech that, beyond question, marked the highest level of spiritual insight that was reached during the whole course of the Conference. There was indeed 'a coming down from the Mount.'

It was impossible but that the President should be now and then embarrassed by the necessity of ruling points of order, sometimes under very peculiar circumstances, and when no rules of order had been accepted by the assembly; but there is a general consensus that he never allowed the strain of his attention to relax, and we need hardly add that in no instance is he said to have failed in consideration and courtesy. If a suggestion may be usefully made ten years before it is needed, we would venture to hint that the rules of order should be printed and circulated among the members before the meeting of the Conference. Nor would it, we think, be ill-spent time if such rules as after consultation might seem most expedient were submitted for adoption by the Conference itself. In illustration of the need of some such general agreement, we have been assured that it appeared in the course of the proceedings that different modes of putting amendments against one another and against the original motion obtain in the consultative or legislative bodies of different Churches; and how

¹ *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, Nov. 2, 1888.

much may turn on the order of putting amendments is well known.

As we have here referred to matters concerned with the mere mechanism of procedure, we may take this opportunity of noticing what we believe was a matter of observation with several members of the Conference—that some plan should be devised for the more secure telling of the votes on a division, at least in the event of the accuracy of the vote on the show of hands being challenged. Happily last year there was no division so close as to make it worth while to dispute the correctness of the tellers, but in two or three instances it was plain there was uncertainty as to the exact figures.

But no code of regulations or mechanical devices can supply the place of an alert, firm, and yet conciliatory chairman, such as the assembly was so fortunate as to possess in 1888.

Lest, however, we may be guilty of overrating the charitable tempers of the prelates of the Anglican Communion, and attributing to them measures of self-restraint which were not really theirs, it is only right to observe that the majority of the questions discussed at Lambeth were not questions that could be debated on account of differences in fundamental principles, but only in regard to the methods best fitted to give effect to judgments in respect to matters upon which all were agreed. We suspect that the self-complaisance that would mock at the loud cries and fierce shouting of the opponents in some of the great Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries, whose dogmatic decrees are commonly cited with deepest reverence, may be based on a very inadequate appreciation of the vital questions involved in the great theological controversies of those times. At Lambeth in 1888, it was impossible that much heat could be evolved on account of any considerable difference in opinion among Christian men, on such subjects as 'Intemperance,' 'Socialism,' 'The Observance of Sunday,' 'Purity,' 'Divorce,' 'The Care of Emigrants,' or 'The Mutual Relations of Dioceses and Branches of the Anglican Communion.' Indeed, speaking now of the work of the Conference as a body, and not of its committees—there were only three subjects upon which any considerable and grave differences of judgment manifested themselves—first, the baptism of polygamist converts from heathenism; secondly, the mode of dealing, as teachers of the faith, with questions arising out of the textual, literary, and historical criticism of the books of the Bible—more especially of the Old Testament; and lastly, to what extent, if at all, 'the

ministerial character' of persons not episcopally ordained, might be recognized. The first of these, the baptism of polygamists, is beyond doubt a really difficult question, and both views are said to have been maintained in debate with much ability. The historical side of the subject was traversed in masterly and exhaustive speeches, and with the sureness of tread that comes of accuracy and fulness of information, by Bishops Lightfoot and Stubbs, the former dealing with the early, the latter with the mediæval period of Christianity. Some of the African and Indian bishops gave their valuable experiences in relation to the subject, in their respective fields of labour. And the side of those who would receive polygamists to baptism (while, of course, absolutely refusing to tolerate polygamist unions subsequent to baptism) was maintained by Bishop Bickersteth (of Exeter), Bishop Reichel, and Bishop Magee, who was in his full vigour, and in excellent debating form. It was in the initial discussion on this subject that, under considerable pressure from those who feared they would be in a minority, the determination (of general application) was come to that, when a minority claimed it, resolutions of the Conference should not go out in such a form as might suggest that they were the unanimous utterances of the assembly. Several members were particularly anxious that they should be at liberty to dissociate themselves from what they regarded as an act that was neither charitable nor just. The Bishop of Exeter, addressing his Diocesan Conference at Exeter, on October 18, 1888, supplies the Minority Report 'hitherto unpublished,' and also gives the number of those in committee opposing the decision finally arrived at as 5 to 10. In the general body of the Conference, the ratio of the minority to the majority, as appears from the officially published documents, fell to that of 21 to 83. While the resolution: 'That the wives of polygamists may, in the opinion of this Conference, be admitted in some cases to baptism, but that it must be left to the local authorities of the Church to decide under what circumstances they may be baptized,' was carried by only 54 to 34.

The publication by the Bishop of Exeter of the Minority Report brings up the subject of the private and confidential character of the proceedings of the Conference. It is quite plain that different members of the Conference take very different views of the nature of the obligation. As is well known, the sittings of both the Conference and its committees were held with closed doors. But some considerable sensation was caused when one of the London morning papers published, while the

Conference was still sitting, what professed to be a part of the Report of the Committee on Home Reunion. This occurrence may possibly have happened through a mere accident of carelessness, or, as is more likely, through the betrayal, by some interested person, of the misplaced confidence of some member of the committee; and up till recently there was no proof before the public that the newspapers gave a correct version of the text of the report, for certainly there is no trace of the passage referred to in the authorized official publications of the Conference. But the publication of the Charge of the Bishop of St. Andrews, delivered on August 29, 1888, leaves it no longer possible to be in doubt. Not only is the passage which the secular papers had surreptitiously obtained, reproduced, but another highly objectionable passage, together with a thoroughly unhistorical statement of the doctrine of the Church of England on non-episcopal ordinations—which had appeared in the report as first presented—is now published by the Bishop of St. Andrews for the first time. We shall return hereafter to a consideration of the *ex parte* statement here referred to; but here we merely call attention to the fact that it can no longer be questioned that the majority of the committee on 'Home Reunion,' in the first instance presented to the Conference a report which suffered the highly exceptional treatment from the Conference of a refusal to allow it to be published. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as in the most distinct way possible, it was announced by the Conference that the Conference was in no degree committed to any approval of the reports of committees, as such. The *Encyclical Letter* declares:—'The reports of committees can only be taken to represent the mind of the Conference in so far as they are reaffirmed or directly adopted in the resolutions; but we have thought good to print these reports believing that they will offer fruitful matter for consideration' (p. 8). So it is evident that the report of the majority of the Home Reunion Committee was received by the Conference with a singularly emphatic condemnation. If it had been published among the accepted official reports, it would not, as we have seen, in the very slightest measure have committed the Conference to an agreement with its sentiments or opinions; but the Conference felt so strongly as to the thoroughly objectionable character of the part of the report referred to, that it took upon itself to override its ordinary practice, and ordered the report to be recommitted with what was, practically, a direction to excise all that the Bishop of St. Andrews has now considered himself at liberty to print. The sweeping character

of this condemnation has been recently referred to by the Bishop of Albany (Doane) in his annual Address to his diocese. He quotes¹ and accepts as his own the words of Dr. Döllinger (p. 16):—

‘Even the unfortunate attempt to unsettle so fundamental a principle as the indispensableness of the episcopate to the transmission of the ministerial character and commission, by its complete failure, supplied a useful illustration of the general temper of the Conference. It was the passing shadow which enables us the better to do justice to the beauty of the landscape.’

While referring to the Report of the Committee on Home Reunion it may be observed that it was extremely difficult in the early stages of the Conference to select committees on any principle that did not allow a good deal of the haphazard element. For example, those who were not very hopeful about the prospects of Home Reunion, and who kept silence ‘even from good words’ in the opening discussion, would naturally be passed over, while the more enthusiastic or talkative would have his name jotted down as one who ought to be put on the committee. The Bishop of Carlisle, who had been named by the President as chairman, declined to act; and as it turned out, subsequent facts proved that the committee was in no way fairly representative of the views entertained by the Conference at large. There can be no doubt that could it have been in the remotest way surmised before the appointment of the committee that such a fundamental question as the validity of non-episcopal ordinations was about to be seriously entertained by it, the constitution of the committee would have been very different. As at first constituted, the committee, with two or three exceptions, was marked by a plentiful lack of learning, theological and historical. It was afterwards sought to strengthen its weakness in this particular by a request to the President to add Bishops Lightfoot, Stubbs, and Reichel² to its number. The first-named was unable, through the pressure of other labours,³ to

¹ We observe that Bishop Barry in a lecture delivered on December 30, 1888, of which a summary is given in the *Guardian* (March 13, 1889), also considered himself at liberty to publish part of the suppressed passage. This passage was drawn up, according to the Bishop of St. Andrews (*The Lambeth Conference and Church Reunion*, p. 13), by Bishop Barry, who now exerts his ingenuity to minimise the effect of his defeat.

² As originally constituted, the committee did not contain a single representative of the Church of Ireland; and we have since learned that the Bishop of Meath must not be assumed to have represented the views of his brethren on the subject of orders.

³ With deep thankfulness the news has been everywhere received within the last few weeks that a marked improvement has shown itself

act, but the committee was very sensible of the advantage of the reinforcement that came with the two latter. Yet it is obvious that had it been possible to conceive the appointment of a committee for the express purpose of considering the validity of non-episcopal ordination to the ministry, it would have certainly contained a much larger proportion of the few bishops who had some claim to be regarded as theological experts. The truth is that the bishops suffered from not being each attended by his 'theologian,' as (very reasonably) are the prelates summoned to the Councils of the Roman Church. To be sure all bishops are 'Doctors in Divinity,' and each is presented at his consecration to the episcopal office as a 'well-learned man.' But 'well-learned' is a relative term, and we shall confess that there are members of the Anglican presbyterate whose judgments on questions involving theological considerations we would rank higher than that of the great majority of the members of the Lambeth Conference.

It was doubtless with a keen sense of humiliation that on the recommitting of their Report the majority of the Home Reunion Committee had to whittle away their fine sentiments of ecclesiastical liberality. Nor can it now be regretted that the matter was discussed, as the result has made clear the absolute and peremptory refusal by an overwhelming majority of the bishops even so much as to entertain schemes that disregard or make light of the essential characteristics of the Church's apostolic organization. In this instance the publicity now given to the decision of the Conference upon its committee's draft report may prove really serviceable in showing those whom other considerations are less likely to influence, that the recognition of the validity of non-episcopal ordinations by the Church of England must be abandoned by practical men as not possessing the remotest chance of gaining acceptance. And no one can justly pretend to decipher the signs of the times without recognizing that the moving tendency in the Anglican episcopate is not in the direction of greater laxity, but rather in that of a growing estimation of the treasure possessed in the threefold ministry, and the unbroken historical succession of her bishops. Can it be doubted for an instant that a recognition of Presbyterian ordinations, such as is advocated by the Bishop of Sydney, the Bishop of Rupert's Land,¹ and the

in the Bishop of Durham's health, which even in July last was not so secure as to bear with impunity the added strain put upon it by the Lambeth Conference.

¹ See his *Charge* (October 31, 1888), pp. 13-16.

Bishop of St. Andrews, would be immediately followed by a violent rupture in the Church itself. We call the attention of our readers to the practical observations of another Scottish bishop dealing with the same question, and urge them on those whom theological considerations are less likely to affect. The Bishop of Edinburgh (Dr. Dowden), in his address to his Synod,¹ observed :—

‘Let it be distinctly understood that the Anglican Communion embraces, and has always embraced, many who accept episcopacy, without having formulated for themselves any doctrine as to its origin, or as to its being of the essence of the Church’s organization. We shall not demand of any who may desire to join us more than we demand of our own members. Practical acceptance of the episcopate, as we possess it, apart from any “dogma” concerning it, is all that is actually required. Thus far we can go ; but beyond this we cannot go.

‘We all of us, I am sure, are at one with the Bishop of St. Andrews in his longing that the divisions of Christendom, and more especially of our own land, may be healed. Where I differ from the Bishop of St. Andrews is not in the object he has in view, but in the method by which he proposes to attain that object. So far as I can observe, there is no eagerness on the part of Presbyterians to jump at his proposals. Are there ten Presbyterian ministers who will say out boldly that they desire union with us on the terms proposed by the Bishop of St. Andrews? Are there twenty of our own clergy throughout Scotland who regard the Bishop of St. Andrews’ scheme as *justifiable in principle*? Are there five who believe it to be *practicable*? I am far, indeed, from considering that discussions of theological theories are necessarily only barren scholastic exercises. But I must look at things also from a practical point of view; and without here expressing any opinion whatever on the profoundly momentous doctrinal consequences that may, or may not, be involved in the Bishop of St. Andrews’ very singular proposal of the temporary recognition of the validity of Presbyterian ordinations, as a practical man I say that it is absurd to urge a scheme of union which, in the first place, though constantly advanced and expounded annually or oftener, commends itself to a wholly insignificant number of either of the parties whom it is sought to unite, and which, secondly, if conceivably successful in winning over some from Presbyterianism, would inevitably detach from us a much larger number of our own people and clergy, and possibly drive them either to the Roman Communion or to the formation of a separate body. I do not believe in schemes of union that are to be effective at the cost of splitting one of the parties, if not both, from top to bottom.’

The Bishop of St. Andrews² has now, for the first time, enabled the public to accept as accurate the newspaper para-

¹ See *Guardian*, December 5, 1888.

² See *The Lambeth Conference and Church Reunion*, pp. 11–13, 36–37.

graph which appeared during the sitting of the Conference, and professed to give the proposal of the Committee on Home Reunion as to the recognition of 'the ministerial character of those ordained in non-episcopal communions.' The Bishop also takes on himself to supply other parts of the report which the Conference deliberately refused to allow to be published. We shall not delay to consider how far this course of conduct is consistent with loyalty to the Conference ; but public curiosity may at length be satisfied, and we can judge for ourselves the merits of a proposal which met the emphatic condemnation of the Conference. But it is with pleasure that we here exhibit—gibbeted for the warning of all whom it may concern—the passages condemned by the Lambeth Conference :—

'It will be seen that, as one of the elements of the proposed basis of reunion, your Committee have, in accordance with the principles of the Church of England as declared in the preface to her Ordinal, included "the Historic Episcopate," with such adaptations as may be in different portions of the Church required by present circumstances and conditions. But they observe that while the Church in her XXIII. Article lays down the necessity of the ministry as a sacred order, commissioned by those "who have public authority given unto them in the congregation," and while for herself she has defined the latter term by insisting in her own communion on episcopal ordination, she has nowhere declared that all other constituted ministry is null and void. They also note that in the troubled period following the Reformation (up to the year 1662) ministers, not episcopally ordained, were in certain cases recognized as fit to hold office in the Church of England, and that some chief authorities, even in the High Church school, defended and acted upon this recognition in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The question, therefore, which presents itself to them is this—whether the present circumstances of Christianity among us are such as to constitute a sufficient reason for such exceptional action now? To this question—looking to the infinite blessings which must result from any right approach towards reunion, not only in Great Britain and Ireland, but in the American and Colonial communities—looking also to the unquestioned fact that upon some concession upon this matter depends, humanly speaking, the only hope of such an approach—they cannot but conceive that our present condition, perhaps in a higher degree than at any former time, justifies an affirmative answer. They therefore humbly submit the following resolution to the wisdom of the Conference :—

'That, in the opinion of this Committee, conferences such as we have recommended are likely to be fruitful, under God's blessing, of practical result only if undertaken with willingness on behalf of the Anglican Communion, while holding firmly the threefold order of the ministry as the normal rule of the Church to be observed in the future—to recognize, in spite of what we must conceive as irregularity, the ministerial character of those ordained in non-episcopal commu-

nions, through whom, as ministers, it has pleased God visibly to work for the salvation of souls and the advancement of His kingdom ; and to provide, in such way as may be agreed upon, for the acceptance of such ministers as fellow-workers with us in the service of the Lord Jesus Christ.’

It appears from the Bishop of St. Andrews’ pamphlet that the majority of the Committee on Home Reunion supported their proposal by the following statement, which appeared as a footnote to the condemned report :—

‘On this subject see the following passages from the important letter of Bishop Cosin to Mr. Cordel in 1658 :—

“First I conceive that the power of ordination was restrained to bishops rather by apostolical practice and the perpetual custom and canons of the Church, than by any absolute precept that either Christ or His Apostles gave about it.

“Nor can I yet meet with any convincing argument to rest it upon a more high and divine institution. From which customs and laws of the universal Church, therein following the example of the apostles, though I reckon it to be a great presumption and fault for any particular Church to recede, and may truly say that *fieri non oportuit*, when the college of mere presbyters shall ordain and make a priest, yet I cannot so peremptorily say that *factum non valet*, and pronounce the ordination to be utterly void.

“Therefore if at any time a minister so ordained in those French churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can quote instances in many others before my time), our bishops did not re-ordain him to his charge, as they would have done, if his former ordination here in France had been void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received amongst us, and to subscribe the articles established. And I love not to be herein more wise or harder than our own Church is, which hath never publicly condemned and pronounced the ordinations of the other reformed churches to be void, as it doth not those of the unreformed churches, neither among the Papists.” (*Anglo-Catholic Library: Cosin’s Works*, vol. iv. p. 403.)

‘It may be noted also that Archbishop Bramhall in Ireland, after the Restoration, in the letters of orders which he gave to Mr. Edward Parkinson (after re-ordination), caused the following words to be inserted :—

“Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros Ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio Judici relinquimus, sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum, et providentes paci Ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ulli dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversentur.” (*Anglo-Catholic Library: Bramhall’s Works*, vol. i. App. xxxvii.)

'The same distinguished Prelate, when Bishop of Derry, had previously written :—

"I know that there is a great difference between a valid and a regular ordination, and what some choice divines do write of case of necessity : and for my own part am apt to believe that God looks upon His people in mercy, with all their prejudices, and that there is a great latitude left to particular Churches, in the constitution of their ecclesiastical Regiment, according to the exigence of time and place and persons, so as order and their own Institution be observed." ("The Serpent Salve," pp. 597, folio, date 1643.) Octavo, vol. iii. p. 475 sq. See also p. 517.

Having listened to history as thus exhibited by Bishop Barry and his following in the Committee, we are tempted to make our own the words of Dr. Primrose addressed to the venerable impostor Mr. Ephraim Jenkinson :—"I ask pardon, sir, for interrupting so much learning, but I think I have heard all this before." Our surprise is not at reading this familiar line of *ex parte* statement, but at reading it as put forth in what professed to be a carefully weighed declaration drawn up by bishops of the Anglican Communion. None present, it has been said, will forget the rapid flashing of the brilliant eye, the contemptuous curl of the lip, the indignant scorn of expression, the eager gesture of dissent, with which the proposals of the majority of the Committee, and the 'historical' illustrations with which it was sought to bolster them up, were impatiently listened to by the one man of great historical learning, the one great student of the history of England and of the English Church, whom the Committee contained. Nor can it be wondered at if some touch of feeling warmer than astonishment should be roused by such a production as the Bishop of St. Andrews has now printed, and which on the strength of his authority we are—however sceptically inclined—forced to accept as the genuine original of the report adopted by the majority of the Committee on Home Reunion.

The gross unfairness in the method of using the historical illustrations lies in the entire omission of any statement of the Church's definite principles as declared in her recognized authoritative formularies. The place to which one would naturally turn for the Church's clearest utterance on Orders is the Ordinal. And from the first the Ordinal has spoken with unvarying voice. It is permissible to here refer the reader to the treatment of the question in the pages of this *Review*, now more than ten years ago.¹ As was then pointed out—

¹ See *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1879, 'Is the Church of England Protestant?' p. 278.

‘As regards the bare law of the matter, the Church of England never touched any lower point than that of 1552, and in the Ordinal of that year the Preface, like the existing one, begins thus:—

“‘It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles’ time there hath been these Orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church : Bishops, Priests, and Deacons ; which Offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man by his own private authority might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same ; and also, by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto. And therefore, to the intent these Orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following.”’

Now it is worth while observing the use of the word ‘*continued*’ in the above passage. It is declared that it is (in part) with a view to the *continuance* of the three Orders that episcopal ordination is insisted upon as absolutely necessary. Here is the mind of the Church, here is the *law* of the Church, whatever irregularities in practice may have existed from time to time. It could be easily proved that at various times, more especially during the last century, and in various places, there were priests of the Church of England who, being tainted with Arian or Socinian views, omitted the recitation of the Athanasian Creed, and historical proof would not be wanting that even bishops in some instances winked at this violation of the law. If Bishop Barry, or Canon Fremantle, were at the present time to urge these instances as a justification for the admission of certain amiable and cultured Socinian ministers to benefices in the Church of England, we should know what answer to return. Such conduct was in plain violation of the law of the Church, no matter what the rank or station of the law-breaker. Again, if Bishop Barry, or the Bishop of St. Andrews, had lived in days when the ecclesiastical news of remote country dioceses in England travelled slowly (when it travelled at all), and excited but little interest, it might be easy enough for them to indulge their avowed views of ‘the ministerial character’ of those ‘irregularly’ ordained, by the institution of a friendly Wesleyan or Presbyterian minister to a benefice. But such conduct on their part, though it might in times past, from various causes, have gone unchallenged, could not well be cited as a proof that a similar course was either desirable or lawful now.

As it has been observed in the article already referred to :

‘What is desiderated is proof that after attention had been drawn to any particular case, and the tenure of a benefice had been challenged on the ground that the incumbent had not been episcopally ordained, the decision of some competent ecclesiastical court or synod had been that the objection was insufficient and the qualification [of episcopal ordination] unnecessary.’

We are not without reason for supposing that a few instances of the admission to benefices of persons not episcopally ordained were afterwards made much of, and, without intentional departure from truth, spoken of as if they were much more numerous than the actual facts warrant. Otherwise it is impossible to account for Archbishop Whitgift declaring, in reply to a question as to the ministrations in the Province of Canterbury of persons not episcopally ordained, ‘I know none such.’ Of two instances, and only two, we know with full exactness of information. Whittingham held the place of Dean of Durham, but proceedings were instituted with a view to his deprivation as *mere laicus*, and he died before a final judgment was given. The other case is that of Travers, who on the ground that he had not received episcopal ordination was refused institution by Whitgift. But the question is not whether such intrusions were many or were few, but whether they were *lawful*, whether they were or were not in violation of the expressed principles of the Church. But in truth almost every point which it is attempted to raise in Bishop Barry’s Report has been conclusively dealt with by anticipation in the pages of this *Review*.¹ Bramhall’s insertion into the Letters of Orders of Presbyterian ministers (ordained by him, be it observed, with no hypothetical form, but in the exact terms of the Ordinal) might well be excused, if not justified, by the exigencies of the day; and if we believed we could by such an insertion as ‘non annihilantes priores ordines (*si quos habuit*), nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum *determinantes*,’ in their Letters of Orders, induce the Presbyterian ministers of England and Scotland to submit to episcopal ordination, it may well be believed that some of the most staunch Churchmen among our bishops would not hesitate to commit themselves to so harmless, or let us rather say, so nugatory, a statement. But it is not with the action or private opinions of any individual ecclesiastic, however eminent, that we are concerned. We ask what is the law, what are the principles, of the Church?

¹ ‘Is the Church of England Protestant?’ *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1879.

Since the earlier of these pages were written, the value and importance of the declarations of the Lambeth Conference have received a signal exemplification in the action of the Irish bishops in reference to the Archbishop of Dublin's scheme for the consecration of a bishop for the Reforming Congregations in Spain and Portugal.¹ The exact character of the movement that has so deeply engaged the interests and sympathies of the Archbishop we cannot discuss in this place. It is enough to say that the body of the Irish bishops were long doubtful as to the expediency of the course proposed by Lord Plunket, and wisely resolved to defer action till they were able to ask counsel of the Lambeth Conference. The Lam-

¹ We extract the following account of the Resolutions referred to from our excellent contemporary the *Guardian* of February 27, 1889 :

'A special meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Ireland was held yesterday week to consider the application from the Spanish Reformed Church for the consecration of a Bishop. There were present the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishops of Meath, Limerick, Derry, Cashel, Cork, Ossory, Kilmore, Clogher, and Down. The following Resolutions were passed :—

"1. That, in reply to the memorials presented to us by the Reformed Episcopal Churches of Spain and Portugal, a message be sent to the following effect :—

"That we, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Ireland, continue to watch with unabated interest the efforts in which memorialists are engaged, and cordially appreciate their desire for that further Episcopal organization without which their work of Church reform must remain incomplete.

"But, while willing to aid them so far as we legitimately can in securing the object which they have in view, we cannot shut our eyes to the wide difference of opinion which exists among the members of the Anglican Communion generally, and even among ourselves, concerning many questions, some of principle, to which the prayer of memorialists has given rise ; and, more particularly, as to how far a compliance by the Irish Episcopate with that prayer would be in accord with the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference, to which body this matter was formally submitted at our instance. Nor can we ignore the doubts entertained by some as to whether the consecration by us of a Bishop for a foreign Church, and the use for such a purpose of a service differing from that prescribed in our own Ordinal, are within our competence.

"Under these circumstances we are compelled, in the interests of unity and peace throughout our own Church and the Anglican Communion at large, to inform memorialists that we cannot see our way to comply with their prayer. But, while so saying, we would express our hope that they may, before long, succeed in obtaining the aid for which they seek from some source where the difficulties which embarrass us do not exist, and sincerely do we trust that they may secure thereby even a larger measure of sympathy and support than, in the event of our compliance, they might have reason to expect."

"2. The Archbishop of Dublin having intimated to us his intention of shortly visiting Spain and Portugal, we hereby request him to convey to memorialists the message contained in the foregoing resolution."

beth Conference took the matter into consideration, and after deliberation gave its deliverance. How the Archbishop of Dublin was able to satisfy himself that the judgment of the Conference did not condemn or discourage his proposal of an immediate consecration of a bishop it is not for us to speculate. But his brethren of the Irish episcopate were unable to adopt his Grace's interpretation of the words of the Lambeth Resolution and Report, and they have in a large measure for this particular reason declined to give effect to his wishes. Thus has the Lambeth Conference saved us from what many would have regarded as little short of a very great scandal.

ART. II.—CERTAIN GRAVER ASPECTS OF THE ROMAN POSITION.

1. *Compendium Theologiæ Moralis P. Joannis Gury S.J. et Antonii Ballerini ejusdem Societatis adnotationibus locupletatum.* 2 vols. (Romæ, 1882.)
2. *Theologia Moralis S. Alphonsi de Liguorio.* Curavit P. MICH. HEILIG, C.S.S.R. 6 vols. (Paris, 1845.)
3. *Theologia Moralis Universa*, auctore P. SCAVINI. 4 vols. (Paris, 1867.)
4. *Institutiones Theologicæ*, auctore J. B. BOUVIER, Ep. Cénomani. 6 vols. (Paris, 1881.)
5. *Theologia Moralis.* AUGUST. LEHMKUHL, S.J. 2 vols. (Friburg, 1883.)
6. *Apologia pro Vita Sua.* By JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL NEWMAN. (London, 1881.)
7. *Petri Privilegium.* By HENRY EDWARD, ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. (London, 1871.)
8. *Authority.* By LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A. (London, 1888.)
9. *Roman Catholic Claims.* By CHARLES GORE, M.A. (London, 1889.)

MOST thoughtful readers of works by Romanist controversialists (of those, at least, which treat directly of the fundamental claim of the Roman Church) must be struck by a singular fallacy, more or less underlying their entire argument. It is almost invariably taken for granted that the churches of the Roman Communion constitute—to the exclusion of course

of every other Christian body—the visible kingdom of Christ upon earth, and that the religion held by them is consequently the representative form of the Christian religion. Assent to this claim, moreover, is frequently represented as requiring what Roman divines call an act of ‘supernatural faith,’ and not as being within the sphere of human reason and permissible discussion, and preliminary in fact to the bestowal and exercise of faith properly so called. The mischief arising from this confusion of ideas, apart from its gross unfairness on the part of those who must be aware of it, arises precisely from its peculiar subtlety. It is not one which the ordinary reader is likely to detect, still less be able to sift. Take an average Roman Catholic of the middle class who is fairly educated: he no doubt is taught, and possibly will hold more or less intellectually, that the entire practice and teaching of his Church—as he to-day sees and knows it—is true, simply because it is hers. He probably knows little or nothing of the distinction which the theologians of his own Church make between the ‘Preamble of Faith,’ as they call it, and Faith itself properly so called. He has a sort of general notion—not altogether without support from the ordinary teaching he receives in books and from the pulpit—that his assent, from first to last, is an exercise of divine faith,¹ a use of that supernatural illumination of the intellectual faculties which his Catechism describes as ‘a supernatural gift of God, which enables us to believe without doubting whatever He has revealed.’ That, no doubt, is a perfectly intelligible position; it has, moreover, other attractions, especially to minds of a certain order—those, for instance, who have neither the taste nor the time to inquire into the motives of their religious belief or practice, and prefer that all such matters should be settled for them. Such persons constantly mistake this attitude of mind for intellectual submissiveness, and take credit to themselves for having, as they imagine, brought ‘into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.’ They mistake intellectual indolence for docility: in reality they are refusing to accept one of the very first conditions of the life of faith, which is that we should in our present state ‘know only in part, and see δι’ ἰσόπτερου ἐν αἰνέγματι.’ Still the position is intelligible, and so far forth logical. It is its starting-point, its fundamental postulate which we attack. If Christianity be indeed a divinely revealed religion, assent to its teaching must obviously be given mainly

¹ Thus Mr. Rivington clearly speaks of his acceptance of the Roman claim as the result of the ‘gift of gifts,’ the ‘gift of Faith.’—*Authority*, p. 59.

on that account. The representative form—whatever that may be—of Christianity must, equally obviously, be an infallibly true religion. But the claim of the Roman Church to be this representative form must in the first instance be capable of rational proof; it cannot surely be less so than the claim of the Divine Founder of Christianity Himself to be a teacher sent from God. Assent to His teaching, as His, subsequent to and consequent upon acceptance of His claim to authority would obviously preclude discussion of the merits of that teaching in itself. It is quite otherwise with the previous claim to be a Divine Teacher. The proofs of that, not only those which He Himself deigned to furnish, but throughout the entire New Testament, are in fact a sustained appeal to the ordinary reasoning faculties. There is no suggestion whatever that they are the object of a subjective and spiritual sense vouchsafed to a favoured few; they deal with facts of human history, and are within the cognizance of all. The fulfilment of prophecy, the testimony of miracles, the failure of then existing systems to give either consistent or effectual moral teaching are adduced over and over again, and the sin of rejecting their evidence is insisted on. How do Roman controversialists, as a rule, treat the precisely analogous fundamental claim put forward by them on behalf of their Church? Almost invariably in one or other of two ways: either they simply take it for granted at the outset, or they place it among the truths certainly revealed by our Lord (and, therefore, according to their own hypothesis taught by their own Church), and as such to be accepted without discussion as a 'mystery of faith' which supersedes demonstration and 'triumphs over history.' But surely the claim of the Church of Rome to be a divine teacher, in virtue of her being the representative form of the Christian religion, must be judged by the very same criteria to which our Divine Master's own claim appeals; that it is, therefore, within the cognizance of those very faculties which find repose in accepting Him as a Divine and infallibly true Teacher and Guide.

Let us suppose the case of an intelligent and thoughtful man who had been led by independent inquiry and research to have fully admitted that claim. We are of course only supposing such a case, in which the conclusion arrived at—viz. that our Lord was a Teacher sent from God—would have been the result entirely of private and independent research and reflection, of personal and spontaneous efforts to arrive at the truth, unaided, on the one hand, by any previous bias in the natural order of things, and, on the other, by any direct

supernatural and subjective insight. Such a conclusion would obviously be fully within the scope of the man's natural reasoning faculties. It would follow as a consequence in the mind of that man that the religion which Christ taught must be an infallibly true religion, and, in fact, the divinely given and authentic revelation of God's truth to mankind.

But here a further question would inevitably arise, viz. Which conception of Christianity is the true one? That is to say, among the various forms of that religion, and the different bodies professing the faith and name of Christian, and all, though in different ways, claiming Christ as their teacher, which may be said to be most strictly representative of His teaching and in harmony with the purposes of His coming? Is there, in fact, now upon earth any one Christian body which not only claims to set forth His doctrine in its purest and fullest form, but even to teach in His Name, and with His authority, in virtue of a commission directly received from Himself, of which the proofs, accessible to all alike, are forthcoming in the earliest records of Christianity—which is, in fact, His lawful representative in the world, and as such, in one word, representative Christianity? Now it seems clear that the answer to this question, as well as the mental process by which it is arrived at, must be within the reasoning faculty of any ordinarily intelligent man. It must be capable of rational demonstration. It cannot be assumed to be a point of doctrine received without question on the authority of that body, and it is simply a begging of the whole question to treat it, as Romanists frequently do, as such. Subsequent, no doubt, to its acceptance, such an answer, if assumed to be the right one, might be conceived as supported, enlightened, increased in certainty by the added light of supernatural and divine faith. But, as Cardinal Newman himself admits, we 'must begin with private judgment.' There is no question here as to how far it is either logical or reverent to exercise that judgment upon the teaching given, after we have accepted and admitted the claim to teach. All that we contend for is that the original claim must be within the cognizance of the natural reasoning powers, and that it can only be admitted in virtue of the right and power inherent in those faculties of exercising the private judgment on questions of fact.¹

¹ Cardinal Newman himself admits this in *Loss and Gain* (edition of 1848), p. 182. His well-known analogy of the 'stable lantern,' therefore, does not apply, as we are supposing a man looking for the house, not criticizing it from within. He might, however (such things have happened in London), have found that he had got into the wrong one, and was among strangers: How then?

There are, practically speaking, but three conceptions of Christianity. To one or other of these all forms of professing Christianity may be referred. Allowing for modifications in the manner of their statement, and for points in which they may be held to harmonize, or for positions aiming at a middle course between any two of them, and embracing elements common to all, they are for all practical purposes distinct, and in their full expression and logical issue fundamentally divergent, if not indeed mutually subversive of each other. We may roughly state these three conceptions as (1) the Unitarian, which conceives of Christ as an exalted human teacher merely ; (2) the Protestant, in so far as it denies the existence of a visible organic Church ; (3) the Catholic, which maintains as a fundamental principle such an organization as the external and visible constitution of Christ's kingdom on earth, and the authorized exponent of His teaching. It is clear that, to those who hold this last conception, the teaching and practice of that body is and must be representative Christianity.¹

We may set aside for the present the controversy between those who hold the Unitarian conception of our Lord's Person and Office and those who, however they may differ as to the form His work took, are at least agreed that He was a Divine Person. Yet it is worthy of notice that Roman controversialists do very frequently use language which conveys the impression that they consider their position and the claim made on behalf of the Roman Church to be necessary corollaries of belief in the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation. Some indeed go farther, and say that there is no 'logical standpoint' between Roman Catholicism and Agnosticism, if not sheer unbelief.²

Nor need we consider here what may be called the 'Protestant' conception of the Church, excluding, that is, the notion of a corporate organization. For, in the first place, (1) the Roman claim could not possibly assert itself, at least effectually, save in minds which had in some degree at least

¹ See *The Divine Origin of Christianity indicated in its Historical Results*, by Richard Storrs, D.D., LL.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton), p. 11.

² Something very like this is suggested, to say the very least, in the *Grammar of Assent* (pp. 238, 239), and underlies the reasoning of that fine passage in the *Apologia* (p. 241), where, 'starting with the being of a God, Cardinal Newman proceeds to sketch the sort of infallibility which it would be expected that God would vouchsafe as the guide of fallen and erring man. The danger of an *à priori* argument of this nature to minds who have at last been compelled to own the impossibility of verifying its demands in actual facts is only increased by its sheltering itself under' the great name of Dr. Newman.

assimilated that conception of Christianity. Moreover, (2) it is certain that no refutation of any pretension whatsoever is or can be so thorough as that which admits and proceeds upon those demands and takes them for granted. It might, of course, be possible to cut the ground away by disproof and denial of those postulates. But we must not lose sight of the fact that, in the question now before us, these postulates are fully admitted as certainties by a very large proportion, not to say by far and away the larger proportion, of Christians.

Let us admit, then, that when in the creeds we profess our belief in the Holy Catholic Church, we understand by these words a great visible and organic society, founded by our Lord Himself to be the depository of His revealed truth, the exponent of His doctrine, and the perpetual living witness to Him in the world to all time. To this end He sent down the Holy Ghost upon His earliest disciples and followers on the Day of Pentecost: to form them into one corporate unity, and to be to them so formed what in fact the soul is to the human frame, its one principle, not only of life and action, but of cohesion, individuality, and development—*εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.¹ For that great society was ere long to be known and spoken of as His Body, inseparable from Himself, identified with Him—nay, the very fulfilment and widest expansion of His own office and work—*τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου*.² Bound together by the profession of a common faith, by the offering of a common worship, by the same essential rites and fundamental laws and rule of conduct, under a succession of pastors deriving their mission from the very Apostles themselves, and handing down that succession of authority unbroken from age to age, it was to be yet more imperishably and inseparably bound together and built up by the abiding indwelling of God the Holy Spirit, guiding it into all truth, until all men should be drawn into its unity, and itself should reach the measure of the fulness of its Divine Head—*εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.³ Like a city set upon a hill, like the mountain of the Lord's house established on the top of the mountains and exalted above the hills, its structural completeness was to be evident to the world, and a bodily presence in its midst; founded upon the Rock, it was to grow up in all things, ever to advance upward and onward, never to perish, never utterly to fall away—to be, in fact, indefectible, the very pillar and ground of the truth, for no weapon formed against it should prosper, nor against it should the gates of hell ever prevail.

¹ Eph. iv. 12.² Eph. i. 23.³ Eph. iv. 13.

Now it is clear that this Body, if it really exist, would claim to be not only the most ancient and venerable of all Christian organizations, not only the Church of Christ *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, but strictly speaking, in the fullest sense of the terms, and to the exclusion of all other Christian societies, Christ's visible kingdom on earth, and therefore representative Christianity. And that, absolutely, unreservedly and exclusively is what the Roman Catholic body claims to be. That is the '*Roman claim*'; and we have thus narrowed it to this one issue—Is Roman Catholicism representative Christianity or is it not? Hence, to admit this claim would, as a logical consequence, at once unchurch, not only the Anglican Communion, but the extensive and ancient Eastern Churches, and to reduce them to the position of sects. We shall see presently that a far higher interest than even our heritage and theirs in the great visible kingdom of Jesus Christ is at stake. No one, surely, with a full knowledge of the case would attempt to deny the grave difficulties and anomalies which beset the position of English Churchmen. There may be instances even in which these difficulties are the cause of very real and deep spiritual anxiety, possibly of downright trial of faith. They may seem at times to be the direct issue of the position of the Church of England and the inevitable result of her policy and system from the Reformation onwards—nay, there are not wanting, and those among her most loyal and devoted sons, who fully admit this to be the case. What then? It would not follow as a matter of logical inference that the Roman claim was valid. When, then, Mr. Rivington urges that the Church of England all along has been 'unsteady' on momentous subjects, 'even if it has not been steadily wrong,' he does not advance one step toward the proof that the Roman Church alone is the true Church.¹

It would be well for English Churchmen, who feel their isolation from Continental Christendom, and the loss of intercommunion with the ancient Churches of Italy, Spain, and Gaul, to realize as fully as possible that all projects of 'corporate reunion,' as it is called, all yearnings after recognition and intercommunion, are doomed to frustration, are in fact chimerical, so long as this one claim is not fought out and withdrawn. Controversy on all other points is mere

¹ *Authority*, p. 8. Mr. Rivington's reminiscences of 'the last place in which' he 'ministered as an Anglican clergyman' (p. 13) are, consequently, as irrelevant and illogical as they are wanting in taste and feeling. They prove nothing, and are out of place in a work professing to deal with a serious subject.

waste of time and energy ; mutual charity suffers rather than gains by it ; and, on the other hand, no insistence upon undoubted agreement in fundamentals ; no exhibition of divergences in such a way as to show that they are such in their mode of expression only ; no interpretation of apparently contradictory formularies with a view to harmonize their real meaning ; no mere concessions of minor points of doctrine and discipline, no outward resemblance in ritual solemnity—above all, no mere æsthetic revival of mediæval rites and ceremonies or adoption (as from a weak sympathy with the spirit and tone of Continental religious thought is unhappily the case in some instances) of modern and essentially Romanist practices and devotions, and ways of thought and speech—will alter that fact or advance us one step beyond our present position.¹ It is, indeed, this specific nature of the claim put forward by the Roman Church which makes its refutation unlike every other branch of religious controversy. It is not merely a matter of testing doctrines by the standard of Scripture and tradition, or even of common sense : it is a question of facts. It is, no doubt, perfectly true that the Roman controversy has wellnigh universally been taken up with appeals and counter-appeals to the letter of Holy Scripture or the traditions of the Primitive Church and the writings of the Fathers. But surely much of this is beside the question, and only tends to obscure the main point at issue. Long ago Tertullian has pointed out what is and must be the rule in all controversial use of Scripture. He even says, ‘Non ad Scripturas provocandum,’² and his words are so well known that it is hardly necessary to quote them. But, as he says most truly, ‘Ordo rerum desiderabat illud prius proponi *Cujus sint Scripturæ.*’ If, as we believe, the Church be ‘a witness and keeper of holy writ,’ and the Roman Church has alone a prescriptive and exclusive right to be called the Church at all, obviously she will claim to know the true sense of Scripture better than any adversary. But if independently we can find reasons for not admitting this claim to be the Church, then all Romanist appeals to the Bible fall at once to the level of merely private and sectarian use of Scripture, against the collective sense of those to whom it has belonged from the first, the great body of the faithful—‘*quicumque*’ (as Tertullian says) ‘in ea regula incedimus quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis, Apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo tradidit.’³ And the same

¹ See *Words of Counsel*, from the writings of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester (London, 1875), p. 383.

² *De Præscrip.* c. xix. ; cf. c. xxxii.

³ *Ibid.* c. xxxii.

is true in great measure of primitive tradition, the writings of the Fathers, and even of ecclesiastical history. As regards the latter, indeed, it might be asked if it be of sovereign importance, of saving interest that a man should be a member of the one visible Church of Christ, and yet cannot know where and what that is without a discriminating knowledge of scientific history—if, in fact, the city set on a hill can only be reached, or even so much as perceived, through the towering and tangled maze of ecclesiastical history, how, in the name of common sense, shall the poor have the gospel preached to them? The Roman Church claims to be by a divine inherent right the judge both of the truth of the alleged facts of Church history as well as of their meaning and their bearing upon her position and claims. It is the commonly received opinion of her divines that she is infallible in her judgment of the facts of human history. An appeal to it, therefore, against either her claims or her teaching is—so at least Cardinal Manning tells us—simple heresy.¹ Unless, therefore, we would be content with occupying the outworks, and leaving the citadel unstormed, it seems to us that our rejection of the Roman claim must take a wider range than either historical research or even inspired Scripture. It must appeal to the reason and conscience: and these must first sift and test the claim to sit as judge, before bringing the party making it to

¹ 'History, excepting in so far as it is contained in the tradition of the Church, is not divine, but human, and human in its mutability, uncertainty, and corruption.' Again, 'Is there any tribunal of appeal in matters of history? or is there no absolute judge? Is history a road where no one can err? or is it a wilderness in which we must wander without guide or path? Are we left to private judgment alone? If anyone say that there is no judge but right reason and common sense, he is only reproducing in history what Luther applied to the Bible. This theory may be intellectually and morally possible to those who are not Catholics. For Catholics such a theory is simple heresy. That there is an ultimate judge in such matters of history as affect the truths of revelation is a dogma of faith.'—*Petri Privilegium*: 'The Vatican Council and its Definitions,' pp. 124, 114.

It is not, of course, to be admitted that the evidence of ecclesiastical history really favours the Roman claim. That Rome should claim, as the Cardinal plainly says she does, to judge and interpret the facts of history, precisely as she does the Scriptures to her own profit, is a motive for very grave doubt at least whether the evidence of either one or the other be in her favour. As an example of the freedom and boldness of which such interpretation is capable, nothing surely could be better than Mr. Rivington's statement that the 'presidency' of Meletius of Antioch 'at a general council *proves* that he was *then living* in communion with Rome'! (*Authority*, p. 93).

See also Mr. Gore's remarks on this subject, *Roman Catholic Claims*, p. 12.

those very tribunals over which exclusive right is claimed. It is, therefore, to the test of actual facts and to the bar of its own fundamental postulates—the divine origin and authority of the Christian faith and the existence of a visible, universal Church, that we must bring this claim.

Now there is hardly any evidence of the truth of our Lord's claim so far reaching, so luminous, or so convincing as the *fact* of His actual, living, *personal* influence in the world. It is an influence limited to no race or class of humanity or type of mind. It is absolutely universal, and such a reality that upon no reasonable hypothesis can it be reconciled with the admitted facts of His earthly career (leaving out of it, of course, as all sceptics do, the miraculous element) save on the theory that He was a Divine Teacher. The very divisions of Christendom, whatever else they may do of harm, only tend to emphasize this. Now we may fairly ask, are the proofs of the Roman claim at all commensurable? Would any Romanist maintain they were? And yet if Rome and Rome alone be His representative, alone His visible kingdom, alone the perfect realization of His work—the very *πλήρωμα* of Himself, we may reasonably expect that they should be. Look, for a moment, at Continental Europe. Is it not a notorious fact, deplored by Romanists themselves, that among all the races whose conception of Christianity has been hereditarily and systematically limited to Roman Catholicism, there, not only Christianity, but all religion of any sort has been from day to day losing its hold on the great mass of the people and especially upon the educated classes. Thoughtful Romanists will attempt to explain this fact by the gradual estrangement of the Church authorities from the popular advocates of social and political reform, and the breach daily growing wider between what is known as the Ultramontane party, 'the Roman Curia,' and the Government; or they will allege¹ that it is part of the falling away foretold long ago, the mere revolt of a corrupt and faithless society against the teaching and morality of Christ. But if this were so, the same phenomenon would be equally observable elsewhere. And it is not. It is not so in at all the same proportion among those who have been brought up in ignorance of the claims of the Roman Church, and who are therefore aliens to her system and prejudiced against her. It is precisely where she has had full scope, where the presentment of her doctrine and practice has

¹ Cardinal Manning has repeatedly dwelt on this, notably in his sermons, 'The Four Great Evils of the Day,' preached at Moorfields in 1870.

been most thorough and unchecked, among those with whom she has been brought into the closest contact in the confessional, over whom she has exercised an exclusive influence, that she has failed to make good her claim to be, like Christ—‘a Divine Teacher.’ It is the very children she has baptized into Him and fed at His table who are growing day by day to disbelieve her claim and to deny Him.¹ We naturally ask is this what we should expect—not of the most ancient, the ‘Mother and Mistress’ of all Churches—but of the very Church of Christ herself, the *only* Church of Christ herself in her entirety—is this the *πλήρωμα τοῦ πληρουμένου*?²

Here, too, we may consider the real bearing of that great religious movement known as the Reformation upon the claim of the Roman Church. So far as that movement from first to last can be reduced to any one guiding principle common to all its forms and successive developments, it was—from the very time of the Council of Constance onward—a protest against that claim. Underlying that protest, however, and

¹ What is, in some ways, a still stranger and more distressing aspect of religion in Roman Catholic countries is the lax morality even of those who fervently profess the popular faith, and the large admixture of downright paganism with its practice. ‘The “bad Catholic”’ (so Dr. Newman tells us) ‘looks up to our Blessed Lady; he knows by supernatural faith her power and goodness; he turns the truth to his own purpose, his bad purpose, and he makes her his patroness and protectress against sins which he does not mean to abandon.’ In the ‘fairs and places of amusement, in the booths, upon the stalls, upon the doors of wine shops, will be paintings of the Blessed Virgin or St. Michael,’ &c. ‘Innocence, guilt, and what is between the two all range themselves under the same banners; for even the resorts of sin will be made doubly frightful by the blasphemous introduction of some sainted patron.’ ‘A woman,’ he tells us, ‘first genuflects before the Blessed Sacrament and then steals her neighbour’s handkerchief or Prayer Book.’ And all this, Dr. Newman argues, is evidence, not of the failure of Romanism to prepare a perfect people to the Lord, but that this sort of folk have faith and hope to which ‘the most virtuous of Protestants’—nay, the ‘most correct and thoughtful among’ ourselves, English Churchmen—are ‘necessarily strangers.’ ‘The Word of God,’ says St. Paul, ‘worketh *effectually* in them that believe’ (1 Thess. ii. 13). ‘Faith,’ on the contrary, Dr. Newman tells us, ‘is *not operative*’! Surely in reading things like this one is tempted to ask with a former antagonist of their great author, ‘What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?’—See Lectures on *Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church*, by J. H. Newman (London, 1850), Lecture ix. *The Religious Character of Catholic Countries no Prejudice to the Sanctity of the Church*, pp. 230, 234, 235, 242.

Since this note was in type, reference has been made, in an article on ‘Mr. Pigott’s Scapular’ (*Spectator*, March 9), to this very lecture of Dr. Newman’s. It is a telling reply to the strange sophistries whereby Dr. Newman makes use of the well-known superstitions and general irreligion of so-called ‘Catholic’ races, as a proof of the reality of their faith!

² Eph. i. 23.

giving energy and peristence to its varied expression as time went on, there was undoubtedly the growing doubt or denial of the existence—in the original plan of Christianity—of any visible organic Church at all. Admitting that this organic, visible character of Christ's kingdom be essential to its very nature, part, in fact, of His original design in its formation, then, surely, it is wellnigh inconceivable that it should have been the condition of that very body itself which should have caused this doubt to arise. Even Romanists will admit that the state of the Catholic Church in very great measure caused the Reformation. And yet it was precisely the denial of the Church's organic and corporate character which gave the Reformation not only its impetus but its main chance of success. Now see what this really involves. You are asked to believe that a certain society is the one visible kingdom of Christ upon earth, are told that no other conception of His Church is possible; and then we learn that, as a matter of historical fact, it was the condition of this very society which was the direct cause of a very widespread denial, not only that it could be Christ's representative kingdom, but that He had any visible organic and corporate kingdom on earth at all!

The very worst that Romanists are fond of alleging against the Reformation and its promoters only brings the glaring improbability of this position into greater prominence. The Reformation, viewed as a whole, was in fact a vast reactionary movement, making itself felt far beyond the limits of the purely doctrinal controversies of its own immediate era. It is even doubtful whether its work is yet done, and whether we are not after all still in what is only a later phase of it. And yet under what enormous disadvantages it laboured. It lacked unity of purpose, which, far more than unity of action (and it lacked that also), is essential to the permanence of any great movement. It depended in very many instances for even the very chance of success upon purely political contingencies, upon the issue of a war abroad, or the conflict of rival parties at home—upon all sorts of motives of State expediency, diplomatic relations, and dynastic interests. Its instruments in numberless cases we know to have been men of no very signal holiness in life; how very few were men of wide and loving human sympathy; how many, hard, dry, speculative, contentious, as intolerant of the views of others as they were undecided and changeable in their own, at once self-contradictory and dogmatic; how many more, men without earnestness or deep religious convictions at all, self-indulgent worldlings, self-seeking place-

hunters, scheming politicians, or lustful, capricious, and cruel tyrants. It was disgraced by selfishness, inconstancy, insincerity, truculence, profanity, injustice and robbery; its cause was dishonoured and weakened, its real purpose obscured, its usefulness hampered and its progress delayed in very many cases by bitter internal discord, and it was stained throughout—it is useless to deny the fact which writers like Lecky,¹ Motley,² and Buckle³ admit—with intolerance and bloodshed. 'Persecution' indeed, Hallam tells us, was its 'deadly original sin.'⁴ Admitting the general accuracy of this severe estimate of the Reformation movement, surely one may ask, How did it ever succeed, much less reach such vast proportions? How did it ever spring into being at all? How came it that any right-thinking or devout persons were found, not only to cast in their lot with it, to hail it, and make its cause their own, but even to lay down their lives by fire and sword for it? Deep down in the hearts and minds of simple folk there lay a great consciousness of wrongs to be redressed, of falsehood and imposture to be detected and disarmed, of spiritual privileges withheld or robbed of their efficacy by unintelligible and fanciful methods, nay, even converted into engines of terrorism and extortion—a sense, in a word, of a much-needed 'Reformation.' But a 'reformation' of what? Of this or that abuse in doctrine or practice by the Church's own authorities? Of this or that erring portion by the Church universal? Of the wandering flock by the common pastor, the children by their one spiritual Father? It was the Church Universal herself—so far as men could then conceive it—which, so it seemed to them, needed 'reformation.' It was the very pillar and ground of the truth itself (so far at least as they had been taught) which was shaken: it was against the visible Church—or what at any rate alone claimed to be the visible Church—that the gates of hell seemed to have prevailed. The religious mind of Europe was staggered and amazed. It might well be. Undoubtedly the central figure of the time is Luther. In his many-sided character, in his mental conflict, in his strong passions and energy, his striv-

¹ *History of Rationalism*, vol. ii. ch. 4.

² *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, i. 551, &c.; *History of the United Netherlands*, i. 304, ii. 122.

³ *Civilization in England*, vol. i. ch. 8. See also Mr. Beard's 'Hibbert Lectures,' pp. 172-83. The Romanist persecutions produced quite different results on the public mind, and in many instances (e.g. in our own country notably) went far to turn popular feeling finally against the cause responsible for them.

⁴ *Constitutional History*, vol. i. ch. 2.

ings after truth, nay, in his very failings and inconsistencies, he is, emphatically, the type of his age and of the great movement which marked it. 'Pope Julius the Second,' says Carlyle, 'and what was going on at Rome, must have filled the mind of Luther with amazement. He had come as to the Sacred City, throne of God's Highpriest on earth; and he found it—what we know!' ¹ In presence of that bewildering spectacle the mind of that Saxon friar was but the embodiment, as it were, of deep misgivings which already from the time of Savonarola onwards had been penetrating and energizing in the inmost heart of Christian Europe. Here is the secret of the Reformation. Was it wonderful that as this presentment of the visible kingdom of Christ only continued to perpetuate the evil, and thus to cloud and darken their whole spiritual life, if not to jeopardize the very foundations of faith, men began to dwell on the thought of another and that an invisible kingdom of Christ in the hearts and minds of the righteous, independent of formulas or Church governments, as His only Church on earth? The only alternative, be it remembered, was what George Eliot (speaking of its chief representative and embodiment in the earlier stages, or rather the dawn, of reaction) has called so finely, 'Alarmed selfishness, headed by a lustful, greedy, lying, and murderous old man, once called Roderigo Borgia, and now lifted to the pinnacle of infamy as Pope Alexander the Sixth.' ² Men could not believe the Church of the Borgias, of Mary Tudor, and of the Valois, to be Christ's Visible Church. They knew of no other. Nay, they were told, over and over again, as we are told to-day, that no other could be conceived. The result was inevitable. Christendom was once more split up, and this time not—as the result of the earlier assertion of universal supremacy on the part of Rome—into East and West; the West itself was divided and broken up into sects. What was the cause? The Roman Claim. One Church alone—our own—stood firm, maintained not only the possibility but the fact of a visible organic Church, wider than the Roman Communion, and appealed from her to the historic faith of Christendom and the judgment of the Universal Church. But with that exception the very principle of corporate unity was obliterated. It surely ought not to be difficult for us as churchmen to extend our sympathy, certainly our pity, to the ever disintegrating forms of modern

¹ *Lectures on Heroes, Hero-Worship, &c.* (Carlyle's *Collected Works*, 1870, xii. 154).

² *Romola* (Cabinet edition), p. 397.

sporadic Christianity which surround us and are the cause of such manifold and fruitful perplexity when we remember how or why they ever came to be. Nay, it is not too much to say that such things as the wildest excesses of Anabaptist fanaticism or the dreams of Antinomianism were but the inevitable results of this mighty reaction, the strivings and strugglings of European Christendom, driven to despair by the only image of a Visible Church then presented to its gaze as the one ark of salvation, and grasping, as drowning men do at straws, at *anything*—any theory on which it would be possible to save the Christian faith. What wonder if they at length failed? Other results were, so at least Carlyle tells us, ‘German Literature and the French Revolution.’¹ What was the original cause? The Roman Claim. It is shocking and grievous to think that it was the most ancient and venerable of Christian Churches of the West which had caused this awful reaction against the very notion of a visible Church altogether—which in point of fact inaugurated a movement which was to issue in the ‘Encyclopædia’ and the Terror. It is wellnigh inconceivable that it should have been the only true and real Visible Church which did so. Doubtless there were men who felt the force of this at the time. Men, for instance, so deeply imbued with the sense of the sore need of reformation as Sir Thomas More shrank from what seemed to them like separation from the visible kingdom of Christ. They felt the novelty and anomaly of such a position. They sought to harmonize the revolt of their conscience and the plain teaching of facts. Then it was that there arose a yet darker view of the Church. Men declared her ‘apostate’; on no ground short of that could they reconcile their consciences with separation. Men who had been baptized into her communion, had ministered at her altars, and but a short time before regarded her as their spiritual mother and the immaculate Bride of the Lamb, reviled her as the Apocalyptic Harlot, Mother of Abominations, and drunk with the blood of God’s saints. The Pope, they said, was ‘Antichrist,’ and his communion ‘Babylon.’

Now, surely it must be distressing and painful in the highest degree to any reverent mind that this simply hideous view should have been entertained seriously by any one

¹ *Heroes, Hero-Worship, &c.*, p. 161. Compare what the same writer says at p. 160: ‘Great wars, contentions, and disunion followed out of this Reformation: which last down to our day, and are yet far from ended. Great talk and crimination has been made about these. They are lamentable, undeniable; but, after all, what has Luther, or his cause to do with them? It seems strange reasoning to charge the Reformation with all this.’

Christian body of another, especially when that other is a large and important and in many ways venerable portion of Christ's Church, the very religion of Xavier, Vincent de Paul, and Pascal. But that minds, not altogether thoughtless and irreverent, or wholly irreligious—nay, minds intensely thoughtful and reverent, truth-seeking, God-fearing, and Christ-loving souls, highly cultivated and deeply versed in sacred science (such as the late Bishop of Lincoln, who undoubtedly held this), should entertain such a notion of the only one Universal and Visible Kingdom of Christ is, to the present writer, wellnigh incredible; that Christ's only true representative should have driven them to do so passes all belief. But the fact is there is a far graver aspect of this monstrous 'claim.' It tends to destroy, as we have seen, that great principle of unity, the theory of an organic Visible Church, and did, in fact, uproot and scatter that belief (up to that time unanimous and universal) to the four winds. But it goes much farther than this. Higher interests are at stake than, as has already been said, the position and Catholicity of our own Church, or even our belief in the visible and organic constitution of the Church of Christ. It is this: the Roman claim tends to jeopardize *belief in Christianity itself altogether as a Divine Revelation.* It would be well if this alarming side of the Roman Catholic position received the attention it merits. If, it might be argued, Rome be representative Christianity, then, obviously, Christianity itself is responsible for the teaching of its representative exponent and must be judged thereby, and not by fragmentary and unauthorized systems merely claiming the name of Christian. What, then, if it can be shown that Rome, while claiming to be Christianity in its most representative and authoritative form, has failed to teach and uphold the great moral law? Just in the same way if Rome be, alone, the Visible Kingdom of Christ, then that kingdom, as a visible organization must stand or fall with Rome; so, if Rome be, alone, representative Christianity, then Christianity, as a bulwark of morality at least, must stand or fall with Rome. There is no way out of this. Two years ago a Roman Catholic Bishop told his coreligionists in a Lenten pastoral that the Roman Catholic Church was 'our only safe guide in morals.' If that Communion be the one representative Church of Christ, this would undoubtedly be true. But, how if, so far from being our only safe guide, it can be proved to be no safe guide in morals at all?

Now there can be no doubt that one of the most manifest and convincing proofs that Christianity is from God lies in

its emphatic, luminous, and effectual promulgation of the moral law, which, unaided and in the very teeth of gigantic and self-interested opposition, it rescued from heathen corruption, and enforced, developed, and illustrated in action, involving unlimited self-sacrifice, as no religion before or after has ever so much as aimed at doing. This, of course, is true, strictly speaking, of Christianity in its widest sense, as a system, less than as a social organization. Nevertheless, it is surely reasonable to expect that it would be true, in some very pre-eminent sense, of representative Christianity, of, in fact, that body of Christian believers which preserves intact the original constitution of the kingdom of Christ as a visible social organization—of, in a word, the Universal Church. Now Rome, be it remembered, claims to be, alone, that Church. What are the facts of the case?

The morality of any religious body or system can be fairly tested in but two ways: that is, (1) by the explicit pronouncements of its accredited teachers, (2) by the practical results of the teaching given upon the conduct of its adherents. To begin with, it is certain that a very general impression exists, and that not only among ultra-Protestants, but among persons of all shades of religious opinion and even among many Roman Catholics, that the morality of Roman divines is lax and accommodating, especially as regards the virtue of truthfulness. Is it possible for anyone, judging this fact dispassionately and without *parti pris*, to think that a world-wide impression of this sort could be utterly without foundation, evidence of all sorts on the subject one way or another being so easily accessible? A good many people have, it is true, a sort of general idea that the accusation is exaggerated and unfair, and a dim notion that 'somebody'—Mr. Kingsley—once said something of the sort years ago, and that Dr. Newman easily answered and refuted him. Not one in ten of the persons who speak like this have probably ever read that famous controversy or quite grasped the main point, which was *personal* from first to last—a vindication of Dr. Newman himself. Be that as it may, it is a simply incontrovertible fact, that all Roman Catholic Moral Theologians of repute teach that it is lawful to equivocate under oath. Ballerini (whose Compendium is, unquestionless, the most familiar and widely used of all text books of modern Romanist morality) distinctly states that it is so, and quotes S. Alphonsus Liguori as saying that it is certain and the commonly received opinion of all.¹ Alphonsus Liguori, let

¹ 'De hac re S. Alphonsus (lib. iii. n. 151): "Certum est et commune apud omnes, quod ex justa causa licitum est uti æquivocatione . . . et cum

us remember, holds in the domain of Moral Theology a position not far beneath that of Aquinas in Speculative and Dogmatic Theology. He teaches that if an adulteress be asked by her husband if she have been faithless, she may answer equivocally, asserting that she has not broken the marriage tie, which still holds; or if she have confessed and received absolution she may say 'I am innocent'; and he quotes—without a trace of misgiving—other authors who say that such a person might simply deny the 'adultery' using that word in the metaphorical Biblical sense of 'idolatry' (as in Ezech. xxiii. 37), and strengthen such denials with an oath.¹ Elsewhere he asks²—and let us conceive the moral sense of a person gravely asking himself such a question—'Is it lawful to swear to something false, adding in an undertone the true circumstance?' He thinks that 'probably' it is so, and although he does indeed admit that a false oath is, in itself, grievously sinful, yet he adds, alas! that if it be about a matter of small moment, or in a joke, or not contrary to strict obedience, it would be 'only a venial sin.' Father Faber³ echoes this teaching in *The Creator and the Creature*, where he tells us plainly that 'lying is only a venial sin.' Here, then, we have the teaching not only of technical divinity but popular devotional literature. And no higher standard of respect for the lives and property of our neighbour is maintained. Ballerini,⁴ Scavini,⁵ Bouvier,⁶ and a host of older writers are agreed that a murderer or other criminal is not bound to exonerate the innocent person who may be accused and punished for the crime which he himself had perpetrated—no, not even if he

juramento firmare."—Ballerini, *Compendium*, i. 305, n. 310, note (a). The passage referred to is in the fourth book (not the third as misprinted in Ballerini) of S. Alphonsus's work, and the blank represents the words 'modis expositis.' The 'modi' or ways in which Alphonsus tells us it is certain that it is lawful to equivocate, are:—1. When the word has a double meaning: as 'volo,' which may mean either 'I fly' or 'I will.' 2. When the phrase has a double sense: as, 'this is Peter's book,' may mean that Peter wrote it or that it is his property. 3. When the words used have two senses, one more and the other less common, or one literal and the other spiritual: as we say that pleasant food is hurtful, *i.e.* to self-denial, or that the sick are well, *i.e.* so far as their soul's health. The other example given by Alphonsus of this sort of 'lawful' equivocation, we can afford to pass over out of reverence for Him who called Himself the Truth (*Theologia Moralis*, ii. 35; tract. ii. dubium iv. n. 151).

¹ *Ib.* p. 41, n. 162. ² *Ib.* p. 43, n. 168.

³ *The Creator and the Creature*, pp. 287, 288.

⁴ *Compendium*, i. 570, n. 669.

⁵ *Theologia Moralis Universa*, iii. 71, n. 74.

⁶ *Institutiones Theologicae*, vi. 103. See also S. Alphonsus, *Theologia Moralis*, ii. 384, n. 635, and Lehmkuhl, *Theologia Moralis*, i. 604, n. 999.

had clearly foreseen that the innocent person should be implicated, nay, had intended and desired that result. They except the sole case of a man who has deliberately planned and contrived it. One has only to realize the frightful possibilities of this teaching to see its real wickedness. Alphonsus Liguori plainly teaches that a person of rank may lawfully steal to provide for his own wants if he cannot work or is ashamed to beg.¹ We do not insist on the well-known distinction made by Roman Catholic moralists between what they consider 'mortal' or 'grievous' and 'venial' sin in the matter of theft. It is possible to admit, having carefully read what the best of these writers say on this subject, that, taking *the letter* of their opinions, what apparently they intend to say is that the theft of matter of a certain fixed value is undoubtedly grievously sinful, without maintaining that to steal something of ever so little less value would for that reason be necessarily less sinful. Nevertheless, the distinction, as everyone knows, is there.² It is minutely and elaborately discussed, and, when every allowance has been made, one cannot but feel in reading such reasoning the very grave danger of such doctrine *in the hands of half-instructed* teachers, to *wholly* uninstructed and undisciplined minds, ready at the best of times to tamper with the Divine law. And Ballerini certainly says that, provided a sufficient interval elapse (it being an open question whether one month or a year is such sufficient interval) between repeated small thefts, they do not together (unless the thief has originally intended to amass the total sum) constitute what would amount to a grave offence, and consequently no obligation of restitution would be incurred.³ Of course it may be asked, how far the Roman Church may be held responsible for this teaching and is, as a system, committed to it. The answer is very simple. The Roman Church is responsible for it and committed to it as probably no other body on earth is responsible for the opinions of its members. No one can be ignorant of the very strict censorship which the ecclesiastical authority in the Roman Church exercises upon all works treating, even indirectly, of theology, philosophy, and morality written by her own members. It is unnecessary

¹ *Theologia Moralit*, ii. 301, n. 526.

² It is found in Bouvier, v. 453; Ballerini, i. 529, n. 608; Scavini, iii. 139, n. 141; and in S. Alphonsus, ii. 312, n. 528, where the amount necessary to constitute grievously sinful theft ranges from a franc or less in the case of a beggar, two and a half in that of an artisan, up to five or six in that of a rich man, and a gold piece—probably twenty francs—of an exceedingly rich one!

³ *Compendium*, i. 530, nn. 609, 610.

to prove this fact. Speaking well within the limits of actual facts, we may say that it would be morally impossible for the slightest divergence from the usually received teaching of the Roman Church on any matter connected with faith or morals on the part of any Roman Catholic divine to escape the notice of the persons charged with this censorship or to evade their censure. For, beyond the bishop of the diocese in which the work appears and the person (generally a skilled theologian) charged by him to examine the book and append the customary 'Nihil obstat' previous to its receiving the episcopal sanction and 'imprimatur,' there is at Rome, as everybody knows, a body of cardinals and divines, called the 'Sacred Congregation of the Index,' whose sole business it is to review, and if need be to censure, all theological and moral works, to order their revision and correction, and, as we know in some cases, to condemn them and prohibit their use altogether by inscribing them on a list of prohibited books known as the *Index Expurgatorius*. With the recent case of M. Lasserre's translation of the New Testament fresh in people's minds, it ought to be quite unnecessary to prove and illustrate this further, and, that being so, it would be quite sufficient for our present purpose if (1) *one single author of repute* could be quoted whose teaching on the points in question was such as has been shown, and yet had escaped the censure of the ecclesiastical authority ; (2) it would be more than sufficient if it could be shown that, so far from such expression of individual opinion being censured, it was shared and approved by other authors of high standing, nay even by men honoured as saints and Doctors ; how much more when (3) we find not merely one isolated opinion, but an entire system of such teaching, held almost unanimously, not by one school of thought only, but by *all the authors of any reputation whatever*, whose names most readily occur to one, whose works are text-books in every theological seminary, by which the candidates for holy orders are examined, and which, after ordination, will be their guide in the pulpit and their handbook in the confessional. But the fact is, the Roman Church is committed to this teaching far more than by the mere absence of censure on her part. She authorizes and approves it and makes it her own ; she claims for the consensus of her divines 'in re morali' the right to compel the conscientious assent of the faithful and to bind confessors in the administration of the sacrament of penance and in the direction of souls ; she points to that consensus as the organ of her infallible teaching upon such matters, as a part of her ordinary 'magisterium,' and as there-

fore enjoying a full share of that immunity from error and that indefectibility guaranteed by our Lord to His Church.¹

And now, what of the fruit which this teaching bears in the lives and conduct of those who receive it? What are its practical results? Are Roman Catholics as a body more God-fearing and law-abiding than the members of other Christian denominations? The criminal statistics of this country and of others incontestably show the contrary. A clergyman who some years back became, and is still, a Romanist told the present writer that the utter want of straightforwardness he remarked among Roman Catholic schoolboys, even of the better class, made a deep and most painful impression upon him. Another, a priest in a large Roman Catholic school, refused to have a boy punished for a falsehood, and gave the present writer his reason with some warmth, viz. that *it was unfair to punish a lad for acting on the teaching and example he was given*. No one can have mixed much among Roman Catholics of the upper and middle classes without having heard them repeatedly admit that domestic servants who are

¹ *‘Quid (quæres) de auctoritate Theologorum in re morali?—Ex his quæ fusiùs tradit Melchior Canus, nobis sufficiat tria adnotare :*

‘1. Constantem et unanimum Theologorum sententiam, quæ docet aliquid esse licitum, talis et tantæ auctoritatis existimari debere, ut appropinquare ad hæresim dicendus esset qui vellet ab ea discedere. Cum enim sive qui conciones habent, sive qui confessiones audiunt, sive qui consilium dant, id tradant quod universim tenent Theologi, si isti errarent et Ecclesia tota profecto erraret, communem nempe errorem dissimulando.

‘2. Testimonium multorum, si alii viri docti contra sentiant, non pluris esse faciendum, quam vel ratio ipsorum vel gravior etiam auctoritas persuaserit ; cum enim eo in casu numerus numero compensetur, pondere est judicandum. Inter ipsos autem auctores ii sunt præferendi qui ex professo rem pertractarunt ; censentur enim rationes diligentius perpensis. Item ii qui doctrinam quam tradunt, experientia probarunt ; experientia enim optima rerum magistra est. Demum ii qui omni passione posthabita, atque solius veritatis amore scripserunt, ut sunt Auctores sancti.

‘3. Rejiciendam esse uti irrationabilem illam quorundam opinionem qua summo quidem obsequio prosequi se profitentur Theologos et Casuistas veteres, sed recentiores floccifaciunt ; non minus enim recentiores, quam veteres, ingenio, diligentia, studio, eruditione et pietatis laude scimus excelluisse quamplurimos : ne minus in Scripturis sanctis, in Patrum operibus, in Pontificum oraculis, in Conciliorum definitionibus elaborasse. Imo recentiores maxime evolvendi sunt, qui post priorum studia in Domo Domini laborarunt, utpote qui soli referre possunt decisiones noviter datas.’—Scavini, Theologia Moralis, i. 81 ; see also Lehmkühl, Theologia Moralis, i. pt. ii. 87. This is the practical teaching of that ‘Papal school’ which Mr. Rivington tells us (Authority, 38) must be ‘the Church of Christ’ or else ‘the gates of hell have prevailed against the Church which Christ built, and the promises are of none effect’!

not of their own communion are, as a rule, more truthful, sober, honest, and industrious than those who are, and that they prefer to employ them for that reason.¹

But let us look at lands and races where Romanism is the popular and universal religion. If one were asked to mention two representative Roman Catholic countries, one would suppose that none could be named more so than Italy and Ireland. Are the people of those countries, as a matter of fact, more truthful, sober, honest, industrious than, let us say, the Scotch or Dutch? Are they as much so? Is there a greater security for life and property, a higher respect for law, order, and authority among them and among other Roman Catholic peoples than among ourselves? Is there as much? What is the state of public morality in Spain, or Italy, or France? Are the peasantry of those lands purer or more truthful, or more honest, less homicidal and licentious than the corresponding classes in England? 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum.'

Here, then, we see the truly momentous issue at stake. Notwithstanding this terrible exhibition of failure, failure to guard inviolate the sacred deposit of Christian morality, failure to enforce the observance of the very elements of the divine law, Rome claims to be, *alone*, the one kingdom of Christ upon earth, the true and final and complete revelation of God's will for the enlightenment of mankind.

It is bad enough in all conscience to know, as we must, how the moral law has fared in the writings and lives of individuals who were at least professing Christians; how at times it was even wellnigh obliterated in even large sections of Christendom and during long periods of its history. But the life of the Church, like that of each of her members, is

¹ There is probably no more painful element in the controversy with Romanists than the want of candour and straightforwardness which characterizes their whole method. Indeed, it is this which constitutes its great difficulty. 'Candour,' says Mr. Gore, 'an attempt to produce the whole case, a love of the whole truth—this seems to have vanished from their literature' (*The Roman Catholic Claims*, 13). At the end of the little volume of papers reprinted from the *Indian Churchman* (published by Elliot Stock) there is an 'Appendix on Misquotations,' in which numerous examples are given of this sort of moral perversity and inability to state facts or quote authors correctly. The little popular manual, *Catholic Belief*, by Dr. Faa di Bruno, contains more than one instance of the same thing. What can be the cause but the whole tendency of the views current among their leading divines as to the virtue of truth, and the authority lent to those views by the 'Papal school,' as Mr. Rivington calls it, and which he contends is the only conceivable 'Church of Christ' (*Authority*, 37)? As to the papacy itself, as Mr. Gore very truly says, 'Conscious fraud is a familiar element in the official acts of the Roman see' (*Roman Catholic Claims*, 107, and compare what follows).

one of conflict, of gradual purification, and it is not here that we can look to see her without spot or wrinkle or any such thing. It is yet more sad to know that the chief see of Western Christendom, the rightful and sole heir (as itself boasts) of the Divine Commission, *στήριξον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς*,¹ has betrayed the crowning glory of the Christian faith in ways hardly less hideous than those of Pagan Rome, and that, at the best, her wisest teachers, her very saints and Doctors, trifle with the great law of truthfulness and honesty. This is bad enough, and hard to bear. But to be asked to believe that the one section of Christianity which has so signally and notoriously failed in this way is the One Visible Church of Christ, that 'pillar and ground of the truth' to which, *exclusively*, His own promise of indefectibility was made—surely this is nothing less than to raise doubts as to the fulfilment of those promises, and so to sap the very foundations of faith in Him by whom they were made. And, that being so, surely we whose highest spiritual privileges are in question—nay, the honour of whose supreme Object of faith and love and obedience is at stake—have a perfect right, if not a solemn duty, both to the Church of God and to our own souls to protest and arm ourselves against a position and a claim which is fraught with danger to the very faith wherein we stand. It will not be necessary for us in order to do this, to disparage unfairly the great Roman Communion. There is much within her that is noble and beautiful, much that is full of instruction and consolation, fuller still of hope, in her wonderful past history, interwoven as it is with the very progress of European civilization; in her important services to the arts and industries of culture; in her loving labours among the poor and afflicted members of Christ's flock; in her vast and devoted missionary enterprise. All this we can both admit and admire. Nay, surely, we ought, where we can without sacrifice of principle or reality, to do so. More than this, we can claim our fellowship in it all, as they cannot do in all that is its counterpart and witnesses no less fully to the workings of the Spirit among ourselves. For we do not exclude Rome as Rome excludes us. It is Rome, not the English Church, who, like Diotrephes, 'loveth to have the pre-eminence, receiveth not the brethren, forbiddeth them that would and casteth them out of the Church.' It is that very *exclusion* against which we protest. The real peril to the faith of Christendom is there. It hinders—this 'claim'—the very power of the Roman Church herself for good in the world.

¹ Luke xxii. 32.

It blinds men's eyes and steels their hearts against her *legitimate* claims¹ and many excellencies. As daily experience proves, it prejudices many against doctrines and practices which are undoubtedly primitive and Catholic, simply because they are associated with her name. And it thus opposes an insurmountable barrier, not only to effectual united action in the common cause of the Gospel against the ever-increasing forces of irreligion and unbelief, but to that most blessed union of all who profess and call themselves Christian, not only in the unseen participation of Divine Grace, but in outward Christian fellowship and mutual recognition: a union toward which, even while exhibiting, as we feel bound to do, what seems most to keep us apart, we are labouring—

‘Till as one Faith is ours, in love
We own all Churches and are owned.’

ART. III.—GORE'S MINISTRY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The Ministry of the Christian Church. By CHARLES GORE, M.A., Principal of the Pusey House, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln. (London, 1889.)

THE question whether Christianity is the kingdom of God set up on earth to draw men into it, or a system of mental and moral influences invisibly exercised upon human hearts, corresponds closely with the question of the nature of the Church's Lord, and stands near to it in importance. It is, as Mr. Gore truly remarks, a part of the great inquiry ‘what, as a fact in history, Christianity has been’—an inquiry which must be kept apart from the question whether Christianity is true. But though these two questions ought to be, and can be, kept distinct in argument, it is no easy matter to keep them distinct in the complex system of influences on which belief depends.

And doubtless there are persons to whom Mr. Gore will

¹ ‘The defeat of his [the Pope's] canonical privileges is with himself.’ Manning on the Unity of the Church, p. 363.

appear to have done an ill service to Christian evidences if he has succeeded in proving the Apostolical succession to be part of the original institution of Christianity. They will accuse him of having narrowed the wide-spreading stream with its many mouths into a single channel and materialized the spiritual tradition into a dynasty, and of having made Christianity harder to prove. There are others—and we count ourselves among the number—to whom his work looks very differently. It seems to us easier to believe in a religion as Divine if it has made provision, in its first constitution, for its perpetual presentation to men in a similar union of visible fact and invisible grace to that which it possessed in its revelation. We find it easier to believe in a Divine institution which has secured its own existence throughout the centuries in a form intended by its Founder, than in one which has either left its form to be determined by chance and secular influences, or to be lost at the outset and only rediscovered after an immense lapse of years. And even the wants of the individual soul would seem to us imperfectly provided for if Christianity had not established a Divine society. The spiritual tendencies of the belief which Mr. Gore defends are never far from his memory.

‘The doctrine of the Church is indeed only one expression of a principle as broad as human society—the principle that man realizes his true self only by relation to a community; that “he is what he is only as a member of society.” Aristotle said of old that “the society (the city) is prior to the individual”—prior, that is, in idea, because it is essential to his being really man, because man is by his very essence “a social animal.” By isolating himself he hinders, he narrows himself, he perishes: by merging himself in the larger whole he realizes his true individuality and his true freedom. So when God sent redemption upon the earth, He sent it in a community or kingdom. Fellowship with God is to be won through fellowship with His Son, but that not otherwise than through fellowship with His Church. “That ye may have fellowship *with us*,” that is why St. John writes his epistle; “and truly our fellowship is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ”’ (p. 51).

Would that our limits permitted us to quote the admirable passage in which Mr. Gore defends the Apostolical succession against the accusation of being incompatible with the true ideal of liberty. Authority, it is well shown, is not the less real because it has ceased to be absolutism; but the completest answer to the objection is found in the perfection with which the primitive bishop, chosen by the people and ruling them as God’s officer, embodied Mazzini’s ideal of an authority

which represents the *collective aim* of the community (pp. 97-107).

Let no one, therefore, charge Mr. Gore with turning from the great debate between Christianity and its foes to a question of minor importance, in which Christians differ from one another. His subject is no narrow one, nor does he treat it in a narrow spirit. It concerns the very nature of Christianity as a historical fact; and it is impossible for any careful reader to avoid seeing that the author's indefatigable research is guided by the deepest appreciation of evangelical principle.

But we must attempt to give our readers some notion what they are to expect if they follow our advice and make acquaintance with the work itself.

We find in the first chapter a statement of the question. Is the ministry a temporary accommodation of the Christian ideal to the Jewish or Pagan ideas amid which the Church spread? Or, on the contrary, is it 'an original portion of Christ's foundation? Is the episcopal succession, as it meets us in history, simply the fulfilment of Christ's intention?' It is perhaps conceivable that this statement of the alternatives may not seem complete. There are well-informed inquirers not disloyal to the Church who hold that her existing ministry is the fulfilment of Christ's intention without being, in the literal sense, a portion of His foundation. That is to say, they believe the development of the ministry to be the legitimate exercise of powers with which Christ has endowed the Church, and that if the ministry became extinct it would be possible for the Church to reproduce it without losing the claim that her ministry is instituted by Him. Now we would not take for granted that all who deny the historical connexion between the episcopate and the apostolate ascribe to the former a purely secular origin, or flatly deny to it the institution of Christ. They may refer it to Christ's institution mediated through His Church. Dr. Hatch believes that 'behind these re-adaptations the Holy Spirit has been working.'¹ But, after all, the Christianity of the New Testament was not only the secret infusion of new powers into human society; it was also a system of guidance by outward facts and historical revelations. In such a system it can never be indifferent whether we can trace the historical connexion between the Apostolic and the existing ministries or not. To be sure, a development in the history of the ministry is undeniable. The inherent spiritual authority of the Christian society, guided by the needs of the time as they arose, have operated along with formal

¹ *Growth of Church Institutions*, p. 19.

precedent and command to mould its institutions. This is fully recognized by Mr. Gore.

'It is not that the religion of Christ as final and supernatural has no progress or development in it ; it is not a code of rules covering all possible occasions of the future. But it is a religion which in its principles and essence is final, which contains in itself all the forces which the future will need : so that there is nothing to be looked for in the department of religion beyond or outside it, while there is everything to be looked for from within. This essential finality is expressed in the once for all delivered faith, in the fulness of the, once for all given grace, in the visible society once for all instituted' (p. 64).

And again, when Mr. Gore considers the well-known passage in which Macaulay alleges the probability of failure in the succession through chance or imposture in dark times, he rejects the reply from computation of the historical chances, and adopts one which rests upon a general faith in the Lord's guidance of the Church :

'A much better answer to such a suggested difficulty lies in the consideration that if we have reason to believe that Christ intended to institute a self-perpetuating ministry in His Church, He makes Himself responsible for its possibility, and His power is not limited by such material conditions' (p. 109).

But, putting aside minor formal changes, the question meets us, Did Christ found a visible organized Church in that sense which inevitably implies His establishment of a ministry? He who raises an army must appoint officers for it, or his army is a mob. He who founds a Church must found a ministry, or his Church will be a helpless mass of spiritual protoplasm.

'Did Christ,' says Mr. Gore, 'found a Church in the sense of a visible society? That He should have done so is intelligible enough. As it has been recently said, "it is only by becoming embodied in the undoubting convictions of a society, by being, as it were, assimilated with its mind and motives—that is to say, with living human minds and wills—and informing all its actions, that ideas have reality and possess power, and become more than dry and lifeless thoughts." "As great moral and social and political ideas are preserved in life and force by being embodied in the common and living convictions of the society which we call the State, so great spiritual ideas, which are the offspring of Christianity, are preserved in life and force by becoming the recognized beliefs and motives of the society which we call the Church." Christianity never would have done what it has done in the world if it had been a mere body of abstract truths, like a philosophy, to be apprehended

by this or that individual. It never would have done what it has done if it had been embodied only in a book or collection of books. It has lived on and worked upon men as a society or group of societies. This, of course, everyone would admit. The question is whether believers in Christ were left to organize themselves in societies by the natural attraction of sympathy in beliefs and aims, and are, therefore, still at liberty to organize themselves on any model which seems from time to time to promise the best results ; or whether the Divine Founder of the Christian religion Himself instituted *a* society, *a* brotherhood, to be the home of the grace and truth which He came to bring to men' (p. 10).

When Christianity was first proclaimed by our Lord and His Apostles it was natural that men should regard it as one of the many appeals which had at various times been made to their intellects and their wills—as a matter of argument and a matter of choice. Argument and choice had, to be sure, their place in the acceptance of Christianity : but only as they have their place in our recognition of the facts of nature. Christianity presented its facts like nature, as facts whether we recognize them or not. It claimed to be a new creation. That is to say, it established and revealed to us relations in which we stand to God, which it is our business to recognize and use, but which we no more create than we create the natural fatherhood.

It was through many struggles that the Church arrived at the full consciousness of the divine fixity of Christianity as a fact to be accepted, not a speculation to be argued. The first part of the struggle concerned the Person of the Saviour. What was He? what is He? Was He a man who lived long ago and now exists for those who remember Him, but not for those who do not? Or is He God our original Creator and also our new Creator—as existent for those who think not of Him as for those who do ; the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, Who though we believe not cannot deny Himself? Many find themselves unable to accept this view of the nature of Christianity and of its Founder. But the vast majority of the adherents of His religion recognize the divine person of the Redeemer as an unalterable fact in immediate relation to every man—something which it is not for man to subject to his reason and will, but to which his reason and will are to subject themselves. The Christian creed is for them a sacred institution, a prescription by which they are to rule themselves, and to which they must submit, whether willingly to their blessing, or unwillingly to their condemnation.

A great point has been gained when this has been esta-

blished. A stern restraint is placed upon human liberty, both of speculation and of action, when men are told that their liberty is to exercise itself not in the rejection or modification of the creed, but in the acceptance and use of it. Yet we can observe a certain anomaly in calling the Christian creed a sacred institution. It has not that external form and embodiment which the word 'institution' implies. It seems to require for its presentation to men, in the definiteness which properly belongs to it, a medium of conveyance to their minds and a witness in palpable fact to their senses, like those earthly facts in which the divinely appointed relation of parents to their children is embodied. We should feel the need of a Church and a ministry to present the great facts of the creed to men as facts, even if they had been originally revealed from heaven without being embodied on earth. Even if men had been merely told from heaven that they had a Father and a Saviour, this faith must needs have taken some palpable form among them, as all spiritual ideas must do among mankind. For men have a visible life in inextricable union with the spiritual. And there never has been a revelation believed in by men without sacred institutions following.

But the expectation of sacred institutions is immeasurably increased in the case of Christianity when we remember the form in which its revelation was made. It did not come from heaven. It was not an inspiration which arose in the mind of any individual or any number of persons. It was the Incarnation of God upon earth. Those who first believed that God was among them acquired and maintained their faith not by inward or mental influences alone, but by the converse with a Man, by the touch of His hands, by the influence of His visible presence, by the instructions which His words spoken face to face conveyed. Christianity in the time of Christ's earthly life was not a spiritual religion, if spiritual is to be taken to imply the absence of earthly means and conditions. Not only was this the actual fact, but it was this which constituted the special character of the religion of Christ and differentiated it from all others. If you could have taken away from the revelation which was made in Him its connexion with earthly circumstance and human embodiment, you would have placed it on a level with those other faiths which have supposed a message sent from heaven, but not a divine presence on earth. 'I will dwell in them and walk in them, and I will be their God and they shall be my people.' To be sure, the religion of the Incarnation implied a great sacrifice of the absolute and the infinite, in the abstract notion of those terms. It gave to

men the absolute and infinite in a connexion with time and place which might well seem a bondage and a humiliation. But the intensity and the reality of the presence of God which was offered in Christ more than compensated for its local and bounded conditions.

To one who ponders upon this aspect of the religion revealed in the Gospels it may well appear unlikely that in the developments of the same faith which were to follow this characteristic would ever be lost. Mr. Gore is right in saying that belief in the Incarnation opens our eyes to give due weight to the evidence of the Church and ministry. It is true that the Lord when about to leave this world, promised an inward and spiritual gift hereafter to come, which should more than compensate for His departure. But He describes this promised gift as so closely connected with Himself that in it He would return. 'I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you.' And its work was to consist in reviving and representing His life and His works to them. 'He shall bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.' It would not seem probable from this that Christ's religion in after times should have an inwardness and an independence of human limitations which had not belonged to it while He was here.

But to assure us on this point God has willed that we should possess in the New Testament not only the beginnings of Christianity in the life and words of Christ, but also its succeeding stages in the history of the Apostles after He had departed. We have not only the records of the time when the Lord trained His apostles to their office (p. 220), but also the records of the time when those who had received personally from Christ a definite mission (p. 234) proceeded to carry forward His work. And what we find there is not an emancipation of the religion from all connexion with human action and outward facts, but a revival of that connexion in another form—a form more adapted for permanence and wide action than one human life, though a perfect one, could be, but not less embodied in human conditions nor less incarnate than the work of Him who was very man. The Apostles preach, heal, instruct, and rule. Those who do not come within the sphere of their influence do not receive the revelation of Christ nor the gifts of the gospel. The eunuch, while possessed of all dispositions to become a Christian, finds all the inward work in him imperfect until a human messenger is sent to him, and the accidental meeting with the material water affords the opportunity of using the sacramental rite which is the channel

of the spiritual gift. The miraculous access of the inward gift in Cornelius before the outward sign does not draw with it the inference that the outward sign may be dispensed with, but the inference that it must be given. And the spiritual gift is imparted on the same occasion, not as a part of an inward work of grace carried on within the sphere of Cornelius' individual soul, but in connexion with the visit of a minister of Christ, which he has been divinely warned to invite.

We can represent to ourselves how plainly the story of the Gospels and the Acts points forward to an organized visible Church, and a ministry deriving from Christ through His Apostles, if we will imagine by way of contrast what sort of Gospels and Acts would have suited those who believe in no Church and no ministry except such as can be created by the body of believers themselves. We might well imagine the words and deeds of the Saviour left to produce their necessary effect upon human souls by the same means which other systems have used. The seed cast into the ground and growing, man knoweth not how, is undoubtedly part of the account of the progress of Christianity ; it might have been the sole and only account of it. If to this necessary influence of the Gospel over minds we add the provision of an inspired record of the words and works of the Lord, everything would seem to be complete for the inward and spiritual reception of Christian principles, and from this some sort of society or societies would in the course of natural order have developed. But there would have been no need and no place, upon this understanding, for the choice and commission of the Apostles, for the special dealing with them which Mr. Gore so well describes, for their authority exercised over the Church, for the organization represented in the Acts and Epistles as the work of the Holy Ghost and gift of the ascended Saviour. It is only reasonable that we should carry forward the impressions of the nature of our religion which are derived from the presence in its earliest records of so marked an element of external order into the dark period which succeeds.

Mr. Gore having shown that Christianity as apprehended in the earliest ages, and by the minds which have determined its place in the world, implied a visible and organized Church, proceeds in his second chapter to state the nature and uses of the ministry for which he contends, and to explain the sense in which he claims for it Apostolic succession.

'It is a matter of very great importance to exalt the principle of the Apostolic succession above the question of the exact form of

the ministry, in which the principle has expressed itself, even though it be by Apostolic ordering. What is meant is this: the Apostolic succession has taken shape in a threefold ministry, consisting of a single bishop in each community or diocese, with presbyters and deacons, the bishop alone having the power of ordaining or conferring ministerial authority upon others, the presbyters constituting "a co-operative order" which shares with him a common priesthood, and the deacons holding a subordinate and supplementary position. But this is rather the outcome of a principle than itself a principle, at any rate a primary or essential principle. No one, of whatever part of the Church, can maintain that the existence of what may be called, for lack of a distinctive term, *monepiscopacy*, is essential to the continuity of the Church. Such monepiscopacy may be the best mode of government, it may most aptly symbolize the divine monarchy, it may have all spiritual expediency and historical precedent on its side—nay, more, it may be of Apostolic institution: but nobody could maintain that the continuity of the Church would be broken if in any given diocese all the presbyters were consecrated to the episcopal office, and governed as a co-ordinate college of bishops without presbyters, or presbyter bishops. A state of things quite as abnormal as this existed for many centuries in the Celtic Church of Ireland. Something equivalent to this very arrangement has been commonly believed in the West to have existed in the early Church' (pp. 73, 74).

We are not sure that we fully understand the conception here placed before us. The state of things in the early Celtic Church, whether or not it was in its way as abnormal as one in which all the presbyters in a diocese should be consecrated to the episcopal office, in no way resembled such a condition. For, while there were a great many bishops without dioceses and without jurisdiction, there were side by side with them a still greater number of presbyters, and the distinction between the two orders was unmistakeably acknowledged, as Dr. Todd shows in the most emphatic manner in the very beginning of his *Life of St. Patrick*, and as Mr. Gore himself elsewhere notices (p. 163). And if the supposition of a diocese in which all the presbyters were consecrated to the episcopal office were offered as an explanation of the phenomena of the early Church—say of the condition of things in Crete, as described in the Epistle to Titus, or at Rome when Ignatius wrote thither, or at Philippi when the letter of Polycarp was sent (p. 334)—we might be asked for proof of any consecrations of presbyters in those times which did not equally with these involve episcopal powers; and we might be required to name the authority which could deprive the presbyteral office of the episcopal powers thus potentially existing in it.

In a later passage we understand Mr. Gore to offer this theory as a possible solution of the state of things at Alexandria as described by Jerome (p. 143); but it certainly cannot have been so that Jerome himself understood the case. If these Alexandrians, who chose their bishop from among themselves, had received an ordination which differed from that of ordinary presbyters by involving episcopal powers, their example would in no wise have served Jerome's purpose, which was that of minimizing the distinction between the ordinary normal presbyter and the bishop. To believe that the Alexandrian Church was for a certain time Presbyterian, though imitating in an imperfect way the episcopacy of the rest of Christendom, would be not at all fatal to the argument for episcopacy. But this does not seem likely in view of the evidence of the existence of bishops in Egypt adduced by Mr. Gore in his appendix. It seems most probable that Jerome, who, as Mr. Gore says, was 'in a temper,' made a mistake.

After his two preliminary chapters Mr. Gore proceeds to the Witness of Church History—that is to say, the testimony to the Catholic ministry borne by the Universal Church from the middle of the second century downwards. The evidence is marshalled with great care and diligence, and the book can never lose its value as a repertory of various learning and temperate reasoning. Our limits forbid the attempt to epitomize, nor, indeed, could we with any effect supply the place of a study of the original. It leads up to the conclusion that 'as an institution of Christ through His Apostles—divine, permanent, and necessary—the threefold ministry made its appearance on the horizon of our epoch,' and 'the memory of man ran not to the contrary' (p. 215).

Mr. Gore's readers may feel it a little unnatural to turn back in chapter iv. from the point marked in the words just quoted to the period which lies behind that at which his survey of Church history began. The reason given for this order is that we have but very fragmentary light upon the space which intervenes between the middle of the second century and the point where the Acts of the Apostles comes to an end. We cannot quite feel that we apprehend the force of this reason. The arguments, however, which are urged on a previous page (65) for stating the accepted position of the Church before testing it by Scripture have doubtless much force. But the Scripture evidences which give us the solid principles of the whole discussion are so very complete, and they are so admirably set out by Mr. Gore in his fourth and

fifth chapters, that our only doubt is whether they should not have formed the introduction instead of the sequel to the chapter on the witness of Church history.

Set side by side with the Apostolic Church the liberal conception of what a Church ought to be ; it seems to us that the contrast is striking. In the one we have the sacredness of institutions established in the utmost vigour. The gospel does not come out from its adherents, but unto them only. The inward life follows upon the outward gift and waits upon it. We are left, no doubt, to hope great things from the uncovenanted mercies of God, but so far as the known sphere of Christian life is concerned, sacramental grace and ministerial office are the indispensable means by which the gifts of Christ are made effectual for men ; and they are as necessary for maintaining the work of grace when established in a single mind or in a community as they were for its first beginning. They are true causes of salvation in the sense in which the term 'cause' can be applied to any earthly circumstance. Whereas in the modern conception it is the inward and spiritual work that comes first ; the outward is its development. To be sure, the conditions of human knowledge forbid the theory that the doctrine of Christ can spring up in the heart without any suggestion from outside. But so far as this theory can be reasonably held the modern Puritan attempts to hold it. The work of the minister is confined to preaching—that is to say, to a species of operation which is the outcome of the inward grace that is in himself. Even so, his work is not a proper cause of what takes place in his hearer, but merely the occasion. And the sacramental conveyance of grace by the acts of the minister—the claim for him that he is a medium of God's action in grace, in the same way in which men in their various natural relations to their kind are media of God's action in nature, so that without their acts His acts would not be what they are—this whole conception is rejected as a proud sacerdotalism invented for the exaltation of the clergy, and contrary to that freedom of access to God on the part of His children which is the primary idea of Christianity. We are well aware how possible it is that personal Christianity should exist under this ultra-spiritual form ; nay, how possible it is that under special circumstances the Christianity which it displays should seem to possess a peculiar vigour and energy, at all events for a time. But the form is not the counterpart of New Testament Christianity. Its individualism, its suspicion of what is outward and visible, its undervaluing of human agency, its condemnation of sym-

bolism, its shrinking from bodily expression of the mental feelings, are characteristics which do not meet us in the Church life of the New Testament.

But it might be imagined that this continuance of the incarnate religion of the Gospels which thus meets us in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles of the New Testament should have been intended merely to complete the revelation; and that once the saving work of the Lord and the gift of the Spirit had been assured to men by this earthly history, all these props should have been withdrawn and the faith of Christ been left to all future ages a purely mental and spiritual thing—a thing of memory, thought, and feeling, but not of rites, or offices, or forms. It is conceivable that it should have been so, but the New Testament does not support the conception, and, if we are to believe the New Testament, it is not so. For there we find every preparation made for perpetuating the existence of an organized Church.

It is true that doubts are cast upon the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, which are, as Mr. Gore expresses it, the *locus classicus* in the New Testament on the subject of the Christian ministry. The doubts are difficult to maintain. It might indeed have been an easy matter to palm off upon a particular Church at a later period a series of epistles in which the form of Church government which existed within it should be represented as existing in the Apostolic age; but to persuade a particular Church would have been but a small part of the problem, since the whole Catholic body had to be induced to accept the writings. The notices of ecclesiastical arrangements do not form the whole matter of the Epistles. These notices are set in a framework of spiritual thought full of depth and beauty. And, easy as it might be supposed to deceive the Church of later times in respect of the date of ecclesiastical institutions, it could never be easy to deceive it in respect of Apostolic sentiment. The spiritual taste of the Christian Church was well exercised in such matters. Who can the author have been who was able to imitate—and that without leaving any sign of imitation—a style of language, a style of thinking, in which the community of those best able to judge has recognized the Apostolic hand and the stamp of inspiration. The greatest admirer of the writings of the early Fathers must still recognize the difference in spiritual clearness and power between them and the New Testament in general, the Epistles to Timothy and Titus as much as any part of the volume. Let anyone acquainted with the very best of Christian writings in the centuries of Church history ask himself

what author he finds among them that was capable of composing the spiritual passages of the Pastoral Epistles.

But the admission that these Epistles are not genuine would by no means be fatal to their use as testimonies to the existence of a settled order in the Primitive Church. It is doubtful whether their value for this purpose would not be increased by setting them forward, out of the Apostolic age into the dark half-century which follows; and it is impossible, as Dr. Salmon shows, to date them later. Thus stands the case. The condition of Church order represented in these Epistles is a development of that recorded in the earlier Epistles of St. Paul. We find in the four undoubted Epistles the Apostle exercising authority in the name of Christ and recognizing a similar claim on the part of others. He exercises it under difficulties and contradictions; but these difficulties are themselves caused by the existence of other apostles. Discipline is applied; spiritual gifts are possessed, and among them are gifts of teaching, exhorting, ministry, and rule. Such a state of things is not the government of the Church as it was finally evolved. But it is on the way to such a result. The picture given to us is not that of an aggregate of believers drawn together by their common faith, but of a Church in which external authority exists, and that by the gift of Christ. St. Paul compares the Church to a body, for the express purpose of showing that each man must accept the place in the Church which has been created for him, instead of creating a place for himself. 'God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers' (1 Cor. xii. 28). Here is the Divine origin of the ministry taught as plainly as any High Churchman teaches it now. In the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, further development has taken place. The Apostle commits to delegates the authority which he would himself exercise if he were present. The spiritual gifts have lost their extraordinary character, and settled down into the permanent offices of presbyter and deacon. But still the fully expanded form of a local episcopate is not as yet here. The Pastoral Epistles mark a further stage towards the condition which we find in the Epistles of Ignatius. And it would be more valuable as a proof of continuous development from the Apostolic commission up to the diocesan bishops, that the intermediate stage represented by these three Epistles should be in the generation succeeding the Apostles. For thus it would afford the surest proof that the authority derived from Christ through the Apostles did not cease with their death. The Pastoral Epistles, if post-Apostolic, would show

the better that the Church did not, after the great burst of spiritual force which the Apostolic age witnessed, sink into an earthly community, in which the interests of this world predominated and the rulers of the society bore offices and names which indicated chiefly their secular duties. But even placing the Pastoral Epistles in the place which justly belongs to them as Apostolic writings, what do we find? That ecclesiastical office in the Apostolic age is uniformly ascribed to Divine appointment. In St. Ignatius we find the same origin claimed for it. What, then, is the likelihood that in the interval between St. Paul and St. Ignatius, Divine appointment was superseded by appointment from below? There are many dark half-centuries in secular history: but we do not fill them with republics if the periods both before and after them are periods of monarchy.

In his sixth chapter Mr. Gore treats the scanty records of the post-Apostolic time: first, the *Didaché* with its settled ministry of bishops and deacons, and 'over them the "ambulatory" apostles, prophets, and teachers who exercise a ministry not yet localized' (p. 278); then the record of the work of St. John at Ephesus, the Ignatian Epistles, in which the monarchical episcopate appears as 'firmly rooted,' 'completely beyond dispute' (p. 300), and that of Clement of Rome, whom Mr. Gore believes to have held in Rome the place which at that time in the East, and during the later centuries in the West also, is denoted by the term 'bishop'; and, lastly, the letters of Polycarp, and the *Shepherd*. We must give the general conclusion in the author's own words:

'It remains to state the conviction to which we have been led, viz. that in the West no more than in the East did the supreme power ever devolve upon the presbyters. There was a time when they were (as the epistles of Clement and Polycarp bear witness) the chief local authorities—the sole ordinary occupants of the chief seat. But over them, not yet localized, were men either of prophetic inspiration or of apostolic authority and known character—"prophets," or "teachers," or "rulers," or "men of distinction"—who in the sub-apostolic age ordained to the sacred ministry, and in certain cases would have exercised the chief teaching and governing authority. Gradually these men, after the pattern set by James in Jerusalem or by John in the Churches of Asia, became themselves local presidents or instituted others in their place. Thus a transition was effected to a state of things in which every Church had its local president who ranked among the presbytery—a fellow-presbyter like St. Peter—sitting with them on the chief seat, but to whom was assigned exclusively the name of bishop. This transference and limitation of a name can hardly be a difficulty when we remember the

vague use of official titles which meets us in early Church history. In the organization, as in the theology of the Church, nomenclature was only gradually fixed. The view here expressed of the development of the ministry has one great advantage—besides appearing to account for all the phenomena of the documents of the period, it accounts also for the strength of the tradition which gave authority to the episcopal successions when they first come into clear view, and for the unquestioned position which they held. There is no trace of elevation in the records of the episcopate' (p. 336).

That the kingdom of God has an earthly constitution and a government as much as any earthly society is a conception which has enemies in two quarters: first, those who do not believe that there is any kingdom of God on earth at all, and, secondly, those who believe that the kingdom is too spiritual to need or to permit any earthly embodiment. But these two classes have so little in common that it is only by mistake that they can act together. What has the earnest evangelical, who believes with all his heart that God is at work among men, in common with the sceptic who rejects the doctrine of the priesthood only because it depends upon the belief that God is active in the world? And what has the observant philosopher, who sees how the mind and soul of man act in concert with his visible frame, in common with the enthusiast who thinks to obtain inward access to God independently of any material facts? To the truthful observer of the nature of our life it will be plain that, on the supposition of a kingdom of God existing on earth, it ought to have a constitution visible to men. For how else shall it make itself known and exert its powers?

This was far from being denied by those who first dissented from the Catholic order. They did so on the ground that a Church constitution different from the Catholic was prescribed in the New Testament so definitely and so minutely as to oblige true Christians to abandon the Catholic constitution in order to obey the Scripture. On this they acted. If they could have allowed that there was the slightest uncertainty as to their interpretation of the New Testament, they would have regarded their defection as unjustified. The government in possession had a right to exist until another form of government could show a better claim to Divine prescription. But at the present day the position generally taken is, that no form of constitution is prescribed in the New Testament at all. What is complained of in episcopacy is not its particular form, but its claim to impose any form; and many of our modern Nonconformists would apparently be:

ready to reject the platform of church government to which they are themselves attached, if it were offered to them by way of Catholic prescription.

We far prefer the earlier forms of dissent. Bitter as was the hostility against the Church's order which flowed from the persuasion that another order was Divine, its very bitterness depended upon an agreement with the Church in the great principles of external unity and order. It was not guilty of the inconsistency of accepting a Divine revelation as the foundation of the Church and believing that the outward form of the Church is left to human choice. And it was not guilty of cherishing, for its own sake, a love of disunion and of separation which the common experience of life shows to be injurious in every enterprise of a secular kind.

The only true reason for separation is belief in a prescription more Divine. If you surrender the belief that the New Testament has defined any order for the Church, the immediate result ought to be a submission to Church order for the mere sake of union. Allow the utmost value that can be given to the few exceptions from the universal prevalence of episcopacy that are alleged: what are they in comparison to the overwhelming mass of authority on the other side? The Catholic Church has declared for episcopacy with a unanimity which no *plébiscite* that ever was taken has approached. What sound reason can be given for refusing to accept the decision, unless union, which everywhere else is strength, be, in religion, weakness? The advantage supposed to be gained from the competition of parties and the collision of opinions is far better secured when the parties compete within the same body than when they are separated, just as party government in the State is good within a settled constitution, but fatal when it rends the State asunder. Dr. Sanday has lately passed a judgment upon this subject with which we can by no means agree:

'Our confessional differences are indeed reflected in primitive Christianity, but not as mutually exclusive. They represent, not conflicting or irreconcilable conceptions of the original constitution of the Church, but only successive stages in the growth of that constitution. The Church passed through a congregational stage, and (if we exclude the activity of the Apostles as something exceptional) it also passed through a presbyterian stage. If anyone wishes to single out these stages and to model the society to which he belongs upon them, he is zealous for a pure and primitive polity; he clings to the Bible and what he finds in the Bible; he will not allow himself to wander far from that ideal which he thinks that

Christ and His Apostles have left him. Can we condemn him for this?'¹

Dr. Sanday proceeds to claim for the Church 'a more excellent way'; to contend that further developments were within the powers of the Church, and have proved their legitimacy by their results; and to guard himself 'against being supposed to imply that what is good once is necessarily good always.' But we cannot think that in these latter words Dr. Sanday means to qualify the excuse which he has made for Congregationalists and Presbyterians, and which would seem to us plainly to imply that in some sense or other their systems are good always. And good they certainly are in the sense of attracting many good men: good as anything which conscience approves is good to the consciences which approve it. But we do not believe that they are historically good, or that the reasons we have quoted from Dr. Sanday avail for their excuse.

Imagine similar reasons given in secular politics. A country has passed through republicanism and despotism to a limited monarchy. Will you say to a portion of its inhabitants that, if they choose to set up a republic or a tyranny for themselves, they are zealous for ancient precedent, and must not be condemned? Is it not plain that, even if ancient times offered pure examples of the form of government which they prefer, the element of disunion which it possesses now that the body of the people have passed into another stage impresses upon it a character wholly different from that which the old polity, held with the consent of all, possessed? The spirit of disunion and opposition is a more important element than the imitative reproduction of an antiquated system. So it would be universally held in a matter of mundane politics, and we know not why it should be otherwise held in ecclesiastical, except upon the assumption that unity is less important in the Church than in the State.

But is it true that the Church ever passed through a congregational and a presbyterian stage? Congregationalism is the deliberate, organized, and persistent independence of congregations maintained as a doctrine against all comers. Were primitive congregations ever independent in this sense? If Christianity began in the cities, while the country was pagan and the distances great and hard to traverse, is there anything common between this congregationalism of circumstance and the congregationalism of doctrine taught in times so different from the primitive as ours are? Was there ever in primitive

¹ See the *Expositor* for November 1888.

congregations the spirit of deliberate independence? Were they ever free from subjection to some one outside themselves? Did not the very germ, of whatever nature it was, which in so short a time made them all episcopal constitute an essential difference between them and the modern congregations which have rejected, and still reject, that which the ancient were so ready to accept?

And why does Dr. Sanday propose that, to prove his presbyterian stage, we should consent to pass over the activity of the Apostles as something exceptional? Presbyterianism recognizes no authority above that of the presbyters. But when Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in every city of Pisidia and Pamphylia, these presbyters remained subject to the authority of the Apostles who ordained them. St. Paul claims such authority in all his Epistles. No church of his foundation was presbyterian while he lived, unless you may represent as a republic a monarchy by setting aside the royal authority as exceptional. Nor was the activity of the Apostles as exercising authority over presbyters by any means exceptional, as the examples of St. James and SS. Timothy and Titus abundantly show. We shall accompany Dr. Sanday with cordiality in making moral and practical allowance for the condition of separated Christian bodies. But among all the good and able men who adhere to these separated bodies, we are persuaded there are very few who do so from adherence to primitive precedent and the authority of the Christian past. History, whatever minor difficulties of explanation it may offer, is in its practical results all for the Church.

So true is this, that the dissent which rebels against prescription depends, we are well persuaded, for existence on its own prescription; and the opinions which reject the sacredness of institutions practically ascribe a sacredness to their own. The prescription of a quarter of a century is not, upon grounds of pure reason, as good as the prescription of eighteen centuries; the chapel which was erected a generation ago is not so venerable a witness of permanence as the cathedral which stood where it stands before the nation was formed. But twenty-five years' prescription and the erection which gives it a home are something for the mind to rest in and revere; and to minds unaccustomed to range far back they are enough. Dissent depends at first upon the impulse of disagreement, the exaggeration of some new discovery in religion, the excitement of feelings which because they are strong are supposed never to have been felt as strongly before. And so the schism is made. Doubtless the love of disagreement

has its power even in the second generation and the third. But this motive loses its strength with its novelty. It could not furnish vigour enough to keep a separation alive if it were not that the institutions of the sect acquire by mere continuance a sacred prescription corresponding to that of the larger body which was abandoned. The chapel is in evidence as truly as the cathedral ; under the shadow of its forms of worship the souls of friends now gone have sought communion with their Maker ; the minister is Reverend and wears a distinctive dress as well as the parson ; his ordination and his consequent distinction from the congregation seem to represent in some sort of way the variety of office as read of in the New Testament. The atmosphere of prayer and faith which surrounds the system appears to invest it with a religious sanction. And if the sanction be not of such overwhelming strength as to hinder any change which may seem desirable ; if the distinction between minister and people be not in kind but in degree ; if the sacraments be only just sacred enough to yield a desirable help without oppressing the mind with anything difficult to believe, or the feelings with a too close presence of Deity, this dilution of the sacredness of institutions makes them less of a burden to faith, and leaves one's sense of power free from the humbling contact with a system which it has had no hand in creating and could not change, however one might desire to do so.

We earnestly believe that many simple souls adhere to systems which are not Catholic from motives which have enough of Catholicity to clear them in God's sight from schismatical intention. They adhere because they are humble, because they trust in God's providence which has set them where they are, because they desire to give themselves to the affairs of personal religion without meddling in the distractions of controversy and change. But the very contemplation of their merits and virtues should lead those who have opportunity, to take a larger view and accept a system which includes everything by which they claim our sympathy, but in larger degree and with more entire consistency. If it be a good thing to worship as our fathers worshipped, it must be better to worship as their fathers' fathers up to the earliest times to which memory runs have done ; if it be good that ministers should be ordained by authority, it must be better that there should be no record in their succession of an authority which was self-assumed ; if it be good to form a part of a community, it is better that the community to which we belong should be the universal Church ; if it be good to accept the place in

which God has set us, and to make the best of it, it must be better that we should have the greatest certainty that our situation was not devised by human will ; if a system claiming the institution of God be good for men to rest in, it must be better that its records should stretch back so far as directly to connect it with the system of the New Testament. It is the common boast of Christians that theirs is an historical religion. But what is the use of this unless the history has a connexion with our actual religion in the present ; and if there be a connexion between the history of the present as we live it and the history of the past in which Christ and His Apostles lived, it must surely seem best to any mind of an historical turn that continuity should never have been broken, rather than that the threads of the texture should have been snapped where the New Testament closes and the pattern taken up again, not by continuity, but by imitation, at a later time.

Mr. Gore's appendix contains a careful discussion of Bishop Lightfoot's celebrated dissertation. We agree with him that the language of this essay is ambiguous and that it is liable to be interpreted as representing the episcopate to be a purely human creation. But the illustrious author has never accepted this reading of his intention. And just as in the physical world a writer who dwells upon the earthly aspect of evolution may seem to ascribe a creative power to the facts, while in reality he believes as much as anyone in a Divine Being behind them, so it may be in ecclesiastical affairs. When Bishop Lightfoot informs us that his view agrees with that of Langen, who teaches the Apostolical succession, we shall gratefully accept the assurance.

But our limits have been reached. We shall but say in conclusion that students of the origin of the Christian ministry will find in the work of Mr. Gore the whole literature of the subject, gathered with unsparing diligence and lucidly arranged. Doubtless records may still be discovered which shall throw some new light upon this ancient controversy : it would ill become the generation which has seen the publication of the *Didaché* to assume that no fresh materials can ever present themselves. But Mr. Gore's reasonings are based upon so wide a survey of the mass of authorities of which we are in possession, and upon so true an estimate of the principles by which the development of the Christian Church has been ruled, that they will, in our judgment, permanently recommend themselves in every essential point to the truthful inquirer.

ART. IV.—PLUMPTRE'S LIFE OF BISHOP KEN.

The Life of Thomas Ken, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells.
By E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D., Dean of Wells. 2 vols.
(London, 1889.)

THOSE of our readers who within the last five years have visited the lovely cathedral at the foot of the Mendips, the story of which, as a typical church of the 'Old Foundation,' has been so instructively told by Mr. Freeman, will doubtless have had their attention directed to a memorial window in the north aisle of the choir, the central panel of which exhibits a bishop in cope and mitre, holding a pastoral staff. Over his head are the words, 'All glory be to God,' and below the figure is that pathetic warning which a prophet once addressed to a friend overborne by grief at thickening national calamities, and which a Christian poet has paraphrased in lines that wonderfully develop the compressed tenderness and awfulness of the original in its context—'Et tu quæris tibi grandia? Noli quærere.'¹ These words, from the Vulgate rendering of Jer. xlv. 5, were chosen by the designer of the memorial as having been written, *manu propria*, in two books—a Greek Testament and a copy of Grotius' *De Veritate*—which belonged to the saintly prelate whose praise, indeed, is 'in all the churches,' but whose name is specially associated with the 'City of Fountains,' and in whose honour, principally through the exertions of the Dean who now comes forward as his biographer, the window was erected in the church where he once sat enthroned as bishop, and to which his six years' residence had given, in one sense, a new sanctity.

The life of Bishop Ken has been more than once written; and some of us will remember the pleasure with which, in youth, we read the volume published by 'A Layman,' who is named in the preface to the present work as Mr. John Lavicourt Anderdon. But Dean Plumptre is *the* biographer of him whom Dean Stanley succinctly described as 'one of the best of Englishmen.'² The task has been to him a labour of love, and the elaborate minuteness of research bestowed upon it will be valued as indicating an enthusiastic appreciation of

¹ See *Christian Year*, Eleventh Sunday after Trinity. Compare Keble's *Academical and Occasional Sermons*, p. 306; Newman's *Paroch. Sermon*. viii. 134.

² *Good Words* for 1880, p. 135.

the pure *goodness*—to use one simple comprehensive term—which makes Bishop Ken shine out as ‘perhaps the loveliest figure in an age of moral catastrophe.’¹ And one of the most attractive features of the book is, we will not say the considerate generosity, but rather the unforced yet discriminating sympathy with which an accomplished and versatile writer, whose position is usually supposed to be in ‘the left centre’ of the Anglican ranks, has surveyed and estimated the career, has come into touch with the mind and spirit, of a High Church saint as such, who, as he repeatedly reminds us, possessed so peculiar a fascination for the leaders of the great Church-revival, notably of him who, *pace* Dean Burgon,² was its chief mover, and whose

‘reverence for Ken entered largely into his thoughts and feelings in those memorable years of which we have the narrative in the *Apologia*. The more I read of the poems in the *Lyra Apostolica*, in which he gave utterance to his deepest emotions, the more they seem to me to reproduce what Ken in his time must have felt and thought. We may mourn that, later on, the parallelism becomes one of contrast rather than of resemblance. Not the less, I believe, does it remain true that few words can help us to enter into Ken’s mind and heart so fully as those which then came from one far above him in intellectual force, but like him then, and, I will add, like him now, in the unworldliness of his life, in his strivings after holiness, in his yearnings for the beatific vision’ (vol. i. p. xiii).

This conception of the relation between Ken’s life and Newman’s Anglican activities is illustrated by the choice of mottoes for the chapters of the present biography. Three chapters are without any such heading; of the remaining twenty-six, twenty-three are introduced by lines from Newman, one by a combination of verses from Newman and Keble, and one by a stanza from the *Christian Year* on Ordination, beginning, ‘When foemen watch their tents by night.’ We shall be glad, for our parts, if these fragments of verse should induce any of Dr. Plumptre’s readers to form for themselves a just conception of the intensity and strength in which, we venture to think, Newman’s poetry exceeds Keble’s. A full account is given of the remarkable compilation which appeared in the seventy-fifth *Tract for the Times* as a matin service for ‘Bishop Ken’s Day,’ and in which the Dean recognizes a ‘singular beauty,’ although he quotes Cardinal Newman’s admission that it was ‘frightening’ to some of his friends.

¹ See the second of two admirable papers on Bishop Ken which Archdeacon Farrar contributed to *Good Words* for 1888.

² See *Twelve Good Men*, i. 158.

We must not yield to the temptation of quoting more of it than the last words of the sixth lesson, with its responses.

‘Such was Ken, a burning and shining light, bringing back primitive times.

‘But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us. *Thanks be to God. For I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and in vain: yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.*

As might have been expected, Dean Plumptre takes care to quote Isaac Williams's sonnet in the *Cathedral*, and some lines of his on the losses entailed on the Church by the deprivation of Ken and others like-minded with him, although he passes over another stanza, in which this too much forgotten poet alludes to

‘those heights where holy Herbert sits,
Or Heaven-taught Ken awakes the sounding wire.’

It is to this loving zeal for his subject, combined with a highly imaginative temperament, that we should attribute one characteristic of these graceful volumes, which must, we think, be described as an excess of conjectural, or, as our author prefers to call it, of ‘ideal’ biography, such as is over and over again presented to us in sheer default of actual data. Thus whereas, in the case of Ken's school life at Winchester, mere outlines are all that can be ascertained, the Dean of Wells ‘can picture him as protecting pure, devout, and truthful’ young Presbyterians and Independents from ‘the rough handling of his Cavalier playmates.’ We should rather suspect that the bullying was at least as likely to be inflicted on young ‘prelatists’ or ‘malignants’ by the sons of fathers who rejoiced that Episcopacy was ‘down’; and the Dean had already intimated the probability of some such treatment having been experienced by Ken himself. As we proceed with the work, the potential mood becomes more frequent, and phrases like ‘I imagine,’ ‘it is natural to assume,’ ‘it is something more than a legitimate conjecture,’ ‘we can picture to ourselves,’ ‘it is not, I think, an over-bold stretch of imagination,’ ‘it is at least probable,’ ‘we may perhaps indulge the thought,’ stud the pages a good deal too thickly. There is the bare fact that in 1675 Ken visited the Continent; which way he travelled, what he saw, what he thought, we know not. But, says the Dean with a quaint *naïveté*, instead of simply confessing ignorance and going on to what is in evidence, ‘we may legitimately, I think, under such conditions indulge in’ an ‘account of imaginary travels, as other writers, such, *e.g.*, as

Walter Savage Landor, have indulged in "imaginary conversations." *For my own satisfaction* I follow this course and not the other. Readers who prefer to confine themselves to a record of actual facts can skip this chapter and pass on' (i. 107).

Walter Savage Landor, we presume, did not profess to be writing biography. And, in truth, a biography written throughout upon such principles, with such broad licence for the excursions of fancy, would task the patience of the ordinary prosaic reader, accustomed to assume that this or that statement rests upon this or that authority. We heartily appreciate vividness; but vividness, in history or biography, consists in *realizing* what can practically be ascertained. Again, when Dean Plumptre admits that he has not 'one jot or tittle of external evidence' as to whether 'T. K.,' the author of the book called *The Royal Sufferer*, and dedicated to the exiled King as represented by five asterisks, was or was not Bishop Ken, he argues from internal evidence for the affirmative, and then infers 'that Ken may claim some share' in the formation of those pious dispositions in which, about two years later, James died (ii. 118). Would James, we ask, have read three lines of an Anglican 'manual of devotion'? Not three words. Again, when we come to the death of William, the Dean gives us more than a page about Ken's probable thoughts on that event (ii. 105). Yet again, after giving a letter of 1710, in which Ken intimates his intention of going, as soon as he can travel, to communicate in Wells Cathedral with his friend Bishop Hooper, whom he had already, by a formal act of 'cession,' acknowledged as in regular possession of the see, Dr. Plumptre confesses that he has 'not been able to ascertain whether the resolution thus expressed ever passed into an act' (ii. 196). Yet, apparently because he 'can imagine few scenes more striking and pathetic,' he practically persuades himself that it really took place, and proceeds to speculate as to accessory circumstances.

'One would like to know, if it were possible, *with whom he stayed at Wells*, whether he were the honoured guest of the palace . . . or took up his abode, in the humility of his nature, at some humble hostelry; but this, of course, we can only conjecture. . . . On the whole I incline to the palace' (ii. 196).

And the overleaf of the title-page contains a sonnet in which this possible act of communion is assumed as a veritable fact. The lines are touchingly beautiful; but surely, if Ken had been able in that last year of his life, during which his illness and pain were increasingly severe, to undertake a

journey involving such excitement, we should have some evidence of the fact, whereas we have none. But the strangest, and to our mind the most inappropriate, exhibition of this 'idealism' occurs in reference to the night of suspense which intervened between the trial of the Seven Bishops and the verdict.

'I confine myself to asking how that night was likely to be passed by a man like Ken . . . The region into which that inquiry leads us is one on which we may well enter with reverent feet, and our words should be wary and few ; but I *seem to myself to hear* in those midnight hours some such words as these : " Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do ; " " If it be possible, let this cup pass from me " (ii. 6).

We must say in all seriousness that Dr. Plumptre had better have 'confined himself' within the bounds of relevancy, and spared his readers the shock of a quotation which associates the Agony and the Crucifixion with a trial for libel in the Court of King's Bench.

The book, moreover, contains some other tokens of a facility too little restrained, and of an inadequate sense of proportion. We do not dwell on the point that Ken's life includes some very familiar scenes in English history, which might perhaps have been more slightly touched ; but there is rather too much of detail as to persons probably or possibly connected with Ken, and several statements, or expressions of opinion, are reiterated almost *ad fastidium*. Thus we hear three times of Ken's habit of emptying his pockets of small cash during his Oxford walks ; five times of the opinion entertained in his time that sermons ought not to be read, but preached from memory ; four times of his occasionally flashing out into a 'heat' of indignation ; twice of the 'mutual repulsion' between him and Burnet ; twice of Mary's reported saying that, though he and Frampton 'wished to be martyrs, she would do her best to disappoint them ;' thrice of Frampton's officiating in churches after his deprivation ; and twice of the strained relations between Kidder and the chapter of Wells. We repeat that this exuberance is, in its way, an expression of the writer's *pietas* ; and we regard in the same light what would otherwise look like a singular insensibility not only to the dulness and poverty of much that he quotes from Ken's 'heroic' poem called *Edmund*, but to the grotesque incongruity of idealizing the martyr-king of a realm composed of Norfolk and Suffolk—himself, indeed, a true Christian hero within his narrow sphere of action, who, as Carlyle has it,

'was seen to have done verily a man's part in his life-pilgrimage'¹—into a sort of virtuous *Grand Monarque*, who, besides his other activities in regard to army and navy, trade, taxation, justice, foreign policy, assists, but only 'as a hearer' (for Ken is always anti-Erastian), at a synod in which Romanist and Latitudinarian² plead their respective causes, and are both defeated by the advocate of a Reformation on strictly Anglican lines. Dr. Plumptre 'can think of Ken as feeling, when he read *Paradise Lost*, that he too had it in him to write an epic' (i. 96). If he thought so, it was a fond delusion, and to dwell on the result would be to connect his name with some ludicrous associations.³ The same strange want of taste and of humour, which amuses or vexes us as we wearily turn over the pages of this 'epic,' appears also in the *Hymnotheo*, which Dr. Plumptre takes *au sérieux* as, 'under the thinnest possible disguise, an idealized autobiography,' and thence infers that Ken, in the lax days which followed the Restoration, may have 'listened to the voice of the sirens,' have 'turned his gifts of song and music to secular uses,' and thereby, in some degree, imperilled his faith (i. 63). Is there any necessity for so unpleasing a supposition? 'Hymnotheo' is the young man who, in the exquisite story which we owe to Eusebius and to Clement, was reclaimed by St. John from dissolute and lawless courses. It was necessary to represent this 'penitent' as having once sunk very low; and, if we are to 'imagine' a really autobiographical purpose,⁴ we must be consistent, and suppose that Ken is confessing a personal experience in the lines which first bring 'Hymnotheo' under the influence of a grossly Antinomian form of predestinarianism, and then immerse him in the profligacies of the grove of Daphne; and this a year or so before Ken's ordination, and some two years before Dr. Plumptre supposes him to have written a solemn oburgation against scandalous abuses in the Church.⁵ And when some hitherto unpublished 'poems,' which are, for the most part, mere 'goody' doggrel in childish language, are

¹ *Past and Present*, p. 46.

² Dr. Plumptre asks whether this 'sly Proteo' is meant for Tillotson (ii. 243). If so, Ken's hostility to the 'Latitudinarian' who had superseded Sancroft must have got the better of his fairness, for he describes Proteo as the chief of mere time-servers. He must, however, have been thinking of one who could argue in dulcet tones for 'sweet moderation.'

³ For this reason we forbear to quote from the commencement of *Edmund*.

⁴ Of course, in making his 'penitent' a hymnodist, Ken is turning to poetical account his own tastes and habits.

⁵ *Ichabod*, reprinted after Ken's death as *Expostulatoria*. See vol. i. p. 55.

gravely presented to us as 'Ken's *Lyra Innocentium*,' we know not whether the wrong done to Keble by the implied comparison is not surpassed by the equally unintentional unkindness of bringing to light the fact that the author of the Morning and Evening Hymns had scribbled, in his old age, for two little girls what he could not have wished to be read by posterity. The fact is, Ken was a versifier rather than a poet; but he could sometimes 'build' a 'rhyme' which was terse and vigorous, if not 'lofty'; and some extracts from his shorter poems, devotional and theological,¹ would be a welcome possession to many Churchmen who at present think of him simply as having written 'Awake, my soul,' and 'Glory to Thee, my God, this night.'

In regard to those world-famous compositions, and to that which Miss Yonge, in *The Clever Woman of the Family*, describes as 'Bishop Ken's noble midnight hymn,' we refer our readers to the very interesting chapter in which the original text is given, with the variations introduced, undoubtedly with his previous sanction, into an edition of the *Winchester Manual*, published in the year after his death. We cannot but think that some of the alterations are improvements. The harsh rhythm of such lines as

'Influenced by the light divine,'
or
'Triumphing rise at the last day,'
or
'Let no vain fancy me illude,'

¹ See the poem on *Holiness*:

'Thou in all places present art,
And yet dost keep apart;
Thou liv'st in solitude from ill,
While Thou dost all things fill;'

and on *God's Will*:

'Since, Lord, Thou man didst first create,
That heaven might option be, not fate;'

and on *Omniscience*:

'Ten thousand worlds, Lord, shouldst Thou will,
With kinds innumerable fill,
Thy thought would all comprise,
Distinctly supervise;
Lodged in that thought immense
Is all Thine effluence.'

Dr. Plumptre has a right to dwell on the fine portrait of a priest in the eighth book of *Edmund*; and *Hymnotheo* contains a remarkable passage on that eternal act of self-communication which gives a basis, within the Divine Life itself, for the Divine name of 'Love.'

had clearly demanded a correcting hand. It is well known that the apostrophe, 'You, my blest Guardian,' was altered, from prudential and considerate motives, into, 'O may my Guardian,' &c. The hymns are so precious to English Christians, within and without the Church, that it is difficult to estimate their literary merits; but we are disposed from that standpoint to rank the Midnight Hymn above its fellows; it seems to soar to a still serener height. Need we quote from it? Who knows not the ring of that uplifting stanza—

‘Shine on me, Lord, new life impart,
Fresh ardours kindle in my heart :
One ray of Thy all-quickenng light
Dispels the sloth and clouds of night,’

which we have as it came at first from the author's pen? But the Dean has started a curious and, one might add, a slightly disturbing question: Was Ken indebted to some one else for the wording in part, as well as the substance, of a portion of the Morning and Evening Hymns? It is rather an unpleasant surprise to learn that two stanzas were published as 'Prayers for the morning and evening,' at the end of a metrical summary of the subjects of the several books of Scripture called *Verbum Sempiternum* and *Salvator Mundi*, in an edition of the works of John Taylor, 'the Water Poet,' which appeared in 1693, two years before the first publication of Ken's three hymns in an edition of his *Winchester Manual*, and in the same year with the publication of a work dedicated to him and containing his Evening Hymn with music. We give a few lines from these stanzas.

‘Glory to Thee, my God, who safe hast kept
And me refreshed, while I securely slept . . .
And, since to Thee my vows I now renew,
Scatter my by-past sins as morning dew.

‘Forgive me, dearest Lord, for Thy dear Son,
The many ills that I this day have done . . .
Teach me to live that I may ever dread
The grave as little as I do my bed,’ &c.

Everybody will admit that there can be no question here of a 'remarkable coincidence.' These 'prayers' are either the original form of the corresponding passages in the Morning and Evening Hymns or are an expansion of them. We may with some confidence put aside the supposition that they were actually written by John Taylor. They are better than he could have produced, if one may judge by the general tone of

the summary above mentioned ; and they are not appended to that summary in the edition of his whole works published in 1630, twenty-four years before his death. Dr. Plumptre seems to think that Ken's hymns had got into circulation—'probably in the form of leaflets with music'—several years before he first included them in the *Manual*, and that by some mistake or literary fraud stanzas based on parts of them had been included in the edition of Taylor's works. Another possibility occurs to us, that these stanzas were 'first drafts' by Ken himself, and had somehow got abroad, alike without his name and without his authority. Dean Plumptre believes the hymns, substantially as we now read them, to have been composed while Ken was living at Winchester, first as fellow of the college and then as canon of the cathedral (ii. 216-219).

We now pass from the subject of Ken's poetry to consider some points in Dean Plumptre's story of his life. The future bishop was born in July 1637, at the very time when the Scottish outbreak against the 'Service Book' gave token of the coming Civil War. He lost his mother in the year of Strafford's execution, and his father in the year of the battle of Worcester. Dr. Plumptre lays stress on the fact that he was brought under the influence of his elderly brother-in-law, Izaak Walton, whose house would ultimately become his abode in school holidays and Oxford vacations. He became a scholar of Winchester in 1651, and among the many illustrations which adorn these beautifully printed volumes there is none more interesting than that which exhibits the carving of 'Tho. Ken, 1656,' on a buttress in the college cloisters (i. 38). He went up to Oxford 'as a member of Hart Hall' in 1656, and gained his fellowship at New College in 1657. He was ordained in 1662, and became rector of Little Easton in 1663, Fellow of Winchester in 1666, and 'possibly'¹ chaplain to Bishop Morley, who presented him in 1667 to the rectory of Brightstone (now Brighstone), which he held for two years ; and on receiving the Winchester stall, of which he afterwards made such manful use, he was made rector of East Woodhay, where a large yew tree in the churchyard is traditionally associated with his name. The *Manual for Winchester Scholars* belongs to this period of his life ; and in regard to the high standard of early piety which it sets before its 'Philotheus' Dr. Plumptre's remarks are well worth transcribing.

¹ This 'possible' (i. 82) prepares us for 'it may well have seemed' in the next page, and 'probably' in p. 86 ; in p. 91 the possibility becomes a fact—'Ken *had* no other duties than those of chaplain, prebendary, &c.

'The experiences of most schoolmasters would lead them, if I mistake not, to think the directions of the *Manual* too high-pitched for the average boy. That experience would also, I believe, teach them that in each generation of schoolboys there is at least a small percentage who, without being morbidly introspective or ostentatiously devout . . . are yet capable of at least appreciating and aspiring after such an ideal as Ken set before them. . . . And even for the average boy it is better to have an ideal that is beyond his reach, than to be left to the schoolboy's sense of honour, or to his natural scorn of "sneaks" and "snobs" and "cads," a scorn not always resting, it may be feared, on purely ethical considerations. . . . The *Manual* is still, I am informed, freely given by the masters "at Winchester" to the boys who are preparing for Confirmation, and I am not without sufficient evidence that the boys value it and profit by it' (i. 102-104).

After Ken's visit to the Continent he came forth into the more public area of Church life by being appointed chaplain to the Princess Mary of Orange in 1679. This brought him into contact with the Prince, who within ten years was to supersede his uncle and father-in-law; and we may now, therefore, dwell for a moment on one specially observable feature in Dr. Plumptre's book—his very unfavourable estimate of the character of Macaulay's idol. On this theme he is eminently explicit: 'I have found myself unable to offer incense on the altar of Macaulay's apotheosis of William III.' (Preface, p. xi; compare ii. 84).

'The Prince treated his young bride with a coldness and sullenness that augured ill for the future' (i. 137). 'The indifference of his conduct before marriage had passed into harshness. We can scarcely avoid the conclusion that he had deliberately adopted . . . what we may call a Petruchio policy. His Katharine was to be trained to bear the yoke in small things, so that she might learn to be subservient in great, when the time was ripe for demanding such subservience' (i. 140). (Had Mary ever been a 'shrew'?) 'He had broken her in to a complete submission' (ii. 21). 'The breaking-in process had succeeded' when Mary put on an air of flippant levity on her entrance into Whitehall (ii. 36). 'He had sneered at her religion and insulted her chaplains' (ii. 21). 'The *liaison* between William and the Lady Elizabeth Villiers began early, and continued through the whole of his married life' (i. 143).¹ 'The morals of the Court of the

¹ Our readers will remember who it is that calls James 'an adulterer and William 'a negligent husband.' Let any of them who have access to the *Christian Remembrancer* for April 1856 look at the weighty judgment there pronounced on Macaulay's 'passionate' glorification of William.

Hague were no whit better than those of the Court of Whitehall under Charles II.' (Is there warrant for so strong a statement?) William's 'Calvinism was not like that of the Huguenots: 'it had more affinity with the belief of the Bonapartes in their star' (ii. 21); 'it did not involve the clean hand and the pure heart' (ii. 26). 'His religion had been the hardest and least Christian form of Calvinism' (ii. 105). An instance of the ill effect of his example is given in the story of Count Zulestein, whom Ken prevailed upon to save scandal by marrying Jane Wroth, whereupon he had to confront the 'exasperation' of Zulestein's master (i. 145, ii. 21), which, however, it is but fair to say, was soon succeeded by a 'favour' implying respect for brave conscientiousness. And we are reminded that after he had 'made his way to a crown under false pretences'—that is, by causing it to be given out that he neither aimed at nor would accept the crown (ii. 29, 105)—he pensioned Titus Oates, gave a lucrative place to Ferguson 'the plotter,' and employed Hugh Speke as a spy and also as an inventor of plots for detection; and that, in connexion with this secret machinery, his government forbade the printing of a declaration in which Nonjuring prelates disclaimed all knowledge of the so-called 'Jacobite Liturgy' (ii. 25, 69, 85).

One letter of Ken's during his chaplaincy illustrates the steadiness of his Churchmanship. Speaking of the Dutch divines as 'rather despising than studying ecclesiastical antiquity,' and as 'censuring' English Churchmen 'for at least half-papists,' he writes in 1680 to Bishop Compton—

'Should I desire their approbation of our communion, I foresee that the next thing they will expect from us will be our subscription to the validity of their orders, and, as a further confirmation, a demand that the Princess may come to their Sacrament, which hitherto she has never done; and if she ever does do it, farewell all Common Prayer here for the future. And I have reason to fear this, because the resentment they have at our reordaining them sticks in their stomach, and it has been urged to me by them, and I have at present, so far, laid the controversy asleep and satisfied them' (i. 146).

We quote but a very few words: 'That he had a hearty and obsequious servant in Bentinck, and was attached to him . . . that at solemn and critical times he spoke of Providence; that latterly he learned to treat the wife who brought him his crown less offensively, and was deeply moved by her untimely death . . . is not enough to prove that he was either a high-souled or a good man.' Dr. Plumptre's equitableness of tone in regard to James II. is remarkable (i. 261); and we thank him for bringing forward evidence to the effect that Jeffreys himself, owing to Frampton's ministrations, died penitent and 'in peace of mind' (ii. 27).

Dr. Plumptre's comment is—

'The principles on which he and those who shared his views acted make it probable that he assured them that the Church of England would not insist on a formal condemnation of their previous ministerial labours, but would consent to their acceptance of her ordination, as legitimatising their ministrations under her polity.'

This may mean that the Church, in conferring holy orders on one who had formerly ministered among Presbyterians or other non-episcopal communities, does not mean to 'condemn' his previous work for souls, nor to deny any good effects of it, but merely regards it as having been done, through ignorance, apart from the Apostolic commission. If, on the other hand, it means that ordination so conferred is virtually no more than a licensing to officiate according to Anglican laws or canons, we take this to be inconsistent with a denial, such as Ken here implicitly makes, of the 'validity' of non-episcopal 'orders.' And, with this letter before us, we cannot quite enter into Dr. Plumptre's confidence that Ken, while passing through France, would 'join the Huguenots in their communion' (i. 109). Nor is it irrelevant to remark that the sanction given by Mary's earliest chaplain to her attendance at the worship of Congregationalists at the Hague is regarded by the Dean as a token of 'his old Puritan leanings' (i. 305).

He returned to England and to Winchester in 1680; in 1683 he made the famous reply (we believe, in the Deanery garden) to the Court 'harbinger,' who had fixed on his prebendal house (now destroyed) as an abode for the King's mistress; and within a few months he entered on his uncomfortable post as naval chaplain at Tangier. He again reached England in April 1684; and at the end of October 'the little black fellow who would not give poor Nelly a lodging' was nominated for the see of Bath and Wells, on the translation of Bishop Mews to Winchester. He was consecrated on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, and in less than a fortnight was summoned to attend the death-bed of the King, when, as Macaulay expresses it, 'his solemn and pathetic exhortation awed and melted the bystanders to such a degree that some among them believed him to be filled with the same Spirit which in the old time, by the mouths of Nathan and Elias, called sinful princes to repentance. Charles, however, was unmoved.' Dr. Plumptre represents the Bishop as asking him whether, 'if a detailed confession of sins was impossible, he would generally acknowledge his sinfulness, and desire absolution;' but James II. afterwards declared that

Ken had 'advertised' his brother that a special confession 'was not of obligation.' If he thus dispensed with it, and yet afterwards 'uttered the "Absolvo," &c.' (i. 185), it can hardly be denied that he took some freedom with the rubric. However 'James distinctly states that his brother said, in answer to Ken's questions, that he *was* sorry for his sins.'

We cannot enlarge on his episcopal administration; its effects are summarized in Evelyn's statement that he was 'exceedingly beloved in his diocese.'¹ It was characteristic of him that his exposition of the Catechism—*The Practice of Divine Love*—should be dedicated to 'the inhabitants within the diocese of Bath and Wells,' by 'Thomas, their unworthy Bishop, wishing them the knowledge and the love of God.' It was 'the firstfruits of his work as the shepherd of his flock.' Dr. Plumptre tells us that it 'was to be expected that he should accept the sacramental teaching of the Catechism in its simplest and most natural meaning;' but, in regard to the Holy Eucharist, he afterwards allowed the taunts of a Romanist pamphleteer to alter the terms in which he had 'translated dogma into devotion' (i. 236, 277). The original passage had contained the words, 'How Thou, who art in heaven, art present on the altar, I can by no means explain.' This strong, but not necessarily materialistic, assertion of an absolute or sacramental Presence might well have been guarded by a *caveat*, excluding the Roman doctrine as such, and any notion of a presence under 'natural' conditions; but Ken reconstructed the whole paragraph, and in so doing inserted a clause which spoke of a presence '*throughout the whole sacramental action* to every devout receiver'—words hardly consistent with the importance which, we may be sure, he habitually attached to consecration, and rather conveying the idea of what has been called a 'merely relative' presence. On the other hand, whereas the original form had not mentioned the elements, the revised form began, 'O God incarnate, how the bread and the wine, unchanged in their substance, *become* Thy Body and Thy Blood;' and it is interesting to remember that this same word 'become' is employed in the 'Invocation' of the Scottish liturgy.

The Popish Plot mania had intensified the feverish sensitiveness of the average English mind on a question which for three centuries has been ready to 'burn' up on the slightest provocation. As Evelyn says,² and as Dr. Plumptre repeatedly reminds us, Ken 'had undergone the censure of being inclined to Popery,' and this imputation might make him almost inordi-

¹ *Diary*, May 7, 1691.

² *Ibid.* March 14, 1686.

nately careful to 'cut off occasion from' those (not a few) who 'desired' it. But the suspicion was coupled with a notion that he could stoop to *finesse*; and Dr. Plumptre has to own that a sermon preached by him in Whitehall Chapel, and, as Evelyn says, 'with his accustomed action, zeal, and energy,' on the Passion Sunday of 1688, might not unreasonably confirm that impression, inasmuch as it began by allusions of a very intelligible character to modern representatives of Babylon and Edom, and proceeded to smooth away the sharp edges of that reference by protests that he did not aim at 'any particular Church' or 'any one communion of Christians.'

'At first sight,' says Dr. Plumptre, 'this looks, it must be admitted, somewhat like a rhetorical artifice, a parliamentary formula disclaiming a natural inference from what had been said before. . . . Some might even go farther than this. "See," they would say, "even he is trimming . . . he equivocates and leaves a loophole."'

The biographer proceeds to suggest a different interpretation of Ken's somewhat perplexing *caveat*. He was 'struggling between righteous indignation and personal affection:' he thought badly of Rome as a whole, and of Dissent as a whole, but 'he had known Romanists whose holiness of life he revered; he could not even think of James himself as altogether in the gall of bitterness . . . he had known Dissenters in whom there was nothing of the Edom temper' (i. 292). We may at least be permitted to think that he would have done better to dispense throughout with Old Testament descriptions of communities opposed to his own. If he was misunderstood he had himself, in large measure, to thank for it. Nor does one quite admire the letter which he wrote to Sancroft on Nov. 24, 1688. He explains that when 'the Dutch' came 'within ten miles of Wells' he thought it best to get out of the way, because, on account of his former relations with 'the Princess,' 'he could not have staid without giving some occasions of suspicion' (ii. 23). One does not clearly see *why* he could not, and when the Archbishop read this excuse the doubts which he had experienced a year before as to Ken's ingenuousness (i. 284) could hardly fail to recur to his mind. On subsequent occasions, too, we find that Ken's line was not understood. People did not quite know 'where to have him.' He gave occasion *primâ facie* for charges of inconsistency (ii. 47). He seemed to be 'playing a waiting game.' He was, indeed, only one of a number of prelates who desired a regency rather than a change in kingship; and Dean Plumptre fairly remarks that this curious device, which Macaulay ridiculed,

'left an opening for favourable contingencies, which were at least possible' (ii. 31). When it was decisively thrust aside, and the new sovereignty proclaimed, Ken for some time 'fluctuated' as to his own duty. A certain subtlety of mind (we do not use the word in an injurious sense) is indicated by the point on which, it appears, his doubts turned. He had begged Sancroft, in November, to 'lay his most humble duty' at James's feet. In January he had assented to the principle that England ought not 'to be governed by a Popish prince,' but he had voted against declaring the throne vacant. In the spring, however, he heard a rumour that James had formally ceded Ireland to Louis XIV. ; and, if this had been the case, it would apparently have made the whole difference, in Ken's view, between taking and refusing the oath to William and Mary. The common account is, that when he went up to London (about the end of April) to consult his friend Hooper, who had taken the oaths, he seemed to be, after a long conversation, inclined to do so himself, but next morning said to Hooper, 'You have almost persuaded me to comply by the arguments you have used ; but I beg you to urge them no further ; for should I be persuaded to comply, and after see reason to repent, you would make me the most miserable man in the world.' On which Dean Plumptre well remarks that 'if he was in doubt,' in his view 'it was safer, in quite another sense from that in which others counted safety, to take the losing and not the winning side' (ii. 44) ; and so Archdeacon Farrar says, with still more pointed emphasis :—

'Intellectually Ken was in the wrong, but morally, with the views which he had always entertained, he was supremely in the right. Like other saints of God, he was desperately afraid lest his interests should tempt him into the opposite direction from his duties ; and the fact that by taking the oaths he had nothing to lose, and everything to gain, constituted to his tender conscience an argument of overwhelming force against his doing so.'

But Dr. Plumptre gives us, further on, a letter from Ken to Burnet, Oct. 5, 1689, in which the following occurs :—

'Before I went to London I told some of my friends that if *that* proved true, which was affirmed to us with all imaginable assurance . . . it would be an inducement to me to comply. But when I came to town I found it was false, and *without being influenced by anyone*, or making any words of it, I burnt my paper, and adhered to my former opinion' (ii. 48).

The 'paper' was a draft of a pastoral letter to his clergy, to the effect that, if the report above mentioned should be

confirmed, it would warrant a transfer of allegiance—in other words, would vacate the throne. But Dr. Plumptre does not help us to reconcile these words of Ken with the anecdote of his long conversation with Hooper as having ‘almost persuaded him’ to take the oaths. It is difficult, indeed, to think that Ken’s was a logical mind, or that he saw his way clearly except on the great moral principle expressed by St. Paul in Romans xiv. 23. For instance, he had not ‘made a jest of,’ but he had virtually thrown overboard, the principle of passive obedience and non-resistance, by voting for a regency which should govern in James’s name but in James’s own despite, and by which the ‘King,’ to whom, by hypothesis, ‘allegiance’ was still due, should be excluded from all power; and yet he seems to have referred to this principle as ‘the doctrine of the Cross’ in that celebrated passage of his will which begins, ‘As for my religion.’ We accept, at any rate, though with great reluctance, the interpretation which Dr. Plumptre thus puts upon that passage (ii. 73, 120, 209). Again, it could be only by a peculiar kind of casuistry that one who still regarded the son of James II. as rightful king could accept a pension from Anne, and in a grateful letter to Hooper speak of her as ‘Queen’ and as ‘her Majesty’ (ii. 150). She certainly deserved the epithet of ‘good’ for her behaviour towards Ken; it appears that she twice approved a proposal for his reinstatement (ii. 119, 131).

His opinion of a much greater queen is indicated in a letter of 1707 (ii. 183), from which it appears that Harbin, the chaplain at Longleat, had found among other papers there what Ken describes as ‘a letter of Q. E. herself to excite her [*i.e.* Mary, Queen of Scots] keeper to assassinate her.’ If this letter had appeared, he says, in a life of Mary Stuart which had been projected it ‘would have given offence.’ The letter, in fact, was written to Paulet, in Elizabeth’s name and under her express orders, by Walsingham and Davison. Mr. Hozack gives it entire in his work on *Mary, Queen of Scots, and her Accusers*. It ought never to be forgotten that, in pure fear for her own life, Elizabeth was quite capable of devising a secret murder; and that when Paulet refused to be her agent she despised him as a ‘dainty and precise fellow,’ and suggested another person who would be less scrupulous. Such was ‘the bright accidental star.’

We need not pursue the story of Ken’s Nonjuring life; it was characterized by the moderation of his tone, in contrast to such thoroughgoing partisans as Hickes. He was steadily opposed to the perpetuation of schism by fresh episcopal con-

secrations; and when the see of Bath and Wells was offered, after Kidder's tragical death, to his friend Hooper, then Bishop of St. Asaph, Ken begged him to accept of it, in charity, as he said afterwards, to the diocese, that they might not have 'a Latitudinarian *traditor* imposed on them.' Yet even in this affair, which does Ken so much credit, there is a curious inconsistency of language. On December 6, 1703, he writes to Hooper in terms which imply an absolute 'surrender' of his 'canonical claim.' On December 18, he explains himself to his friend Bishop Lloyd: 'I think none ought to censure me if in such perilous times I desire a coadjutor, for which I have good precedents' (ii. 132, 133). But Hooper could not possibly act as Ken's 'coadjutor'; he could only go to Wells as diocesan bishop; and it was in that character, as his own canonical successor, that Ken expressed his willingness to recognize his friend. Dean Plumptre comments on these letters, 'His first thought seems to have been that of accepting Hooper as a coadjutor . . . without a formal resignation. Already, however, he began to hear the mutterings of a storm' (the censures of the friends who 'ran too high,' ii. 128). . . . 'That, however, will not change his purpose,—will rather lead to its taking a stronger and more definite form.' Yes; but the 'stronger' form in fact appears earlier than the less 'definite.' He first offers to Hooper an absolute cession, and then he excuses himself to Lloyd as naturally 'desiring a coadjutor.'

We can only explain these sinuosities by ascribing to Ken a certain want of clear-sightedness, not only as to the path of duty in certain cases, but as to the import and bearing of words and deeds. It is but a small spot in the sunshine of his excellence, and, like his occasional outbreaks of hot temper, it brings a saint nearer to us by exhibiting him as compassed with human infirmity. Deeply pathetic indeed are the intimations of suffering which appear in Ken's last letters, and in the poems which he called 'Anodynes.' The complicated and painful disorders which wore out his strength, and which Dr. Plumptre attributes to 'over-study, under-feeding, and many vigils' (ii. 124), were accepted by his brave and loyal soul as forms of 'paternal discipline':

'Welcome, disease and pain; you both descend
From God, not to destroy, but to amend.'

He was afraid to take opiates, lest they should 'indispose his spirit for prayer'; he sought relief in the old, familiar employment of hymnody, although, as he knew, pain might 'chill

its vigour.' He praised the Divine goodness for a day of complete ease; he apostrophised the guardian angel in terms which recall the first version of his evening hymn; and, believing that God laid on him 'no pang superfluous,' could even pray for more pain 'if his love should grow remiss.' So real with him was the formula 'All glory be to God,' which always stands at the head of his letters, and corresponds so well to the frequent peroration, 'God keep us in His holy fear,' or 'in His reverential love, and make us wise for eternity,' or 'enable us to improve all the mementoes He is pleased to give us of eternity.' At length, under the roof of Longleat, which for twenty years had been honoured by giving him shelter, 'Thomas, late Bishop of Bath and Wells,' passed through sleep into eternity, and was buried two days later, in the dimness of a March morning, at Frome Selwood. Truly did Bishop Alexander, in the beautiful sermon at the Ken commemoration in 1885 which Dr. Plumptre places at the end of his own work, apply to his subject the third of the Beatitudes: 'He had his reward even here. Once again, the meek man, pushed forth from his home, "possesses the earth" with the spirit at once of a child and of a king' (ii. 289).

We cordially thank Dean Plumptre for having raised this literary monument to a name which may well be called a symbol of purity, devotion, and single-heartedness. We do not expect him to agree with our criticism as to the diffuseness, or the excess of the imaginative element, which we observe in his work. His standard on such points is apparently different from our own. But he may, perhaps, think it worth while, in view of that 'second edition' which must ere long be required, to mark a few points which might be stated with greater accuracy.

For instance, we think that some such fondness for historical analogies as often misled the late Dean Stanley must have induced Dean Plumptre to make St. Augustine 'the fontal source' of High Churchmanship, in the same degree or sense as of Calvinism (i. 85). We should not, indeed, admit that predestinarianism meant practically quite the same thing to Augustine and to a Calvinist; but we must claim for 'the Catholic doctrine of sacraments and of ecclesiastical polity' a pedigree going back far beyond the fifth century, although the Doctor of Grace did much towards formulating its expression. Nor do we understand the statement that about 1675 'the leading theologians' of Geneva—'Turretin and Tronchin—were Universalists, in the sense of teaching a universal, and not a particular or limited,

redemption' (i. 111). For Turretin elaborately maintains,¹ on strictly predestinarian grounds, that the Divine 'intentio' or 'voluntas,' in regard to the effects of our Lord's death, contemplated 'the elect only,' so that the 'universalitas' of some texts on that subject must be taken as 'limitata.' He opposes not merely the Arminians or Remonstrants, but those inconsistent Calvinists whom he calls 'Universalistæ'; and he closes a long discussion by quoting the 'judicium' of Deodatus and Tronchin, as deputies from Geneva to the Synod of Dort, in the same sense, *e.g.* 'Christ, by the pure goodwill of the Father, was appointed and given as Mediator and Head *certo hominum numero.*'

Further, we are told (i. 152) that, when Ken was at the Hague, 'the "peremptoriness" on the Roman side was not toned down, as it has been since, by the theory of "invincible ignorance."'² But Bramhall, in the sixth chapter of the first part of his *Just Vindication*, published in 1654, quotes 'the Bishop of Chalcedon' (Richard Smith) as expressly granting that 'such Protestants as hold the fundamental points, and invincibly err,' or 'are invincibly ignorant of their errors, in not-fundamentals, because neither are these sufficiently proposed to them, nor they in fault that they are not so proposed, be in the Church, in way of salvation, for so much as belongeth to faith.' Surely nothing can be more explicit; and the admission is but an application of St. Thomas Aquinas' principles as to 'invincible ignorance' on questions of duty.³ Again, in ii. 19 it is assumed that Petre's ill-omened advice to James represented the policy of the 'Curia'; whereas it is certain that Jesuit counsels went one way, and Pope Innocent's exhortations another.⁴ Father Huddleston is twice called a 'Jesuit'; Lingard, who should know, calls him a Benedictine. As readers of *Dorothy Forster* know, the Earl of Derwentwater who was executed was not the son (ii. 160), but the grandson, of Charles II., being the son of his illegitimate daughter Lady Mary Tudor; and it was she who, after losing her first husband, Earl James's father, married again. The mention of Thomas Smith as the 'only' Fellow of Magdalen College who acquiesced in James's action towards that society (ii. 179) should be conformed to a previous statement that he was 'one of the few'

¹ *Institutio Theol. Elenct.* ii. 495 ff.

² For a signally beautiful instance of this 'toning down' see Cardinal Manning on *Sin and its Consequences*, p. 14.

³ *Sum. Theol.* 1^a 2^a, q. 76, a. 3, 4.

⁴ Lingard, xiii. 73; Macaulay, ii. 53.

who did so (ii. 108). Charnock and Jasper Thomson were two others.¹ We do not think that if Anne had not died so soon, her brother might have been proclaimed king (ii. 154), unless he had joined the English Church: she would have made this an essential condition.² The original reading of a well-known passage in the *Christian Year*, and the alteration of it, which made a stir at the time, are given with verbal incorrectness as 'not in the hands, *but* in the heart,' and 'as in the hands, *so* in the heart' (i. 237). The interpretation assumed in i. 281 for St. Ignatius' famous words, 'My love has been crucified,' has been set aside decisively by Bishop Lightfoot. And, if such a matter is not too small to be mentioned, the house of Thomas Willis, in which the Church services and Eucharists were kept up at Oxford during the Cromwellian régime by Fell, Dolben, and Allestree, was not 'within *or* in closest neighbourhood to the walls of Christ Church' (i. 49³), but was 'Beam Hall,' which stands to the east of Oriel and of the new building of Corpus Christi, and, as Antony Wood says, 'opposite to Merton College church.'

Dean Plumptre quotes three passages in which Macaulay pays a tribute to Ken. We conclude by supplying another, which exceeds them all in heartiness of emphasis :

'His intellect was indeed darkened by many superstitions and prejudices ; but his moral character, when impartially reviewed, sustains a comparison with any in ecclesiastical history, and seems to approach, as near as human infirmity permits, to the ideal perfection of Christian virtue.'⁴

¹ They declared for Antony Farmer as against Hough (Bloxam's *Magdalen College and King James II.* p. 28).

² 'As sister she undoubtedly desired that her brother's conversion might set her free to espouse his interests to the full. As queen she never wavered in her fidelity to the Act of Settlement' (as excluding a Roman Catholic prince).—*Athenaeum*, August 13, 1887.

³ In i. 51 we read of 'those services at Christ Church.' See Antony Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* iv. 188, 194, on Dolben and Fell. It is to this house of Willis, not to his 'lodgings in Canterbury quadrangle,' that we must refer what Wood says about the services. The worshippers, including, doubtless, 'Ken of New College,' would enter by a side door in a back street, cross a secluded garden, and ascend to a vaulted apartment which had been constructed in James I.'s time out of the upper part of a mediæval hall, and was secured by a strong door.

⁴ *Hist. Engl.* i. 638.

ART. V.—HENRY BRADSHAW AND THE
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

A Memoir of Henry Bradshaw, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and University Librarian. By G. W. PROTHERO. (London, 1888.)

MR. PROTHERO is to be congratulated on the way in which he has performed the task of writing the biography of a dear and intimate friend. To write the life of a man whose time was spent upon books, who did little on his own account to bring his name before the world, and whose energies were spent rather upon helping others than upon advancing his own fame, can never be an easy thing to do ; and in this case the biographer has had to avoid the pitfalls on the one hand of making his book too technical, and therefore unfitted for the general reader, and on the other of not speaking sufficiently of the details which occupied the greatest portion of the thoughts and the life of him of whom he is writing. We think he has accomplished this. He has given us the picture of Mr. Bradshaw as he was with his friends, over his books, as a schoolmaster in his early days, as head of the great library of which he had the charge ; he has given well and clearly written sketches of the work done by Mr. Bradshaw in those branches of literature in which he was chiefly interested : the early history of printing, Chaucer, cathedral statutes, Breton glosses, Irish history, &c. ; and yet he has not overloaded his book with technicalities, which would have made it less interesting to the general reader. Moreover he has compressed into a single volume the ample materials at his command, and this has appeared within three years of Mr. Bradshaw's death, and, therefore, while most of his intimate friends are still living and have been able to help with their recollections. How soon the memory of a man, whose personality is very marked during his lifetime and whose life is part of the life of his friends, passes out of recollection is nowhere so true as in a university, where the places left vacant by death are immediately filled up and the work goes on without interruption, and the ever-recurring stream of fresh faces and fresh ideas comes up to obliterate the past and drive out the memory of him whose place knows him no more. Of Mr. Bradshaw's most intimate friends the

greater number are still living, and thus Mr. Prothero has been able to avoid the errors into which a biographer of a later generation is almost sure to fall, and to sketch the different lights under which Mr. Bradshaw was known to different classes of minds and to those with whom he usually came in contact, whether senior or junior to himself, or of his own standing.

Mr. Prothero has brought well and clearly before his readers the chief points of his friend's character: his unselfishness, his liberality, his readiness to give help, his vast knowledge on so many subjects, not only confined to his own specialities, and the gentleness and loveableness which made him so attractive to others and has made his loss so heavy a one to all who had the happiness of intimacy with him. At the same time it is by no means undiluted panegyric that the biographer has given us; Mr. Bradshaw's failings are not in the least concealed; those who would have nothing but praise in a biography might think that they are sometimes too prominently brought forward. We do not agree with this; the life of a man to be worth anything must give an idea of the whole man, not only of one side of him; and, if biographical works are to be of any use as helps to guide others on the pathway of life, they must show the natural failings as well as the natural gifts, the points in which there has been failure as well as those in which there has been success.

The life of a student, especially of one who has lived in the same place and who has been engaged in the same occupation for the greater part of his time, can never have much of excitement or even of incident to mark it. With an ordinary literary man who produces volume after volume the case is different. But of a librarian, who helps others and keeps himself in the background, one would not expect there can be much to be said. And from this results one of the chief excellencies of Mr. Prothero's volume, that he has made so uneventful a life so interesting, and has shown what an influence may be obtained by one naturally of a retiring nature, and whose energies were spent on subjects which have no great interest for the many, and which are too often supposed by the ignorant to narrow rather than to enlarge the sympathies which everyone ought to have for those of different pursuits with whom he comes into contact.

Mr. Bradshaw's career was remarkable in more than one way; he certainly began life with failure. He broke down in his examination for his degree, his name appearing scarcely above the middle of the second class of the classical tripos;

his attempt at school work at St. Columba's, while giving lengthened proof of marvellous self-denial and perseverance on his part, can hardly be regarded as a success ; and, what is still more remarkable, his first attempt at library work, in the University library where was to be his home and his work for so many years, ended in the same way, and he resigned his post there after a two years' tenure, giving up, as it seemed to his friends, all opportunity for the kind of life for which he felt himself most fitted. It was not till a much later time, after some fifteen years spent in his own way, acquiring the extraordinary knowledge of certain classes of literature which he ultimately possessed, and absolutely unfettered by routine, that his powers obtained their full development, and that he was able to leave the mark on the literature of his time which he has done, and to be of the great service to the University he loved so well that was at last the case.

Henry Bradshaw, the third son of Mr. J. H. Bradshaw and his wife Catharine, daughter of Mr. Stewart of Ballintory, Antrim, was born in London on February 2, 1831. His father was a member of the banking firm of Barnett, Hoare, and Co., and is described as a man peculiarly quiet in manner, devoted to his wife and family, a great reader, and having a large library, which included a valuable collection of Irish books, the bequest of which to his son was the foundation of the latter's bibliographical studies. The boy was sent to a school at Temple Grove, East Sheen, when eight years old. This he left for Eton in 1843 ; he entered the school as an oppidan, but the family means being narrowed at his father's death in 1845, he passed for college at election, 1845. He seems at first to have made no especial mark in the school till the year 1847, when to his delight he became captain of his year in 'trials.' In 1849 he was captain of the school, a position which ensured his election to King's College, Cambridge, in due course. His influence in the school increased as his time drew towards its conclusion, and his life there was evidently a happy one. Mr. Prothero tells us that in the position of captain of the school

'he displayed to the full the moral courage which distinguished him through life. He had little or nothing to do with the general discipline of the school, but the position of captain of college was at that time a very responsible one. Quite as much, probably, depended on him as on the master in college. . . . Bradshaw's discipline was severe ; he put down card-playing and smoking to the best of his ability, and remonstrated with those who were guilty of

worse things in a way in which not one boy in a hundred has courage to speak to another' (p. 16).

· His love of books showed itself while still at school—

'The boys' library, often called Hawtrey's Library, one of the most delightful reading-rooms in the world, was his favourite haunt. There he spent the greater part of his playtime. Bibliographical questions already interested him, as well as the history of language: he studied Dibdin and Ducange' (p. 13).

However, when the summons to Cambridge, in consequence of Bishop Abraham's marriage, came, he welcomed the change. On February 1, 1850, he became a member of King's College. In a letter to his mother, dated on that day, he writes (p. 19)—

'I have just this instant come from the vice-provost, having been admitted a scholar of King's College. . . . You see by the date that I am admitted at the age of eighteen, and I shall enter upon college life on my nineteenth birthday (Feb. 2) and on Founder's Day, being the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Altogether I could not enter King's College under happier auspices, and I look forward to it as the commencement of a new life, and trust and pray that I may gain possession of that energy of mind which I have for so many years totally disregarded. I feel it to be such a blessing to begin every day with chapel service, at half-after seven in the winter, and seven in the summer, to think that one is strengthened for the work of the day by beginning every day with prayer. Little as the work at King's seems to be, it is, nevertheless, much harder than at Eton, and there is much more to be done, odd as it may seem.'

He came to King's just in time to be able, though not compelled, to avail himself of the new privileges by which scholars of King's were no longer the licensed sons of idleness, but were to be examined for their degree like the members of all other colleges. During his undergraduate career, though occasionally troubled with fits of idleness, which to some extent stuck to him through life, he read steadily for his degree, and at the same time attended theological lectures, as he looked forward to taking Holy Orders in due course. His undergraduate dream was of being curate to an intimate friend, a few years his senior, who like himself abandoned the course he had originally marked out for his future, and who, in the course of a very distinguished career of a very different character from that to which he had looked forward, retained to the last the strongest affection for him with whom he was so intimate in his early days. The idea of a clergyman's life probably remained with Bradshaw for years before it was finally abandoned. Mr. Prothero prints a very curious and

characteristic letter written to his mother on the subject in 1855 (p. 49)—

‘With reference to want of energy making me shrink from taking Orders, I cannot allow myself to make this any ground; for my conscience tells me very plainly that, once conscious of a want of energy you are bound to shake it off, as a Christian and a man, in any position whatever, and all I wish is to be honest with myself. My real fault has been—my tendency has been, certainly—not to too much fine-drawn speculation on the matter, and troublesome argument with myself, but rather to an absence of sufficient thought upon the matter at all, an unwillingness to give my thoughts to it. And this was curiously corroborated at Cambridge the other day, by a fact which may amuse you, if you are fond of drawing inferences—as I am—from such things. I was looking over all my divinity books. . . . A great number . . . were presents from people who were supposed to know my tastes; whereas of what I bought at Cambridge . . . not one in forty or fifty was theological, and . . . they did not amount to more than half a dozen—certainly not a dozen. It is a curious fact, as I said, and one that I was not at all aware of. I have continually made men show me on their shelves what books they have bought at the University, with a view to judging somewhat of their character and tastes, but never dreamt of applying this test to myself.’

Yet from the beginning to the end of his life his interest in ecclesiastical studies and in Church matters remained unchanged.

‘It is more probable,’ says Mr. Prothero (p. 50), ‘that he gradually relinquished the idea of taking Orders, from a conviction that for the ordinary duties of a clergyman he had no special inclination, and that the ecclesiastical studies in which he delighted might be at least as profitably pursued if his connection with the Church remained that of a devout layman.’

Before, however, deciding whether the life of a clergyman or that of any other profession was to be his, the invitation of Mr. George Williams, the warden of St. Columba’s College, near Dublin, induced him to try his hand at school work. Mr. Prothero gives (p. 45) some account of the foundation and objects with which the college was started. Those who have seen the place will not need a reminder of the beauty of its situation, while all who ever had a share in the work of the school will bear a willing testimony to the amount of genuine good that has been accomplished by its means. Mr. Prothero gives a vivid picture of Bradshaw’s life as a schoolmaster, his vigour and steadiness throughout, the influence he had over the boys, the assistance he gave to his colleagues. But there were many difficulties and drawbacks; a very unfair share of the work

of the school fell upon him ; and during the latter portion of his time there, while Mr. Williams, though still nominally warden, was compelled to reside chiefly in Cambridge, the whole or almost the whole burden of the school, both in teaching and in administrating, fell upon him. At length the end came. While Mr. Williams was still absent in Cambridge one of the most energetic of his assistants took a post at Eton. 'This,' Mr. Bradshaw wrote on October 9, 1855, 'has thrown a good deal of extra work on my hands. . . . I have all the college accounts to keep, calves to sell, and pigs to buy, potatoes to see brought in, and oats carted, &c., besides servants' wages to pay' (p. 54). It was too much for anyone. 'The details of management, in addition to the tedious routine of school-work, were almost more than he could bear,' and he left the place in 1856 'with feelings,' as he expresses it, 'of nothing but the most unmitigated disgust.' But even from his own point of view, to say nothing of the usefulness of the actual work done and the experience gained at St. Columba's, his time was not wasted or lost. He was able while there to carry on his studies of Irish books and Irish history, and his intimacy with Dr. Todd and Archdeacon Lee, themselves both closely connected with the College, with whom he was constantly brought into contact, had a permanent influence upon him. Moreover, there is a very valuable library at St. Columba's, of which he is known to have made good use.

On giving up his work as a schoolmaster his natural course was to return to Cambridge, where his fellowship gave him a home and the certainty of some useful employment. Just then a change was taking place in the staff of the University library, and it was determined to make the principal assistant of a higher type than had been hitherto the case, so that the post should be held by a member of the University. To this post, in November 1856, Bradshaw was appointed, and thus began a connexion which, though strangely interrupted for a time in 1858, continued till his death.

Compared with the history of the British Museum, a history of the founders and benefactors of which we owe to Mr. Edwards (London, 1870), or that of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, whose annals are given to us in Mr. Macray's pleasant volume (1868), that of the Public Library at Cambridge must be pronounced meagre and uninteresting. 'The slight sketch,' to use his own words, which Mr. Bradshaw put forward, first in some letters published in a defunct journal called the *Cambridge University Gazette*, and afterwards collected

and published as one of his *Memoranda* in 1881, is almost the only account we have of its foundation and progress.

The architectural history of the Cambridge University Library has been so exhaustively treated in Mr. Clark's *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, that we need only refer our readers to that very valuable work for full information on the commencement and progress of the buildings. The earliest gifts of books of which we have any record are those of Dr. Holme, warden of King's Hall, in 1424, and of Dr. Crome, some twenty years later.

'Some of the books still remain, in spite of the general clearance of rubbish (as old books were then considered) which took place in the reign of Edward VI., a clearance which has left the Oxford Library without a single volume to connect its earlier with its later history, and has spared very few even of our college and cathedral libraries.'¹

But the real founder must be considered to be Archbishop Rotherham, chancellor of the University in several years, who is said to have given at least 200 volumes to the University. It was enriched from time to time by Bishops Tunstall, Pilkington, Horne, Dr. Perne, and others, and in 1577 the first librarian was appointed, William James, a Master of Arts of Peterhouse, to whom an annual stipend of 10*l.* was granted by grace of the Senate. Of several of his immediate successors we know nothing but the names: one was so illiterate that he could not write; at least he acknowledges with a mark the receipt of his stipend, in a document preserved among the University vouchers; and for some time there must have been absolute neglect. 'The reign of James I.,' Mr. Bradshaw tells us, 'was an entire blank in the library.' A different state of things, however, came in when Abraham Wheelock, the Arabic and Anglo-Saxon scholar, came into office; and both he and his successor, William Moore of Caius College, stand out in marked contrast to most of their predecessors or immediate successors. During the Rebellion the library obtained through Selden's good offices the Lambeth collection, the University having petitioned that Archbishop Bancroft's library might be transferred to Cambridge in accordance with the provisions of his will under the circumstances. This remained at Cambridge till 1662, when, on Archbishop Juxon's reclaiming it, the collection was at once restored by the University. The vacant places were soon filled up by the gift of the library of Dr. Holdsworth, of Emmanuel College,

¹ Bradshaw's *Cambridge University Library*, p. 9.

which remained the most important gift the University had received, till the great collection of Bishop Moore was given by George I., the possession of which has enabled the library to hold its own among the chief libraries of Europe. It was unfortunate that the librarian at this time was a man unfit for his duties—Philip Brooke, of St. John's College; at least after holding the office for six years he was admonished by the vice-chancellor for neglect, and resigned shortly afterwards. The necessity for an increase to the staff of the library in consequence of this great addition was apparent, and the office of Proto-bibliothecarius, or principal keeper, was established. As Conyers Middleton was appointed by a grace of the Senate to this office, without any election, in the height of his feud with Bentley, it is probable enough that what Bishop Monk tells us (*Life of Bentley*, ii. 154, 155) is the true state of the case—namely, that the appointment was made more to spite Bentley than to do any good to the library. The fear, however, felt at the time, that 'as the duties and responsibility of the old librarian were to remain as before, this new office, designed for persons of higher rank, would, probably, after its temporary purpose had been answered, become a sinecure for one of the heads,'¹ has certainly not been realized.

Although Bishop Moore's books were sent to Cambridge in 1716, their final arrangement was not completed till 1752. During these years some very able men filled the office of librarian. Among them we may especially mention John Taylor, of St. John's College, the editor of Demosthenes and Lysias, one of Dr. Burney's seven 'magnanimi heroes,'² who held the office for three years only, resigning it on his appointment to the registryship, Thomas Parne, and Stephen Whisson,³ the bursar and restorer of the revenues of Trinity College after the unhappy years of Bentley's mastership, the last member of the Senate (not being a head of a college) to whom the office of vice-chancellor was offered. In the present century Clarke, the well-known traveller, was librarian for five years; Farmer, the Shakespearian scholar, principal librarian for twenty-one years; and Mr. Kerrich for thirty-one; their successors held the offices within the memory of living persons. The two offices were joined temporarily under Mr. Lodge in 1828, and permanently in 1845 under Mr. Power.

¹ Monk's *Life of Bentley*, ii. 155.

² Burney's *Tentamen de Metris Æschyli*, preface, p. xii.

³ Monk's *Bentley*, i. 336 (note); ii. 422.

The new façade of the library, as we see it now, was begun in 1755, Cockerell's building was finished in 1840, and the great addition by Sir G. G. Scott, the movement for which is very much due to Mr. George Williams, in 1864-67. But the growing needs of the library have very quickly passed beyond what was then done, and a very large addition to the buildings is now in progress under the direction of Mr. Pearson, on the site of the old court of King's College, purchased by the University in 1829. We think all who have seen the new front, now nearly completed, opposite Clare Hall will have been impressed by the skill with which the architect has made the Old Gate of King's College, always one of the architectural glories of Cambridge, the centre of his design. A considerable portion of the cost will be defrayed by the munificent bequest of the late Mr. Hancock, of St. John's College, who, with a wisdom which we wish was more frequently imitated, in bequeathing the bulk of his property to the University left it unfettered, and thus will go down to posterity as one of the real benefactors to his University, and not merely as the founder of some useless prize essay, which would serve only to perpetuate his name. We are glad to think that the chief benefactors to the library are to have commemorative statues¹ in this front, beginning with Henry VI. (as the founder of the actual buildings), Rotherham, and Holme, and going down to Mr. Hancock himself. The whole structure will be worthy of the library and of the University, and will afford space for books for many years to come. It is sad to think that Mr. Bradshaw has not lived to see this scheme carried out.

The management of the library was formerly confided to a syndicate established in 1748, which consisted of the vice-chancellor, all heads of colleges, all doctors, the orator, all professors, the proctors, taxors, and scrutators. It is needless to say how unfit such a body must have been; and many of those thus appointed never attending at all, and those who did attend, doing so in a dilettante sort of way, without any sense of responsibility. The result was naturally that the library was both neglected and starved, and for some strange reason was certainly an unpopular institution with those who ruled the University. This state of things continued till 1854, when a syndicate was appointed to consist of sixteen persons, four of whom were to vacate their seats annually.

¹ The liberal gift of Dr. Taylor, of St. John's College, of his stipend as vice-chancellor for the year 1888, will enable the University to do this without trenching on Mr. Hancock's bequest.

Now, when only persons are appointed who really take an interest in the library, and on the ground that they know something about books—care being always taken that the different branches of literature should be fairly represented—the scheme works well ; but for some years, college jealousy was allowed to influence the appointments, and members of the Senate were put on the syndicate simply as representatives of their colleges, without any thought of their fitness, or interest in literature. We remember hearing a member of the syndicate saying on the first occasion of his being present at one of its meetings, ‘I know nothing whatever of books ;’ and Mr. Prothero (p. 60) tells an amusing anecdote of an important member objecting to the purchase of some works on romance literature, on the ground of there being novels enough in the library already.¹

However, this state of things was sure to improve, and some who are old enough to remember the time when the purchase of a single volume was objected to if another edition of the same work (however different) was in the library, have seen the whole administered in a spirit of liberality, which leaves little to be desired but more abundant means.

The two most important points in which the Cambridge library differs from all other great libraries are, the practice of lending out books, and the accessibility of every shelf to those who have a right to use the library. Opinions will differ as to the advantage of these. As to taking out books, the privilege may be abused—has been abused. Books are more liable to be lost, and this has been the case, and probably will always be so. But, in spite of this, we believe more has been gained than lost by the practice. Books of reference or of a rarer and especially valuable class are rigidly guarded, and there can be no doubt that the occasional loss of a volume is amply compensated by the additional convenience which is thus accorded to students. The other privilege has certainly made the Cambridge library the most convenient for use of all libraries. It takes a long time in the British Museum to have a book brought to a reader which is not in the Reading Room ; and the same to a less extent is true of the Bodleian Library. Two minutes will often suffice at Cambridge for

¹ This story may be capped by one told of Dr. Torkington of famous memory, who, when Porson wished to be sent to Switzerland to collate the Medicean MS. of *Æschylus* for the new edition which the Cambridge Press Syndicate proposed to bring out, said that ‘Mr. Porson might collect his MSS. at home.’ See the *Letters to Travis*, p. 57 ; Kidd’s *Tracts and Criticisms of Porson*, p. xxxvi.

what might require an hour elsewhere. The same, too, may be said as to the ease with which manuscripts are lent from the Cambridge library. If care be taken as to the persons who are allowed to borrow manuscripts, the only possible risk is that of fire. And we deliberately think that it is better to incur this risk, which after all is very trifling, than to have manuscripts shut up in a library and never used. If anyone is engaged on a book of which the manuscripts are scattered over the world, it is quite impossible for him to collate them thoroughly, without having them under his own control; for, however careful an eye be brought to bear upon a manuscript, we have little faith in the thoroughness of a collation which is not done while the book is passing through the press, and while access can still be had to other copies. Accurate collation of different copies of the same book, whether printed or manuscript, is a *very difficult thing*, how difficult, only those who have had much experience of this in their own work, or in looking into that of others, can say.¹

Mr. Bradshaw's first essay in the library was not, as we have already remarked, successful. Mr. Prothero tells us (p. 64):

'He held the post of principal assistant for somewhat more than two years. The reasons which induced him to resign the post do not appear, but may, perhaps, be surmised. His object in entering the library was not simply to obtain employment among books, but to get an opportunity for research under favourable conditions. He doubtless found that his occupations were such as to leave him too little leisure for study. He was engaged for seven hours of the day in routine work, and was practically responsible for the general management of the library. The vacations which others enjoyed were not for him. He wrote home in April, 1857, regretting that he had been unable to visit his mother that Easter, though he had long looked forward to it as his first real holiday. These things told upon his health. He grew depressed and discontented with his position.'

He resigned the office in June 1858, but continued to act till the end of the Michaelmas term, till a successor could be appointed.

But while he felt that in this post he had failed, he still looked forward to library work being the work of his life. He naturally thought of the British Museum, but his age was just above what had been fixed as the limit for entrance there. In

¹ See what Elmsley says of Porson's collation of the Florentine edition of the *Medea*; Elmsley *Præf. ad Medeam*, p. 175 (ed. 1828).

the meantime, attention had been called to the condition of the manuscript collections at Cambridge, and on its being ascertained that Mr. Bradshaw would welcome such a position, even without salary, he was appointed a kind of custos of the manuscripts at a salary of 20*l.* a year. This was increased in two years' time to 150*l.*, and in two more to 200*l.* Though 'he had no formal status or title, his position' in the library was 'established' (p. 105), and he was able to work at his own subjects, perfectly unfettered, and thus enabled in these quiet years to amass the vast amount of learning which he ultimately possessed, and which was always at the service of all literary inquirers. We have heard him speak of his appointment as being a genuine instance of the 'endowment of research.' We are tempted to call attention to the fact of how impossible such a career as his has now been made under the new state of things at Cambridge, where a fellowship is only given for a limited time, and can only be held for a longer period by those who are employed as college lecturers.¹

Mr. Prothero gives us some examples of the fruits of Mr. Bradshaw's work in the manuscript department of the library. Perhaps the best known of these is his discovery of what were considered the long-lost Waldensian MSS. Morland had given a large collection of these to the University in 1648. The volumes were of different sizes, and therefore could not stand conveniently on the same shelf together; and thus, while the later and less valuable collection of letters and papers was placed where they were constantly seen and known, the more valuable and earlier treatises, being all of small size, and of very different appearance, were placed on a higher shelf by the librarians of the time, and were forgotten altogether. When Mr. Nasmith in the last century composed his catalogue of the MSS., he knew nothing of the history of them or of the language in which they are written, and they appear in his catalogue as obscure theological treatises in Spanish. Nasmith's successors had no better fortune. The two sets of Vaudois MSS. were given to two different persons to catalogue, and the error was repeated. Had the editor gone over the work, he must have seen that these were what were wanted to complete Morland's collection, as they are all marked with successive letters of the alphabet, corresponding with the catalogue of his MSS. given by Morland in his *History of*

¹ His own words on this subject are interesting (p. 293): 'It is this very freedom of the early years of a college fellowship which is such a blessing. A man gets time and leisure to find favourite pursuits, which he can carry on when he comes and takes up his quarters here.'

the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont (London, 1658). So much has been written about their supposed disappearance, some supposing that they 'had been spirited away by the Romanists in the days of James II.,' others that they had been secretly conveyed away by the Puritans, or destroyed by Morland himself (p. 86), that there is something almost awful in the thought of the poor little volumes being in their natural place all the time, in the library to which they had been originally consigned, and in the reach of anyone who would take the trouble to look for them. But the identification of the books is entirely due to Mr. Bradshaw, and the paper he published on the subject in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's *Transactions*, which has been reprinted in Dr. Todd's *Books of the Vaudois*, gives a very clear and interesting account of the volumes and their contents. Mr. Bradshaw was able to prove that the date of the *Nobla Leyçôn* was a year subsequent to A.D. 1400.

Mr. Power, after holding the office of librarian for nineteen years, was succeeded in 1864 by Mr. Mayor, of St. John's College, the present very learned professor of Latin. After a short but very energetic term of office he resigned in 1867, and thus the field was open to Mr. Bradshaw. There was no thought of any opposition. The years he had spent in the library, the use he had been during the time to all literary inquirers, and the evidence in so many ways which he had given of his fitness for the post, which at length the University had come to see, prevented any other candidates from offering themselves. And thus in the prime of life (he was just thirty-six) he obtained the position for which of all others he was most suited. How valuable his services there have been, the readers of Mr. Prothero's book have ample opportunity of knowing. Some persons may have been most struck with the extent of his knowledge, others with his accuracy—all with his readiness to impart what he knew to others. Mommsen, the historian of Rome, said he had been more impressed by Henry Bradshaw than by any other man he had met in England (p. 314). There was a sense of power about him which everyone who has discussed any subject in which he took interest must have felt. On his own especial subjects, such as Incunabula, Chaucer, Breton glosses, &c., he was unrivalled. We doubt if any living person had more extended knowledge on these and a few other points than he. But his power of giving assistance to others was by no means confined to those branches of literature which had an especial charm for himself. Mr.

Prothero gives instances of how, when he was consulted on some point of which there was no reason to suppose he had especially studied, he would begin by saying he knew little or nothing about it, but would end by convincing the inquirer that his knowledge of it was the greater of the two. He knew enough of Oriental languages for all the purposes of the faithful guardianship and cataloguing of the Oriental manuscripts in the library; of the less known modern languages (such as Swedish) he knew enough for all library necessities. One curious characteristic of his work as a librarian was that he was very *fortunate*. 'He always, whatever you asked him,' says Dr. Benson, speaking of his younger days, 'just happened to have been looking it up.' This accompanied him through life. Dr. Benson again mentions that 'a curious Oriental manuscript was once sent to him by a friend who could make out nothing about it. It turned out to be Tibetan. Of course, Bradshaw had just been learning Tibetan in order to decipher his own manuscripts' (p. 411).

He had a sort of divining power by which the very book wanted for some purpose (not expected beforehand) would be found close to his hand. Mr. Prothero gives a curious instance of this in his visit to the library at Grenoble (p. 166), where he had gone for the first time in search of a particular volume. Finding the library closed and the librarian away, he bribed the old woman in charge to let him in, and, having the class-mark of the book, went straight to the shelf and found it. On another occasion he was able to identify a book, now at Paris, that had been lost (*i.e.* stolen) from the Cambridge library, by the knowledge of the old class-mark, only visible through a magnifying-glass, in spite of the book having been previously examined and its identity denied (p. 102).

It was delightful to see him with a new addition to what he called his museum of Incunabula, a collection for which the University is chiefly indebted to his care; the investigation of all the points which an ordinary observer would miss; the absence of any of the rubbish which has unfortunately clogged and kept down the study of bibliography; the bringing all the surroundings to bear on the history of the book, the printer, and so of literature generally, were all marked features in his treatment; and there was an enthusiasm about him on all these points which gave life to the study and proved what a human interest it had for him, and how greatly it differed from the discussion of rustling leaves, or wide margins, or tall copies by persons of the stamp of T. F. Dibdin and his followers.

‘I was perfectly wild with delight all yesterday,’ he writes in 1879, ‘on the photographs [of the Vatican MS. of the *Hisperica Famina*] arriving from Rome. I had only 8s. to pay, and it was worth a great deal more. The man has sent three proofs of each plate, and all the negatives besides. They were admirably packed, and have arrived without the least injury. I shall take the negatives to the Autotype Company to get some permanent copies taken.’

The years he spent as librarian passed on quietly and on the whole happily, and with little wish for change. At one time he felt the onus of the superintending work and the routine to be trying, and seriously contemplated giving up his post. But as nothing definite occurred to bring this to a point, it passed off as several of his earlier schemes, and latterly he had begun to feel that his work was appreciated, and seemed to have no desire for anything else. Indeed he might certainly have had the librarianship of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with a much larger income and with less rather than more work. But when the time of decision came he very wisely was unwilling to uproot himself from his own University, and declined to allow his name to be brought forward as a candidate. And his latter years were certainly happier. His income, though never large (the paltry pittance given to his predecessors was increased in his case to 400*l.*, and latterly to 500*l.*, a year), was sufficient for all his wants, as a bachelor living in college need have very few expenses, and partly enabled him to satisfy his unbounded liberality. The amount of pecuniary assistance he gave to help poor students, by no means only those of his own college, no one ever knew; the paying a large sum for a lecturer on classical archæology was what few would have done without letting it be known to the world, and this was kept a profound secret till it came out in his papers after his death (p. 250). And we believe that many would be able to speak of what he has done for them. He evidently had a keen recollection of his own time of struggle upon a very small income, and thus did all he could to help others from suffering in the same way. And he always showed the deepest sympathy for all in trouble or in difficulty in a way to be really helpful.

Latterly, too, he took great pleasure in the sense of his increased weight in the University. The librarian was formerly supposed to be immersed in his books, and to have little or nothing to do with the general work of the University; and he perhaps felt this to a considerable extent when he saw those whom he could not but know to be his inferiors rise to be the ruling spirits of the University. But there grew a

general sense of the power of his judgment and his justice in doubtful cases ; and when this came to be tested by his being put into positions of importance in the University, he gave ample proofs of it. Thus his being placed on the General Board of Studies (one of the new institutions under the last-confirmed statutes), and still more on the Council of the Senate, gave him new objects of interest and fresh means of influence. Only they all added to his work, and diminished the time he had for recreation.

His health had never been strong, and his habits were not always of the wisest. After spending the whole day in the library he would sometimes sit up most part of the night to investigate some point brought before him, and he was very rarely absent from Cambridge or from the library. In early days his family complained of how little they saw of him, and it was seldom he allowed himself a real holiday. Few, however, more thoroughly enjoyed a holiday when he did take one—certainly no one more thoroughly earned the little time he did spend on his own health or interests. And when he did take a run of a few days abroad, it was usually in the service of the library that his journey was employed. Still, though he never contemplated a long life, and his motto was always to do with all his might whatever his hand found to do (the motto of the last piece of literary work he accomplished, p. 320), we do not think he had any presentiment of how sudden his end was to be. He had not been well for some weeks before his death, and some of his friends earnestly pressed him to consult a physician ; but he put this off, and on the evening of the last day of his life seemed especially bright and happy, full of interest both in his own and in his friends' pursuits. He was found the next morning sitting in his chair dead, life having been extinct for some hours, from enlargement of the heart.

It would be difficult to speak of the general feeling in the University—indeed, in all that portion of the literary world with which he was connected—when his death was announced. His loss is one which, to those who were intimate with him, can never be replaced. 'The world,' wrote one, 'is not the same place to me without his presence in it.'

We have preferred rather to point out what was the chief work of his life, and that by which he will be remembered, than to speak of his influence over individuals, and especially over the members of his own college. But the fact that his time and energies were of necessity chiefly given to his duties and interests as a librarian never made him forget what was

due to his own college, which had given him his independence, and where he had his home for so long. Always anxious for its welfare, never putting himself forward for positions which he thought others would occupy better than he, yet never shrinking from taking his part in all that had to be done, he made his influence always to be felt; and his kindness to undergraduates as they came to the college year by year was unfailing. But at the same time he was equally ready to make the acquaintance of and show kindness to others; and more than one owe their lifelong friendship with him to a chance acquaintanceship begun in the library.

A few words are called for on his religious views. Though his early intention of taking Holy Orders was not carried out, and his mind rather drifted away from the technical study of theology, he remained a consistent Churchman to the end of his days. His knowledge of ritual, his interest in the history and details of cathedral establishments, were two of his most marked characteristics. And we believe his life internally was what it was externally—never for a moment losing his early faith, strong in the endeavours always under God to do his duty. At the same time, what Mr. Prothero mentions is perfectly true—that he could enter into the feelings of friends of widely different opinions and sympathies. One writes (p. 405):

‘He was sincerely interested in the mental changes of all his friends, and watched one going towards atheism and another towards Romanism with equal respect, so long as he believed both to be sincere. He seemed to regard opinions without either sympathy or aversion, as phenomena of the inner man.’

Mr. Prothero has printed a few of his letters: we wish he had given us more. The examination of his papers showed one circumstance of his habits. For many years of his life every letter, every bill (even a first bill when there was a second receipted), every scrap of paper that concerned him, notes of invitation, pencil requests from friends of his undergraduate days to take a walk and the like, down to the very full and in many respects valuable correspondence of his later days, were preserved. Of his own letters, if they were troublesome to him to write, or of an especially important nature, he usually wrote and kept a copy, sometimes even when he begged his correspondents to burn what they received. Occasionally he kept a diary, very full as to details of his employments, the friends he met, the letters he wrote, &c., but giving little insight into his thoughts. Occasionally these are

veiled under signs and words of which he only could have told us the meaning. But though begun at various times of his life, the diaries were never kept up for long. For an account of his note books and the amount of information they contain on bibliographical and literary subjects we will refer our readers to Mr. Prothero's book.

When the uneventful character of Mr. Bradshaw's life is considered, and the fact that he has left so little behind him to preserve his name from oblivion, our readers may ask for some reason to account for the extraordinary influence and power he obtained over others, and the wide extent of his friendships. We believe it arose from his power of sympathy: he had what Mr. Ruskin calls 'Imagination penetrative.'

'The Faculty itself, called by what name we will, I insist upon as the highest intellectual power of man. There is no reasoning in it; it works not by algebra, nor by integral calculus; it is a piercing, Pholas-like mind's tongue, that works and tastes into the very rock heart; no matter what be the subject submitted to it, substance or spirit; all is alike divided asunder, joint and marrow, whatever utmost truth, life, principle it has, laid bare, and that which has no truth, life, nor principle, dissipated into its original smoke at a touch.'¹

Bradshaw seemed to be able to go through the outer shell and to get hold of the hearts of those with whom he was intimate. Careful students, hard-working literary men, artists, foreigners in search of help in their own peculiar subjects, even careless and idle undergraduates, all felt his charm, all seemed to go to him as to one from whom they would probably get help, and certainly sympathy and interest in their concerns. This was the case also with his correspondents. It was not only editors of Chaucer or biographers of Caxton that applied to him for assistance. All kinds of persons, young and old, well-living and sometimes the reverse, brought their troubles to him. This was also a characteristic of his early days. Sir Arthur Gordon writes: 'He will be best remembered, by those who then knew him, for the warmth and number of his friendships' (p. 32). But it increased in all ways as he reached and passed maturity.

Besides this, he had the power of looking below the surface of those with whom he was brought into contact. To act as an 'impostor,' i.e. to pretend to knowledge that was not possessed, was felt to be an impossibility by anyone while he was with Bradshaw; he could manage by his quiet powers of sarcasm

¹ Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, ii. p. 160 (ed. 1888).

to let a man find out and feel his own ignorance, without in the least giving occasion for offence.

It is true that he has left little to perpetuate his name ; yet what he has done is perfect of its kind. His 'Memoranda' are models of accuracy and thoroughness on the subjects of which they treat. The Archbishop of Canterbury speaks of his letter on the cathedral system addressed to Archdeacon Norris as 'simply the most important paper on chapters and their modernisation which I have ever read' (p. 278).

He never seemed to feel the worry of interruption. Of course, a librarian's duties involve this, and anyone who would be successful in such an office must cultivate the power of being able to turn in a moment from one subject of thought to another. But Bradshaw never seemed annoyed. If, in the midst of an important discussion with one, another came to him with some trivial question which anyone else, perhaps the inquirer himself, could have readily answered, he showed no signs of annoyance, but gave the answer readily, and then as readily returned to his previous thoughts.

It was not a common gathering of sorrowing friends that met in that glorious chapel to see him laid to rest ; it was not with dry eyes that he was and still is mourned. His was a life given up to the service of others, given up to doing his duty. And certainly, for the latter portion of his life, and since he has been called away, no one has been more thoroughly appreciated.

ART. VI.—THE HEBREW TEXT BEFORE THE MASSORETES.

1. *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, &c. Von Dr. ABRAHAM GEIGER. (Breslau, 1857.)
2. *Biblischer Commentar über die Psalmen*. Von FRANZ DELITZSCH. Vierte Auflage. (Leipzig, 1883.) Excurs von Consul D. Wetzstein.

CRITICS of a former generation not unfrequently brought against the Jews the charge of wilfully corrupting the Hebrew text from polemical motives. It has generally been acknowledged by their successors that the charge of corruption from

dishonest motives cannot be sustained. But this admission does not exclude the possibility of alterations having been made from motives not dishonest. There was a time when the letter of the sacred books was thought of less importance than the spirit, a time when, in fact, with the exception of the Books of the Law, the very words of the Scriptures were not regarded as sacred things which it would be sacrilege to alter, and this even after the books had been received into the Canon, not much less than before. If, then, an expression seemed likely to occasion misconception or sounded irreverent, there was no hesitation about altering it. Even when the text as a whole was regarded as sacred, it doubtless seemed to these editors—if we may so call them—that its sacredness was better secured and preserved by removing from it these offending expressions than by a superstitious regard for the mere letter. The modern feeling is different, yet, as we shall presently see, we are even now, to some extent, under the influence of the older one. Sometimes, indeed, nothing was required except a change in the older pronunciation. As the original writing was without vowels, it might well be thought that the reader was at perfect liberty to adopt whatever pronunciation appeared most suitable, all things considered. And this, of course, was true, always supposing that the grammar and connexion of the passage were allowed full weight.

Amongst the expressions which caused offence in this way were those which savoured of Anthropomorphism. The desire to avoid these appears very clearly in the versions, and, what is important for us to note, also in the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch. The Samaritan Pentateuch, it must be borne in mind, is simply another recension of the Hebrew text, older than that represented by the Massoretic text, and written in the ancient character. Although it sometimes preserves a more correct reading than the latter, on the other hand it retains traces of the more free treatment of the text, from the motives just mentioned, where the careful editing of the Jewish critics has given us the uncorrupted reading. We refer to these merely as illustrations of the fact that the sacredness of the books did not prevent tampering with the text.

An interesting instance of the influence of motives of reverence on the pronunciation (that is, on the vowel points) is in the phrase often occurring in the English Bible, 'appear before God' (see Exod. xxiii. 15, 17, xxxiv. 20; Deut. xvi. 16; Isaiah i. 12; Ps. xlii. 2, &c.). Now, if the text of any of

these places were presented to a Hebrew grammarian (*i.e.* the consonants without the vowels), he would have no hesitation in reading, 'see my face,' 'see the face of God.' Not only is the form of expression exactly the same that, in every case where the name of God does not occur, is translated thus, but the word 'face' is definitely marked as the object, and there is no word equivalent to 'before.' In fact, our text and translation are almost as ungrammatical as if, on finding in a Latin MS. 'vider faciem,' we should complete the verb thus, 'videri,' and translate 'appear before.' The reason why in reading the Hebrew text the construction does not strike us at once as impossible, is simply that as the phrase often occurs and the same vocalisation is everywhere adopted, grammarians have invented a rule to suit this expression. But if the vocalisation is ungrammatical, why was it ever adopted? The answer is that the expression 'see the face of God' seemed inconsistent with Exod. xxxiii. 20, 'Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.' The pronunciation was no doubt adopted *bonâ fide*, those who first introduced it being persuaded by the verse just quoted that the verb could not be in the active voice. In one place the correct vocalisation remains. It is Exod. xxiv. 10, 11, where it is said that Moses and the elders 'saw the God of Israel,' 'and they beheld God, and did eat and drink.' But here the text was explicit, and could not be affected by any change in pronunciation. Translators, however, felt themselves at liberty to modify the text, and accordingly we find in the Septuagint εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, and in verse 11 ὠφθῆσαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. The Targum has 'saw the glory of God,' the Arabic 'saw the angel of God.' But the reader may think that he has detected a flaw in our reasoning when he calls to mind Ps. xvii. 15, 'I will behold thy face;' Ps. lxiii. 2, 'So as I have seen thee in the sanctuary;' Job xix. 26, 'I shall see God.' Why, he will ask, were these passages not altered? Now, in all these cases the verb employed is a different one, and is the same that occurs in Exod. xxiv. 11, just referred to, and the change could not be made. The two passages from the Psalms strongly confirm the correctness of the construction 'see the face of God,' while the treatment of the passages by the versions confirms what has been said of the unwillingness of Jewish readers to accept it. In the two passages in the Psalms the LXX render by the passive (ὀφθῆσθαι, ὠφθην), in Job they have a different reading, possibly correct ('these' for 'God').

In Gen. xxii. 14, there seems to be a similar change of the

verb 'see.' 'Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen [provided R.V.].' We are led to expect in the second clause of the verse some allusion to the name in the first clause, but the allusion as the text stands is very feeble, half the name only being referred to. But on looking at the original text, and disregarding the vowels, we observe that the words 'of the Lord it shall be seen [or provided]' are exactly the same as 'Jehovah-jireh' in the preceding clause. The words read, 'Abraham called the name of that place IHVH IR'H: as it is said to this day, In the mount IHVH IR'H.' Can there be any doubt that the pronunciation is intended to be the same in both clauses? 'As it is said to this day, In the mount Jehovah-jireh.' The most natural supposition is that the verb in both places should be passive ('ieraeh'), i.e. 'Jehovah is seen.' If this were the older reading we can easily understand why the verb should be changed to the active in the first clause, while in the second the same end was attained by separating 'Jehovah' from the verb and joining it to the substantive 'mount.' This would also agree perfectly with the name Moriah, 'vision of Jah.' Yet the words of Abraham in verse 8, 'God will provide' (Elohim jireh), may be thought to favour the hypothesis that the original form of the verb in both clauses of verse 14 was active (as the Vulgate renders). But then the change to the passive in the second clause, and in that only, would be unaccountable. It would seem, then, that on this hypothesis we should suppose an intermediate stage, in which both verbs were read in the passive, and this reading, if not original, might have been suggested by the meaning of 'Moriah.' The LXX read in the same way as the Massoretes, only joining the words differently, 'ἐν τῷ ὄρει κύριος ὠφθῆν.'

To the sacred writers themselves and their earlier readers the expression 'see the face of God' presented no difficulty. To see the face of any one was to come into his presence; and 'to see the face of God' was to come into the tabernacle or temple.

But admitting that a departure from the original pronunciation might be adopted without hesitation from motives of reverence, is there any reason to suppose that a change in the consonants, that is, in the actual text, would be ventured on? To this question Jewish tradition itself helps us to give an affirmative answer. We refer in particular to the 'Corrections of the Scribes' or 'Tiqqunê Sôpherim.' Although these are frequently alluded to, it is not easy for the English

reader to obtain definite information about them ; it will therefore not be out of place to give some details. There are several different lists of these 'corrections' in different authorities : some in early Jewish commentaries, and some in the Massorah. One list contains seven, another (said to be the earliest) eleven, others eighteen. The Massorah expressly affirms that the number is eighteen, but its enumeration differs from that in the Tanchuma (ancient commentary on Exodus), and indeed the Massoretic lists differ in different manuscripts. Probably the lists were not originally intended to be exhaustive ; certainly we have reason to think that they were not actually so. The references in these lists are usually concise, and even reserved, the original reading not being always stated, nor even the word in which the variation was supposed to exist. Some later writers, unwilling to admit that there had been any change in the text, explained the tradition as meaning that the original author would naturally have written so-and-so, but from a feeling of reverence adopted the less suitable existing reading. Some modern scholars again have supposed that the tradition merely expresses a vague reminiscence that a different reading once existed.

A few specimens will make the nature of these 'corrections' more intelligible: Gen. xviii. 22, 'Abraham stood yet before Jehovah.' Tradition says that the reading was 'Jehovah stood yet before Abraham'; and the verse is quoted in the Talmud in support of the statement that God Himself set the example of standing before the grey head (!). Job xxxii. 3, 'Also against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had found no answer, and yet had condemned Job.' The tradition alleges that the original reading for 'Job' was 'God,' the sense being 'and thus had imputed guilt to God.' This seems to suit the context better than the actual reading ; but, assuming it to be correct, we might account for the variation by the similarity between the letters of 'Elohim' and 'Elihu,' which might have led to the accidental omission of the former, the name 'Job' being subsequently inserted to complete the sense. However, the explanation suggested by the tradition obviously is that the change was made in order to avoid the apparent irreverence of the expression.

In the same book, chap. vii. 20, where we now read, 'Why hast thou set me as a mark against thee [for thee R. V.], so that I am a burden to myself?' we are told that the original reading was 'so that I am a burden upon thee.' And so the

Septuagint reads, which is some confirmation of the tradition. Again, in Numbers xi. 15, in the supplication of Moses, we read, 'Kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness' (or 'my evil'). This is a correction for 'thine evil'—*i.e.* 'the evil thou bringest on this people,' the connexion of the word 'evil' with the pronoun referring to God having given offence.

A very noticeable instance is 1 Sam. iii. 13, where we read in the A. V. of Eli's sons, 'his sons made themselves vile.' This rendering is certainly erroneous, as the verb does not mean 'to make vile,' but 'to treat as vile,' 'to curse' or 'revile.' The R. V. adopts the rendering 'did bring a curse on themselves.' This is also Gesenius' rendering, but although better lexically than the A. V. it also involves giving the verb an unexampled sense and an unexampled construction. The idea 'to bring a curse on oneself' is expressed in Genesis xxvii. 12 in a different form and one exactly corresponding to the English. It is not easy to see how in the Hebrew language the word used in the passage before us could have this signification. Besides, it does not give a suitable sense. According to this reading Eli is punished because his sons were punished. In these circumstances a critic who should propose to read instead of LHM, 'on them,' 'LHM (= Elohim), 'God,' would be thought to have made a brilliant conjecture, satisfying grammar, lexicon, and connexion. Now, this is what the tradition suggests to have been the original reading, and in this it is confirmed by the Septuagint.¹ Whether the existing reading arose accidentally or not, the preference for it was probably due to the reluctance to utter or write such an expression as 'cursed or reviled God.' There was indeed an additional reason for the reluctance in this case—namely, the unwillingness to attribute so great a sin to the sons of the high priest. We have indications in the Talmud of a desire to mitigate their offences. The Septuagint translators on the other hand had no difficulty in retaining *θεόν*, because they were able to soften the verb, thus: *κακολογούντες τὸν θεόν*.

An instance of a 'correction' adopted in order to avoid anthropomorphism occurs in Zech. ii. 8, 'He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye.' The correction consists in the substitution of 'his eye' for 'mine eye,' which is obviously the reading required by the connexion.

The last we shall mention is Hab. i. 12: 'Art not thou from everlasting, O Jehovah my God, mine Holy One? We shall not die.' Here the original reading, according to the

¹ The Tanchuma indeed gives as the original, 'LI,' 'me.'

tradition, was, 'Thou canst not die,' or 'thou diest not.' Reverence suggested the change as if to mention dying in connexion with God, even to deny it, gave offence.

The Massorah, as we have said, states that the number of 'corrections' is eighteen; but in their enumeration they refer to only sixteen verses. In this apparent discrepancy some theologians have discovered a mare's-nest. It is clear, say they, that there were two other passages which they were unwilling to mention, and there can be no doubt that these two were Psalm xxii. 16: 'They pierced my hands and my feet,' or 'as a lion my hands and my feet,' and Zech. xii. 10: 'They shall look on him whom they pierced,' or 'on me whom they pierced.' The allegation is made by Bishop Pearson in his exposition of the Creed, and has been repeated by other writers. It is, however, absolutely groundless. If the Massoretes wished to suppress the fact of a 'tiqqun' why need they include it in their reckoning? As we have seen, there was considerable variation as to the number, so that there could be no idea of any obligation to mention just eighteen. Further, if they had thought fit, they could have made up the eighteen from passages mentioned by other authorities. As to the passage in Psalm xxii., the Massoretes in their note say (as Pearson himself notices) that the word in question occurs twice 'in two significations.' The other passage is Isa. xxxviii. 13, where it certainly means 'as a lion.' This is, therefore, a positive statement, as express as the Massorah ever is, that this is not the sense in the Psalm. They could not, therefore, suppose that the reading had been adopted in order to secure this meaning. In the passage in Zechariah there is still less ground for supposing an 'intentional change,' for the very good reason that the reading 'me,' which Pearson supposes to have been rejected, is actually the reading of the vulgar text, and moreover does not agree with the context as well as the reading 'him.'

The simple explanation of the apparent discrepancy between the sixteen verses referred to and the eighteen stated to be the number of corrections, is that in two verses there are four corrections, the same change being made in each case. One of these is 2 Sam. xx. 1, where we read, 'Every man to his tents, O Israel'; and we are told that the older reading was 'Every man to his gods,' a reading which differs from the former only in the order of two letters. The same 'correction' occurs in 1 Kings xii. 16, and 2 Chron. x. 16. In these instances few will doubt that the present text is the genuine one, the other being due to the disposition of the Jews after

idolatry had been extinguished to regard all the movements in the northern tribes as a going after strange gods. We may infer from this that the allegation of a 'tiqqun sôpherim' did not always rest on authentic tradition, but may even have arisen in some instances from mere conjecture. Still they show that such alterations were not considered inconsistent with the reverence due to the sacred text.

Further illustration of this is supplied by an instance (not numbered among the 'corrections') in which we can see a change growing up, as we might say, under our very eyes. In Judges xviii. 30, we read that 'Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh,' was priest to the graven image in Dan. In the printed Hebrew Bibles, as in the most approved manuscripts, the name of Manasseh is written somewhat thus, M^NSH, the N being, as it is called, 'suspended.' If it be neglected the word reads Mosheh=Moses, and this, which the Revisers have followed, is beyond all question the true reading. Not only so, but it was known to be so by the Jewish scholars. But it was thought too shocking a thing that a grandson of Moses should figure in such a connexion. Rashi himself says, 'for the honour of Moses N is written, but it is written suspended to indicate that it was not Manasseh but Moses.' To change the name directly would be too flagrant, so they simply placed the letter N in such a position that it seemed to plead for admission into the text, and that the unlearned reader might think it actually had a right there. Accordingly the translators, all with the exception of Jerome, read Manasseh. Copyists were also misled, and the latter name is written in the ordinary way in many manuscripts.

We have seen in the example from 1 Sam. iii. 13 how by a slight change, not seriously altering the sense of the passage, the conjunction of a word of cursing with the Divine Name was avoided. But this could not always be effected so easily. In certain other places 'bless' was euphemistically substituted for 'curse' or 'blaspheme,' where the name of God followed. This is the case in 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13, and Job ii. 9. There is no reasonable doubt that 'bless' in these places is a euphemism, and is not used in the sense of 'bid farewell to,' as has sometimes been suggested. The question with respect to which critics are not agreed is whether the euphemism is due to the original author or to a subsequent editor. As it is only in immediate connexion with the name of God that the euphemism occurs, it is in either case an example of the feeling of which we are speaking. The view that it is due to the

author is strenuously and learnedly defended by Consul Wetzstein in an excursus appended to Delitzsch's *Commentary on the Psalms*. Many of his illustrations are very curious. Thus in Damascus, if one asks after an invalid and receives the answer, 'He is well, may thy head be safe!' this means 'he is dead.' A dangerous illness is called 'an act of grace' (namely, of God). In an Arabic geographical lexicon it is said, 'one bitten by the snake is called safe for the sake of good omen,' and accordingly in an Arabic account of a certain town it is said: 'There are there many venomous scorpions; he who is safe from them is incurable'—*i.e.* he who is bitten by them. Tell a Syrian that his enemy is prospering, he uncovers his head, raises his arm to heaven, and cries, 'O God, make his good fortune perfect'—that is, 'destroy him,' because when a man has reached the summit of prosperity he begins to fall. None of these euphemisms seem parallel to those now in question. The last, according to Wetzstein's own explanation, is not a euphemism 'per antiphrasin' at all; the others appear to be adopted in order to avoid using an expression of ill omen or giving offence to invisible powers. We do not, however, insist on this, and we are willing for the sake of argument to admit that such euphemisms as are supposed in the passages quoted would be used by a modern Arabic writer or speaker. Yet, notwithstanding what is called the unchangeableness of Oriental peoples, we must not hastily argue from the speech of Arabs of to-day to that of Hebrews some thousands of years ago. If indeed we found it customary with the Old Testament writers to use 'bless' where 'curse' was meant, then the Arabic usage would come in usefully to illustrate this, and to prevent our lexicographers from giving the significations of the verb quite barely as '1, to bless; 2, to curse.'

But when we inquire into the practice of Biblical writers do we find either on their part or on that of the persons of the narrative any reluctance to use words of cursing or any disposition to soften them? We think the answer must be, Not in the least. We have only to look at the words for cursing, &c., in a Hebrew concordance, or even (discounting the three passages in question) an English concordance, to be satisfied of this. Even when the name of God is the object, it is only when it stands next the verb that the expression becomes a stumbling-block. The English reader may perhaps call to mind the words, 'Wherefore should the wicked blaspheme God?' (Ps. x. 13, P. B. V., 'contemn' A. V.), and ask why the word 'blaspheme' was retained here. The fact is that in the Hebrew it does not stand next the name

of God, the order being 'Wherefore blasphemeth the wicked man, God?' And surely the most unlikely of all places in which to introduce an exceptional euphemism would be the indictment for blasphemy brought against Naboth. On the other hand, the facts adduced by Wetzstein are valuable as illustrating the alleged disposition of scribes of a later date. The change, first made in reading, would easily be adopted in writing, and the rarity of it under such circumstances would require no explanation.

The reason that we have dwelt upon this point is that the conclusion throws light on a difficult passage in Ps. x. 3, 'The wicked . . . blesseth the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth,' A. V. The words run smoothly enough in the A. V., although not making very good sense, since the covetous are not usually blessed, except by themselves. But the words in the original do not run smoothly. In the first place the order is, 'The covetous blesseth abhorreth the Lord.' It is not too much to say that this order could not be adopted by a writer wishing to convey the sense expressed in the A. V. But secondly, the word rendered 'abhorreth' has not that sense; it is the same word that is rendered in verse 13 (14 P. B. V.), 'contemn' ('blasphemeth' P. B. V.). Hupfeld renders the clause, 'blesseth the covetous, blasphemeth Jehovah.' Hengstenberg translates, 'the covetous blesseth, scorneth Jehovah,' *i.e.* indifferently blesses or scorns. Delitzsch gives 'berek' the sense 'blasphemeth,' and renders, 'the covetous blasphemeth, scorneth Jehovah.' The Revisers have similarly, 'the covetous renounceth, yea contemneth the Lord.' This seems to involve an inexplicable combination of euphemism and the opposite. If 'berek' is used for 'blaspheme' it could only be from an unwillingness to utter the word 'nieç,' or the like, which is the proper word for blasphemy. But here 'nieç' itself would immediately follow. This fact seems directly to refute the notion of a 'euphemistic antiphrasis' on the part of the author.

The true solution, as it appears to us (by whom first suggested we do not know), is that this is a case of 'doublet' or 'conflate reading.' The original text had only one of the two words—*i.e.* that which now stands second, 'blasphemeth'; then the euphemism 'blesseth' was introduced. Probably this was written in the text with the intention that it should be read instead of the following word. This would be thought quite as justifiable as the substitution in another class of cases of decorous for coarse expressions, a substitution which the Hebrew margin expressly prescribes. Or else 'berek'

may have slipped in from the margin. The later scholars who supplied the accents, but who never ventured to alter the text, have inserted a separating line (called *Paseq*) to insure a pause being made between the utterance of the word 'niec' and that of the name of God.

There was still another way of escaping the objectionable juxtaposition, and this we find adopted in 2 Sam. xii. 14, 'Thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme.' The verb here is the same as in the last passage ('blaspheming, thou hast blasphemed'), and although the translators have extracted a meaning out of the words, or rather put it into them, it is at the expense of violence done to the signification of the verb. No doubt grammarians will give us instances of verbs putting on a causative sense; we have instances of the kind in English also, but the cases adduced are not analogous to this. If they can give an instance in which 'to slay the man' is used to mean 'to cause the man to slay,' or 'to accuse the man' to mean 'to cause the man to accuse,' then indeed we should have an analogy to the change assumed in the present passage. Nothing short of this would be parallel. The text should read, 'Thou hast greatly blasphemed the Lord.'

We have an example of a similar interpolation for a different reason in 1 Sam. xxv. 22, where David swears to destroy all the men of Nabal's house. But, instead of invoking evil on himself in case of failure to carry out his threat (as in Ruth i. 17; 1 Sam. xx. 13; 2 Sam. iii. 9, 35, xix. 13, &c.), he invokes evil on his enemies—that is, good to himself—'So, and more also, do God unto the enemies of David, if, &c. What would be the force of a threat so expressed, or where is there a parallel? The Septuagint have not the words 'the enemies of.' This reading (noted in the margin of R.V.) is unquestionably correct. But why should it be altered? Simply because David did not carry out his threat, but yielded to the entreaties of Abigail. The genuine text then seemed to make David imprecate evil on himself, subject to a condition which he actually fulfilled. This was enough to induce the scribe to interpose 'the enemies of,' which no doubt he would have put in square brackets, as we do with words not belonging to the text, if square brackets had been in use for such purpose. We may observe that it is customary in the Talmud and elsewhere, when imprecations on Israel are spoken of or quoted, to interpolate the words 'the enemies of.' May it not be that in 1 Sam. xiv. 44, we have an omission occasioned by a similar motive—'God do so, and more also, for thou shalt

surely die, Jonathan'? Saul having been turned from his purpose, there was an unwillingness to record the imprecation on himself.

Readers who may be disposed to protest against such ways of dealing with the written text may well be reminded that our English translators, including the latest Revisers, have given their sanction to a similar proceeding by adopting in their text a reading which has not even made its way into the Hebrew text, but has been traditionally substituted by Jewish readers for the genuine text. We refer, of course, to their expulsion (all but complete) of the name Jehovah from the text, and substitution of 'the Lord.' It is worth our while to dwell on this at some length.

The name Jehovah (or Yahveh), as the distinctive name of the true God, known only to the people of Israel, was very early regarded with peculiar reverence, which gradually led to the avoidance of its use in ordinary discourse, and later to a reluctance to utter it even when it occurred in the reading of the Scriptures. Traces of the indisposition to use it freely are found in the actual text of some of the Psalms, especially in the second book (xlii. to lxxii.). This book, no doubt (as well as the others), formed at one time a separate collection, and was separately copied. Now, the fifty-third Psalm is another copy or edition of the fourteenth, and the reader will find that the word Elohim is substituted in it for Jehovah. So also Psalm lxx. is another copy of the last five verses of Psalm xl. In it Jehovah is twice replaced by Elohim. True, the former name occurs twice, but in one of these passages many manuscripts read Elohim. Again, Psalm lvii. 7-11, is the same as Psalm cviii. 1-6, but in verse 9 we have Adonai in place of Jehovah. The latter is clearly alone suitable. 'I will praise Thee, O Jehovah, among the nations.' Again, in several instances we have the phrase, 'God, our God,' 'God, my God,' 'God, the God of Israel' (xlv. 7; lxiii. 1; lxvii. 6; lxviii. 8). It is probable, nay, morally certain, that in all these the first word was originally Jehovah. For the addition 'the God of Israel,' for example, would be inappropriate if what preceded was only the unexclusive appellation Elohim. And, indeed, the verse lxviii. 8 is part of a quotation from the song of Deborah, in which in both clauses, as well as in the verse preceding, the name Jehovah is read. The first verse also is a quotation of Numbers x. 35, 'Let Jehovah arise, and let his enemies be scattered,' but here again with Elohim substituted much less appropriately. There is no probability that the author of the Psalm made these alterations. Bearing

this in mind, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the word 'Adonai,' in verses 11, 17, 21, 26, 32, replaces an original 'Jehovah.' In all these places the latter would be much more appropriate. There are obvious reasons why the Psalms should have been more liable to such changes than the other books. As they do not occur in the first book (Psalms i. to xli.) we may, perhaps, conclude that it was after the reception of that book into the Canon, and while the second book was not yet admitted, but was in familiar use, that the feeling to which the change was due sprang up.

The practice of substituting 'Adonai' for 'Jehovah' (or Yahveh) in reading the text of the sacred books appears to be as old as the Septuagint, which always uses *Kύριος* to represent IHVH. The Jews of Palestine, however, did not at first adopt this practice, which probably seemed to them an improper altering of the text, or else they regarded the name Adonai as itself too sacred to be thus used. Accordingly, they substituted the word 'hashshem,' 'the name.' This had the advantage that the hearer knew what the reader had before him. And to this day the Samaritans in reading the Law, whenever they meet with the name IHVH, simply read 'the name.' It is customary also with modern writers of Hebrew, as it was with the older writers, when they quote a passage of Scripture in which the name occurs, to write simply H, the initial letter of 'hashshem.' Doubtless we have in Levit. xxiv. 11, an instance of this substitution: 'The son of the Israelitish woman blasphemed the name and cursed.' Nowhere else in Scripture is 'the name' used thus absolutely, and the juxtaposition of the word 'blasphemed,' a strong word in the original,¹ suggests a sufficient motive for the change here.² The LXX throughout the narrative replace the word 'blaspheme' by *ὀνομάζειν*. In the actual law given in verse 16, of course the name itself could not be left out. Here the LXX reads, 'Whoever names the name of the Lord shall die.' The Chaldee and Syriac Versions similarly have for 'blaspheme,' 'express the name.' It was easy to justify this rendering, since the verb does not primarily signify 'blaspheme' or 'curse,' but 'pierce,' and one of its secondary senses is 'to specify by name.' If it were not for verse 16, we might suppose that in verse 11 it had this sense. But in verse 16 'and curseth' is not added, so that we must here give the verb the sense which it often has, of cursing (e.g. Num. xxiii. 8, 25).

¹ It is the word used as 'curse' in Num. xxiii. 8, 25.

² It may be some confirmation of this that in the second clause of verse 16 'shem' has not the article.

The official Jewish interpretation agreed with the LXX and Targum, only understanding that in verse 16 cursing was implied. Hence, in administering this law, it was held by the Jewish authorities that it was necessary to prove that the accused person had distinctly uttered the most sacred name and cursed. The witnesses were obliged, therefore, to repeat the precise words heard. We see from this also why it was impossible to read 'Adonai' here as in other cases. The only possible way of avoiding a collocation of words which would shock the ear was that adopted of substituting 'the name.' And if the substitution had been limited to the text as read aloud, it would have been, we think, laudable. Doubtless the interpretation above mentioned confirmed, if it did not rather give rise to, the prohibition of the utterance of the name.

At a somewhat later period the orthodox party amongst the Jews seem to have looked on this avoidance of the name as connected with heretical notions, and vindicated the use of it even in salutations, appealing to the example of Boaz, in Ruth ii. 4: But the feeling was too strong for them, and later on we find a Rabbi declaring that whoever utters the name shall have no part in the world to come. It thus came to pass (the vowels not being written) that the true pronunciation was lost, and this circumstance again gave rise to the idea that it involved a deep mystery and possessed miraculous power. It was said that when the High Priest pronounced the name it was heard as far as to Jericho, yet that those present immediately forgot it. Other traditions say that he uttered it in a low voice, or absorbed the name into the preceding word. Certain later stories, not denying the miracles of Jesus, but rather exaggerating them to absurdity, attribute His wonder-working power to the utterance of the sacred name, of His learning which they give a monstrous account.

When the vowel points were introduced, then, in accordance with the rule observed of supplying the points of the word to be read, not those of the word written, the letters IHVH were provided with the vowels belonging to Adonai, 'Lord,' except when that word occurred in immediate connexion, in which case the vowels of Elohim were written. The form 'Jehovah' adopted in the English version is due to the utterance of these vowels with the consonants of the text, to which they do not belong, and is comparatively modern. We are not, however, without means of judging with probability what the original pronunciation was. Besides the etymological record in Exodus, we have the testimony of

some early Christian writers, as Epiphanius and Theodoret. These give the pronunciation as 'Iaβé (the latter ascribing it to the Samaritans). The fact that Theodoret gives this as the Samaritan, not the Jewish, pronunciation is of no consequence, since it is clear that he could not learn the Jewish pronunciation. 'Iaó, which he gives as Jewish, is really a contraction of the name, formed by the first three letters. With the later Greek sound of β, 'Iaβé is exactly = Jahveh. It is perhaps unnecessary to remind the reader that the sound which we give to the initial J of Jehovah, as well as to J generally, whether in Hebrew or Latin, is a mere blunder, that letter having been adopted to represent the consonant sound of I (=Y). We retain the true sound in the word Hallelujah.

The Jews of a later period adopted other devices in order to avoid writing the name. By merely omitting the left-hand stroke of the Hebrew letter H it became D. Thus they wrote IDVH, or IHVD, or IDVD. Another familiar Rabbinical device was to write two *yods* only, or three—thus, יי—a device in which some Christian controversialists saw a hidden reference to the Trinity. This aversion to write the sacred name went even further. The short form which appears in our English Version as Jah consists simply of the two letters IH. In the Hebrew system of numeration, in which I=10 and H=5, the normal way of writing 15 would be IH. But this was objectionable as being a form of the Divine name, therefore 15 was written ΘV=9, 6, and for a similar reason 16 was written, not IV, but ΘZ=9, 7.

This aversion to uttering the Divine name afterwards extended to Elohim, and hence we occasionally find in Jewish writers Eloqim substituted. It is an analogous feeling of reverence that has led to the substitution of 'bleu' for 'Dieu' in the oaths of the French.¹ The Irish in like manner have mitigated the profanity of their oaths by changes which give them an unmeaning instead of a profane sound. The Americans of the United States often do the same. In the case of oaths, indeed, one can only be glad of such a mitigation; but the Jewish practice, when adopted in reading the Scriptures, is merely superstition—a superstition, too, founded on the baseless notion that IHVH is in some sense the essential 'proper name' of God. To the ancient Israelite, indeed, surrounded by worshippers of false gods with many names, it served in a sense the purpose of a proper name to distinguish

¹ A curious analogy is the practice of some copyists of the Latin Gospels to write 'zabulus' for 'diabolus.'

the true God in a way in which the word 'God' would not serve. But to us the notion of a 'proper name' of God, distinct from the name 'God' itself, is unmeaning, and only suggestive of polytheism, or of merely national religion. It is, we venture to think, matter of very great regret that the Revisers did not emancipate themselves from this Jewish superstition. It is not a case of incorrect translation, but of actual alteration of the text. Nor is the alteration insignificant; on the contrary, it takes away the point and force of many passages in which the name is expressly emphasized. Take, for example, the whole of Psalm xcvi.: 'Jehovah is great, and greatly to be praised: he is to be feared above all gods. For all the gods of the nations are idols: but Jehovah made the heavens. . . . Say among the heathen that Jehovah reigneth.' Or Psalm xcix.: 'Exalt ye Jehovah our God, and worship at his holy hill.' Or Psalm c.: 'Know that Jehovah, he is God.' The word 'Lord' being a mere appellative which might be applied by any people to its God, we lose altogether the expression of pious patriotism and rightful pride in the consciousness that the God of Israel was the true God, Maker of heaven and earth. 'Blessed is the nation whose God is Jehovah, and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance' (Psalm xxxiii. 12); 'Jehovah hath chosen Jacob for himself, and Israel for his peculiar treasure' (Psalm cxxxv.); 'For I know that Jehovah is great, and our Lord is above all gods' (*ibid.* 6); 'Jehovah, thy name endureth for ever' (*ibid.* 13); 'Blessed be Jehovah out of Zion, which dwelleth at Jerusalem.' It is only of Jehovah as the God of Israel that this can be said. In Psalm cxli. 8, the word God stands for Jehovah: 'Mine eyes are unto thee, O Jehovah, Lord' (or, as probably should be read, changing a vowel, 'my Lord'). But the illustrations that might be taken from the Psalms are endless. How the stirring history of the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal is spoiled by the loss of the opposition between the name Baal and the name Jehovah (1 Kings xviii.): 'If Jehovah be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him.' Elijah prays: 'Jehovah, God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, . . . that this people may know that thou, Jehovah, art God' (not 'that thou art the Lord God').¹ The people exclaim, 'Jehovah, he is God.'

Everywhere that the expressions 'Jehovah, the God of your fathers,' 'Jehovah, the God of Israel,' occur, the point is lost by the mistranslation 'the Lord God of your fathers,'

¹ So 2 Kings xix. 19, 'that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou, Jehovah, art God, thou only.'

'the Lord God of Israel.' Moses goes to Pharaoh with a message from 'Jehovah, the God of Israel,' and Pharaoh replies, 'Who is Jehovah? . . . I know not Jehovah' (Exodus v. 1, 2, 3; vii. 16, &c.). Pharaoh afterwards asks Moses to entreat Jehovah for him, declaring that he has sinned 'against Jehovah, your God.' The Egyptians speak of Jehovah as fighting against them. But throughout Pharaoh and his people only regard Jehovah as the God of the Hebrews, not as '*the* Lord God.' The English Version gives a false impression of the whole matter. We may refer in connexion with these passages to the introduction to the first commandment—'I am Jehovah, thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt;' and especially to the third commandment—'the name of Jehovah, thy God.' Again, when Joshua says, 'If it seem evil to you to serve Jehovah, choose you this day whom ye will serve; . . . but as for me and my house we will serve Jehovah,' and (not to quote the whole answer of the people) they reply, 'We will serve Jehovah, for he is our God,' the passage loses much by the departure from the text. Once more, when Cyrus declares that Jehovah, the God of Heaven, has given him the kingdoms, the significance is lost in our version. Compare also Judges xi. 24: 'Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh, thy God, giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever Jehovah our God hath dispossessed from before us, that will we possess.' And 2 Kings xviii. 25, where Rab-shakeh pretends that Jehovah had sent him against Jerusalem; and *ibid.* 35: 'Who are they among the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that Jehovah should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?' Even in Exodus iii. 15, where 'Jehovah' is expressly called the name of the God of Abraham, the name does not appear in the English Version or R.V. Moses had asked what answer he should give when asked what was the name of the God of their fathers, and he is told to say, 'Jehovah, the God of your fathers, . . . hath sent me unto you; this is my name for ever.' This; what? The name is suppressed, and the question remains in our version unanswered. So again, in Exodus xxxiv. 5, 6, where the 'name of Jehovah' is proclaimed, in Deut. xxviii. 58, 'that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, Jehovah thy God,' in Isaiah xlii. 8, 'I am Jehovah, that is my name,' no name at all appears in the English Version, Authorised or Revised.

As examples of passages where for IHVH Elohim was substituted we may refer to 2 Sam. vii. 28, 'And now Jehovah,

O Lord, thou art God' (*ibid.* 18, 19, 20, 29); Isa. xxviii. 16, 'Thus saith the Lord Jehovah' (*ibid.* 22, xxx. 15, xlix. 22); i. 4, 5, 7, 9, 'The Lord Jehovah hath given me the tongue of the learned,' &c.; Jeremiah xxxii. 17, 25, Ezekiel ii. 4, iv. 14, &c.—indeed, very frequently in Ezekiel, the word Adonai being, in all probability, inserted in order to be read instead of Jehovah. Yet surely to us the most sacred of all names is the name GOD, and no one will allege that a greater sacredness is to be ascribed to a name which, whatever its etymology in the Hebrew tongue, to us merely designates God, as the God of Israel.

This, we repeat, is not a question of mere propriety of translation, it is one of actual departure from the text. The word 'Lord' or 'God' is adopted, not because it has any pretence to represent 'Jehovah' in meaning or otherwise, but because it is the rendering of the word which Jewish superstition substituted for it. When this is done by the best scholars of our own day, have we any right to find fault with the Jewish scribes, readers, or copyists of ancient times who made greater changes? We cannot imagine any sound reason for this adherence to an admitted corruption of the text. Two reasons, indeed, have been suggested. The first, that we do not possess the exact pronunciation of the name. As if the exact pronunciation were a matter of anything but secondary consequence and antiquarian interest. Of what names do we retain the correct pronunciation? Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, James and John, have but a remote resemblance to the Hebrew or Greek pronunciation. Even the name Jesus has not in our mouths the sound it had in those of His contemporaries. In this case, as in the others mentioned, we know enough to approximate pretty closely to the correct pronunciation, yet who would think it desirable to make the change? Jehovah is the recognized English form of the name IHVH, and the Revisers have themselves admitted this by retaining it in one or two places, so that they could not themselves consistently adopt this objection.¹ The other alleged reason is that in the case of quotations from the Old Testament in the New the adoption of the name in the former would introduce a difference which would be undesirable. But unless it is proposed that the quotations in the New Testament should in all cases be assimilated to the original Hebrew, we cannot see any force in this. On the contrary, there are cases in which much

¹ If any have a scruple about the utterance of the name, the fact that it is so altered from the original pronunciation may be to them a ground of satisfaction.

would be gained by the reader being able to recognize that the word 'Lord' in the New Testament represented the word 'Jehovah' in the passage quoted from the Old.

There is another way in which this change may have left traces in the present Hebrew text. We have seen that when the Massoretes wish to direct the reader to substitute Adonai for Jehovah, they do so by placing the vowel points of the former under the letters in the text. But before the introduction of the points what help could be given? We can answer this question as far as it concerns single letters thought to be erroneous. The right letter was written while the wrong one remained. This is the case in Exod. xxv. 31, where the consonants of 'thou shalt make' and 'he shall make' are in the text side by side, as if we should write 'faciest'; and this is believed with probability to be the true explanation of several grammatical anomalies. Now it was conjectured long ago by Kennicott that the combination Jehovah Elohim in Genesis was to be accounted for in this way, and some recent critics, *e.g.* Wellhausen, have adopted the same view.

It is easy to understand how a scribe accustomed to read Adonai where the letters of IHVH met his eye should sometimes confound the words in writing; and accordingly we find a considerable variety in manuscripts in this particular.

The word Hallelujah supplies another curious instance of the reverential avoidance of the sacred name. Every one knows that Hallelujah, though written as one word, is really two; and in the Bible version of the Psalms it is regularly translated 'Praise the LORD.' How does it come to be retained in its original form, but written as one word, in the Prayer-Book? The Prayer-Book version, as is well known, has descended to us from the Septuagint, which writes the word Ἀλληλούια, and of course the Latin translators retained it. The word was a puzzle to the Fathers, who were ignorant of Hebrew. We find such explanations of it as the following:—'al=salvum; le=me; lu=fac; ia=Domine.' Or, 'alle=pater; lu=filius; ia=spiritus sanctus.' Or, alle=lux; lu=vita; ia=salus.' Or, again, 'al[tissimus]; le[vatus in cruce]; lu[gebant apostoli]; ia[m resurrexit].' Now the question is natural, why did the LXX retain the Hebrew word, or rather words? Light is thrown on this by passages in the Talmud, *e.g.* Sôpherim 5, 10, which raise the question whether Hallelujah is one word or two. The answer is that it is one, but the reason given is singularly illogical. It was the rule that if the name of God had been

written by mistake it must not be erased. Now it is said that in Hallelujah it is lawful to erase the final syllable; therefore it is not the name of God. We are not concerned with the validity of the reasoning, but with the illustration it furnishes of one device for avoiding the irreverent utterance of the name of God, viz. attaching it so closely to the preceding word that it should seem part of it. This, of course, was only possible with the monosyllabic form of the name. It must be observed that this was not the work of the Massoretes; on the contrary, they have done their best to restore the correct pronunciation, and to secure a distinct utterance, not only separating the words, but placing a 'mappik' in the final H. Hallelujah is not the only pair of words in which this device was adopted in olden times. Thus, in Ps. cxviii. 5, the final IAH is in some copies joined to the preceding word, and it was so treated by the LXX and Syriac. Editions generally separate the words, and mark the H with 'mappik.' In the former clause of the same verse the Massoretes have 'dageshed' the *yod* of IAH, this being an additional precaution against absorption, thought necessary on account of the preceding word ending with the same letter; so also in v. 18.

In Exod. xvi. 2, 'My strength and my song is IAH,' and in Psalm cxviii. 14, and Isa. xii. 2, where these words are quoted, although the Massoretic text correctly separates the last two words, it retains traces of the earlier absorption, the *yod* which ought to terminate the preceding word ('zimrath') having disappeared. We might reasonably think this a mere slip of the scribe, due to the fact that the succeeding letter was the same, but for the fact that in the other two passages the same thing occurs. Moreover, in Exodus the Samaritan text reads the two words as one, and the LXX has done the same. In the other passage, Isa. xii. 2, there is probably another trace of the ancient absorption of IAH, in the addition of the fuller name IHVH, inserted, perhaps, in order to restore the sense. The Septuagint, Syriac, and Vulgate express the name only once, and some Hebrew MSS. also omit IHVH.

There is another class of cases in which a substitution somewhat analogous to that of Adonai for Jehovah was made at a still earlier period, not indeed in the text, but before the histories were written; we refer to the substitution of 'bosheth' = 'shame' for 'Baal.' When we find the same person called 'shame's man' (Ish-bosheth) and 'Baal's man' (Esh-baal, 1 Chron. ix. 39), we see at once that the latter was his real name, and that it was changed as an expression of contempt for Baal. It is, indeed, incredible that Saul or any

other king should name his son 'man of shame.' In Chronicles the name Baal remaining in the text, the signification 'Baal's man' is avoided by pronouncing Esh-baal instead of Ish-baal. Another instance of the same kind is 'Mephibosheth,' whose real name was 'Merib-baal' (1 Chron. ix. 40). The change of R into P may have been due to a clerical error or to a different etymologising of the name. The name of Jerubbaal again becomes, in 2 Sam. xi. 21, Jerubbesheth. This is an interesting example, being the only instance in which this particular name was changed. Moreover, in this case the change has not touched the LXX, which has *Ἰερεβθάαλ*. What preserved 'Jerubbaal' from change when the other names were changed was doubtless its etymology as explained in Judges vi. 32, which removed all motive for alteration. When 'Baal' was at the beginning of the name, as in that of a son of David, called 'Baaljada' = 'Baal knows' (1 Chron. xiv. 7), a different means of getting rid of the offensive word was adopted. Either the pronunciation was changed so that, in the place referred to, our text is printed 'Beeljada,' or Baal was altered to 'El,' so that the same person is in 1 Chron. iii. 8, and in 2 Sam. v. 16, called 'Eliada.'

But perhaps the reader will exclaim, Are we asked to suppose that Saul, for example, who is not charged with idolatry, and who called his son 'Jonathan' = 'Jehovah gives,' called another son after the false deity Baal? or that Jonathan himself did the like in the case of his son Merib-baal? Not at all; the true inference is, that at that time the word 'baal' had not become specialised as the name of a false deity, but was used simply in its sense of 'lord' (which is its proper and familiar signification in Hebrew), and in that sense was used of the true God.¹ One of David's men is even called Bealjah, *i.e.* 'Jah is Lord' (1 Chron. xii. 5). Of this use we have distinct mention in Hosea ii. 16, 'It shall be at that day, saith Jehovah, that thou shalt call me Ishi; and shalt call me no more Baali.' And in making the changes referred to, the people acted in literal accordance with the following verse: 'I will take away the names of Baalim out of her mouth,' so that in consequence of its association with the name of the false deity it should no more be applied to God in its sense of 'Lord.'

The substitution of 'Bosheth,' 'Shame,' for 'Baal' was probably suggested by the words of Hosea in ch. ix. 10, 'they went to Baalpeor, and separated themselves to the

¹ A grand-uncle of Saul chose the name of 'Baal' simply (1 Chron. viii. 30).

Shame.' Jeremiah also suggests it in ch. xi. 13, 'Ye have set up altars to the Shame, even altars to burn incense unto Baal.'¹ The reader will remember Hosea's change of 'Bethel' to 'Bethaven,' 'House of God' to 'House of Nothingness' or 'of idols' (iv. 15; x. 5). Although the name Baal has not been displaced from the Hebrew text, the version of the LXX gives reason to suppose that sometimes, at least, the reader substituted 'Bosheth.' In 1 Kings xviii. 19, 25, the LXX have for 'Baal' ἡ αἰσχύνη. The text known as ἡ κοινή compromises by writing ἡ βάαλ. And this (as Dillmann has pointed out) is the true explanation of the use of the feminine article with βάαλ, a usage most consistently carried out in the Book of Jeremiah, and which commentators have unsuccessfully tried to explain in other ways, as, for instance, that Baal was an androgynous deity, or that the feminine was used by way of contempt.

It is clear from what we have shown that the Massoretes deserve the credit of an honest determination to present a correct text, and moreover of skill and sagacity in carrying out this determination so far as their resources enabled them to do so. It was from want of manuscript authority that they were unable to grapple with the many corruptions of the only text they possessed, or even to suspect their existence. But we see also that there were earlier scribes who were less skilful and less careful of the integrity of the text.

ART. VII.—BURGON'S LIVES OF TWELVE GOOD MEN.

The Lives of Twelve Good Men. By JOHN WILLIAM BURGON, B.D., Dean of Chichester &c. 2 vols. (London, 1888.)

A SPECIAL—one might almost say, a unique—interest attaches to these two volumes, for more reasons than one. As the last public utterance of one who for many years was a prominent figure in the Church life of his day, they claim a respectful attention. There is so much freshness and buoyancy about

¹ Compare Hosea iv. 7, where the correct reading is: 'They have exchanged their Glory for Shame.' 'Their Glory' is used to signify Jehovah also in Jer. ii. 11.

them that it is difficult to realize that we are indeed listening to the voice of a dying man; but so it is. Then, again, the subject is just of that kind on which we crave, and frequently crave in vain, for information. The good men of whom the Dean writes are fast passing into oblivion so far as contemporary recollection is concerned, and yet they lived too recently to belong to the domain of history. Again, the method which the writer adopts is well adapted to secure attention. Life is really not long enough for us to master the two, or sometimes even three, bulky volumes which it is the fashion of the day to devote to the biographies of celebrated men, even when, as is very rarely the case, there are sufficient points of interest about them to justify such voluminous treatment. But we *can* afford time, even in this busy age, to peruse seventy or eighty pages about a man whose life has been worthy of record at all. We cordially agree with the Dean's remarks about the advantage of short biographies in his 'Dedictory Preface' (pp. viii, ix). He has the best of precedents for his experiment. Speaking broadly, his *Lives* are on an average about the length of those of Izaak Walton, and Walton is a notable instance of the truth of Hesiod's dictum that 'the half is greater than the whole.' Who does not know more of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, and Sanderson than he would have done if their *Lives* had been written on the modern scale? And, finally, the present volumes have an additional interest because they reveal in every page the mind and character of one who passed away before they saw the light. They contain a sort of unconscious autobiography as well as twelve biographies. Not that Dean Burgon is ever offensively egotistical; he rarely introduces himself in so many words, but it is not in the nature of the man to efface himself. His transparent simplicity and reality, the intensity—perhaps we may add, the narrowness—of his convictions, the warmth both of his likes and dislikes, all this renders any sort of disguise impossible. The very peculiarities of his style, such as his free use of parentheses, his almost humorous repetition of the colloquial 'dear,' the 'dear fellow,' the 'dear man,' and above all the 'dear children'—for a love of the little ones is a passion with him—all help to bring the man before our eyes. We have vivid pictures of Martin Joseph Routh, Hugh James Rose, and the rest, but at least an equally vivid one of John Burgon. The only criticisms which it seems necessary to make on the composition of these attractive volumes are (1) on the lack of an index, a serious drawback to a book likely to become a book of reference, and only partially remedied by an

ample table of contents, and (2) on the vagueness of the title. A title should surely to some little extent tell its own tale. But what definite idea does 'Twelve Good Men' convey? Twelve! why, let us hope it would be easy to pick out twelve thousand good men in the world's history. Of course everyone who knew anything about Dean Burgon would know perfectly well to what group of good men the twelve must belong; but there is reason to hope that the 'twelve good men' will live in the Dean's pages long after it is forgotten what manner of man the Dean himself was; and when the generation has arisen 'which knew not Joseph' what in the world will it make of the title 'Twelve Good Men'? And it would have been so easy to select a more distinctive title. 'Twelve Good Churchmen' or 'Twelve Good Anglicans' would have connoted a little more. But if the title of the whole work is vague the title of each separate biography describes faithfully the matter of which it treats: 'The Learned Divine,' 'The Restorer of the Old Paths,' 'The Man of Saintly Life,' 'The Great Provost,' 'The Remodeller of the Episcopate,' 'The Humble Christian,' 'The Faithful Steward,' 'The Large-hearted Librarian,' 'The Christian Philosopher,' 'The Single-minded Bishop,' 'The Earnest Parish Priest,' 'The Good Layman,' give respectively a good idea of the man described, and the Dean in each case brings out with great distinctness and power the features indicated in the title. In short, we have here twelve finished portraits drawn by a loving hand. It is impossible to rise from the work without having grasped thoroughly what sort of men Martin Joseph Routh, Hugh James Rose, Charles Marriott, Edward Hawkins, Samuel Wilberforce, Richard Lynch Cotton, Richard Greswell, Henry Octavius Coxe, Henry Longueville Mansel, William Jacobson, Charles Page Eden, and Charles Longuet Higgins were. No one could be better qualified to depict the twelve good men than their biographer is; eight out of the twelve were resident, for a greater or less part of their lives, at Oxford—that Oxford every feature of which, external and internal, Dean Burgon ought to have been thoroughly familiar with. The two who belonged to the sister University were his own connexions: one of them was his most intimate friend, the other his hero *par excellence*. It is a curious fact that the fullest, the most graphic and interesting of all the sketches is that of Hugh James Rose, of whom personally the Dean knew least. No less than 167 out of the 880 pages are devoted to his life; that is, he occupies nearly one-fifth instead of his proper share of one-twelfth of the whole work. The Dean did this with his eyes open. He considers

Hugh James Rose's 'by far the grandest, as well as the most important, life in the collection' (Pref. x). H. J. Rose is, in fact, the central figure round which the rest are grouped. In that life the Dean brings into a focus all the light which he desires to throw upon the Church in England generally, and in Oxford in particular, during the eventful years when the great revival took place. Each of his 'good men' has to point a moral as well as to adorn a tale; but the moral is pointed most directly, as the tale is adorned most elaborately, in the life of Hugh James Rose. It will be the object of this article, instead of attempting to reproduce on a yet smaller scale, and thereby inevitably spoiling, portraits in which there is not a touch wasted, rather to discuss the question which the Dean raises respecting a most important crisis in the history of the Church.

First, however, we have to thank the 'good man' (to use his own title, which is emphatically applicable to himself) for telling us plainly some home truths, which may be unpalatable, but are certainly 'wholesome and necessary for these times.' Throughout the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries it was the general fashion of moralists and divines to decry their own times. But we have changed all that. It is now a favourite theme to contrast our own times with those which went before us—always to our own advantage. Whatever else we have learned, we have certainly learned to blow our own trumpet. Dean Burgon adopts a very different tone. In his view not only were there many brave men before Agamemnon, but Agamemnon himself is not the fine fellow that his *vates sacer* (whose name is Legion) is perpetually vaunting him to be. This age, which is wont to be represented as the quintessence of everything that is great and good, is 'a conceited and forgetful generation' (i. 11), 'a careless generation' (i. 160), an age in which 'specimens of scholars and divines' like Dr. Routh 'seem likely to become more and more rare in England' (i. 109), and so on *da capo*. In short, the Dean plays the part of *Advocatus Diaboli*, and states with considerable force the reasons why the present age should not be canonized. As a 'laudator temporis acti' he brings out some features in the men of the past which might be studied with advantage by those of our own day. 'A very facile proceeding,' he exclaims with indignation, 'it is to speak in a patronizing way of the old-fashioned piety. Would to God that we had among us at the present day a little more of that old-fashioned thing!' (i. 154.) 'Such a course, as might have been expected, procured for him

[Jacobson] the usual epithets of being a "safe" and "cautious" man; as if "caution" were not the part of wisdom, or as if "safety" were not the dearest aspiration of every Christian heart!' (ii. 275.) Severe raps such as these are not undeserved by some among us, whose jaunty and flippant talk about religion is inexpressibly painful to men of really serious minds, or by those harum-scarum theologians who throw caution to the winds, and with caution too often the wisdom that cometh from above.

Very true also is the remark, which the Dean emphasizes with all the force of italics and capitals, that '*Church feeling was EVOKED, not CREATED, by the movement of 1833,*' a fact far too often ignored in the present day. And we are so far from cavilling at the list of thirty names of good Churchmen who preceded the revival that we should like to add many more to the number. Why, for instance, should the clerical brother, Archdeacon Watson, as well as the excellent lay brother, Joshua Watson, not be mentioned? Why should not Edmund Burke, and Samuel Johnson, and William Law (for he goes back as far and farther than their day in his list of good Churchmen), and Richard Mant, and Dr. D'Oyly, and James Allan Park, and Samuel as well as John Bowdler, and Herbert Marsh, and William as well as Christopher Wordsworth, and the two Churtens, and the two Rennells, and Francis Wrangham, and William Kirby, the pious naturalist, and R. W. Evans, 'the Keble of Cambridge'—where shall we stop?—not be added? They were all as sound, and many of them as distinguished, Churchmen as any that the Dean has specified, and they all belonged to an earlier generation than that which was affected by the Oxford movement.

But we must not underrate the importance of the process of 'evoking.' Immediately after his list of good Churchmen he quotes with approbation a long passage from his friend William Palmer, in which the following sentence occurs: 'There was [1830-2] an increasing attack upon the Church of England in every direction, and few indeed and weak were the voices which in timid deprecation were raised on its behalf' (i. 157). And a little before: 'In the midst of this revolutionary turmoil the Church and Christianity were in danger of being swept from their old foundations' (i. 153). Now surely it was no slight matter to turn the tide, to raise a 'movement' in a different direction. That term 'movement' indicates just what the good men before 1833 did not do. They held sound doctrine, they did much useful work, the

benefits of which we are reaping to this very day.¹ They affected a small circle, but they did not 'move' the great heart of England. That was a task reserved for others.

Who, then, were the real 'movers'? And what were the results of the movement? In his answer to the first of these questions the Dean affirms that Hugh James Rose 'was the man who, sixty years ago, at a time of universal gloom, panic, and despondency, rallied the faint-hearted as with a trumpet blast, awoke the sleepers, aroused the sluggish, led on to glory the van of the Church's army' (i. 116).

'If to any one man is to be assigned the honour of having originated the great Catholic revival of our times, *that* man was Hugh James Rose. . . . Amid the forms which crowd around us and the voices which make themselves heard above the "hurley-burley," when the history of a great work is to be deliberately committed to writing, *one* authoritative voice, *one* commanding figure becomes conspicuous beyond the rest, and posterity will recognize the fact that it was Hugh James Rose who was the true moving cause of that stirring of the waters which made an indelible impress on the Church of England between fifty and sixty years ago, and which it is customary to date from the autumn of 1833' (i. 158).

Numberless other passages might be quoted to the same effect, but the above will suffice. There can be little doubt that Hugh James Rose's share in the work has been too much ignored. The Dean fortifies his position by irrefragable testimony on this point. Mr. H. Bradshaw, a very high authority, affirms that Hugh James Rose was 'the man of all Cambridge men of that time, who was the leading spirit in the great Church revival;' Sir William Palmer that, 'had this noble man lived, he would have been the greatest ornament and the most trusted leader of his Church' (i. 161). But 'the leading spirit at *Cambridge*' is a very different thing from the leading spirit generally, for Cambridge took but a very subordinate part in the commencement of the revival. '*Would have been, had he lived,*' is a very different thing from 'actually was.' We will make the Dean the present of another name. We know on good authority that the late Mr. Copeland, the friend and brother Fellow of Isaac Williams at Trinity College, Oxford, always considered 'that Hugh James Rose's influence on the Oxford movement had been greatly underrated.'² And

¹ It should not be forgotten that the National Society, the Incorporated Church Building Society, the immense impetus given to the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G., the foundation of King's College, the Indian Episcopate, and other missionary agencies were all due to the good men who lived in the generation before the Oxford movement.

² The following extracts from a work now little known, but one of

there is a higher authority still (which, indeed, the Dean quotes). With noble generosity he who has been always held the real leader of the movement dedicates the fourth volume of his sermons 'To the Rev. Hugh James Rose, B.D., Principal of King's College, London, and Domestic Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, when hearts were failing, bade us stir up the gift that was in us and betake ourselves to our great interest and importance, entitled *A Collection of Papers connected with the Theological Movement of 1833*, by the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, 1843,' will illustrate this point :—

'No inconsiderable portion of our time at the Conference at Hadleigh was occupied in revising the Tract entitled *The Churchman's Manual*. As this was the first "Tract" systematically put forth to meet the exigencies of "the Times," as its preparation apparently gave rise to the series known by that designation, and as it is the only Tract which was submitted to and received the approval of all immediately concerned in promoting the theological movement of 1833, it will at once be interesting, and not without importance, to annex to it the foregoing statement. And as the care bestowed upon the preparation of that Tract probably exceeds that which any other theological publication in the English communion has received for a very long time, an account of it will not be undeserving of record for those who are interested in ecclesiastical matters. It will serve also to show that the foundation of the movement in 1833—with which only the late Mr. Rose was connected—was laid with all the care and circumspection that reason could well suggest, and thus much is due to his memory' (p. 20).

'The publication was commenced in the early part of 1833, and by the end of April was advanced far enough to be submitted to the revision of others. The first who was applied to for this purpose was the late Rev. Hugh James Rose, as eminent a theologian as any whom Cambridge contained ; and next, by his encouragement and advice, application was made to a no less distinguished theologian of the University of Oxford, the Rev. W. Palmer, author of the *Origines Liturgicæ*. Both these lent their valuable aid with the frankness, goodwill, and zeal which might be expected from them' (p. 21).

'This occurred before April 29, 1833. On July 6, 1833, Mr. Rose, then in London, writes from Hadleigh to Mr. Perceval, "Can I not tempt you here? I am in great hopes that . . . and two or three more will come expressly to talk over such matters. It would give me great delight if you would join them"' (p. 24).

'One whose name I must not give writes from Oxford, July 10, 1833, "Our valued friend Rose has proposed a conference of friends on the state of affairs, and to consider of the line we ought to adopt. I think this most highly desirable. He asked me to go to Hadleigh, and gives me hopes of meeting you, which would indicate an exceeding pleasure. Froude has also expressed his intention of coming, and he says Keble will also. Newman we expect every day from the Continent, and I hope he will also be there"' (p. 25).

'It is right to state that Mr. Rose was not, as far as I know, in any way concerned with the proceedings which took place subsequently to the meeting at Hadleigh, nor in any way responsible for them. Indeed, as late as August 18, the Oxford "resolutions," as he calls them in a letter of that date, now lying before me, have not been communicated to him' (p. 11).

true mother, this volume is inscribed by his obliged and faithful Friend ;' and in his letter of condolence to Hugh James Rose's widow in 1838, 'It was he who has brought me into notice. He was the first to induce me to write on theological subjects, and then to praise me when I had written' (i. 273). A parallel case happened a hundred years earlier. John Wesley might have written in very similar terms of William Law, who in one sense may unquestionably be regarded as the originator of the revival in the last century. The parallel is all the more striking because both Law and Rose raised a spirit of the subsequent working of which they disapproved, though not, of course, to the same extent, for Rose never held so much aloof from the Church revival as Law did from the Evangelical (Dean Burgon, by the way, seems to share the popular error that Law's *Serious Call* is a Low Church book. See ii. 412). Both Law and Rose were men whose extraordinary abilities and grand characters have never been properly appreciated. Not that Hugh James Rose, except in his talents and his saintliness, resembled William Law, who was much more like Newman. In a thoughtful and appreciative review of the *Life of William Law*, which appeared in the *Saturday Review* in April 1881, the striking resemblances between John Henry Newman and William Law are pointed out.

But let us see what Hugh James Rose actually did. He preached and published sermons of which it is impossible to speak too highly, sermons which one can well believe would act as an electric shock upon those who were privileged to hear them, and which cannot even now be read in cold blood without kindling one's enthusiasm. In fact, these sermons, together with those of John Miller, of Worcester College (Rose's friend who was to have been his biographer), stand on a level with those of Newman himself. In 1831 he undertook the editorship of the *British Magazine*, which was to be the monthly, as the *British Critic* and the *Christian Remembrancer* were the quarterly, Church organs. Circumstances which need not here be specified led the present writer to study most carefully, long before Dean Burgon's two volumes appeared, everything that Hugh James Rose wrote, and everything that was written about Hugh James Rose. The study convinced him of what he had long before suspected, that Hugh James Rose was one of those men whose transcendent powers had never been duly appreciated ; but, while fully admitting the important part which Hugh J. Rose took in the infancy of the movement, surely, for good or for evil, it was the Tract-writers

who were the real movers, and it was a true instinct that gave the movement the name of the 'Tractarian movement.' Now Newman was the originator of the *Tracts for the Times*; Keble, Pusey, Isaac Williams, Hurrell Froude were the principal contributors. Hugh James Rose had nothing to do with their actual composition, though, as Mr. Perceval indicates in the passage quoted above, the meeting at Hadleigh may have paved the way for them. We write advisedly 'Tract-writers,' not 'Tracts,' for the wonderfully attractive personality of the chief men concerned must not be lost sight of, nor yet their other works. Without Keble's and Isaac Williams' poetry, without Pusey's great reputation for learning and sanctity, above all without Newman's *Sermons* and marvellous personal influence, without what one may call the splendid audacity of Hurrell Froude, the 'enfant terrible' of the movement, it is quite possible that the 'Tracts' by themselves would never have produced the effect they did. But, whether it were the Tracts or the Tract-writers, or both combined, these were the works and these were the men that kindled the fire in England which has never ceased to burn.

These volumes raise another question which must not pass unnoticed : What were the tendency and results of the movement? In the Dean's view it took a right and straight course up to the year 1836, and then went off at a tangent in quite a different direction, viz. Romeward; and he implies that in this direction it has been going ever since. Now, how do the facts stand? It is, of course, true that the great leader of the movement (if, *pace* Dean Burton, we may venture to call Newman so) drifted gradually into Romanism, and that several of his most eminent disciples followed in his wake. But does not the subsequent history of the movement plainly show that this was only a temporary aberration? that it was, at most, a mere side-current easily accounted for by the special circumstances of the men and of the times, and that the main stream never ran in the direction of Rome? Is it not a remarkable fact that, in spite of Public Worship Regulation Acts, in spite of Privy Council judgments, in spite of Church Associations, in spite of opposition and persecution, and dismal prophecies from all quarters, scarcely any of those who have been influenced by what Dean Burton terms 'that miserable counterfeit which has since come to the front, and at this instant claims to represent the High Church party,' 'that spurious novelty,' that 'thing called ritualism,' and other complimentary designations, have ever dreamt for one moment of seeking rest in Rome? This theory of the

wrong or Romeward direction of the Church movement from 1836 onwards is most prominently brought forward in the Life of H. J. Rose, but almost all the other 'good men' are held up as happy exceptions to the unhappy tendency. Thus 'the great Provost's' (Hawkins) 'life had been from first to last one of obstinate and prolonged antagonism—of uncompromising resistance, and of stern, unbending protest—against two great successive movements: the "Tractarian" movement, which he condemned as disloyal and dishonest; the "Liberal" movement, which he abhorred as irreligious and revolutionary' (i. 455). Wilberforce was 'brought face to face with the uncatholic impress which had been given to the great Church movement,' 'the *Romeward* agitation, which, as most of us are aware, speedily grew out of, or at least resulted from, the teaching called "Tractarian"' (ii. 50). Greswell 'was a hearty adherent of what used to be called the "Tractarian party,"' but 'would have nothing to do with the movement when it ceased to be Anglican' (ii. 99). Jacobson 'intuitively detested and dreaded the dangerous tendency of the later Tractarian teaching, and would not in any way identify himself with the party' (ii. 274). Now, it seems to us that the undoubted excellences of these twelve good men might have been quite as well brought out without depreciating those who will surely continue to be regarded as the great leaders of the Oxford movement, and without exaggerating the incidental weaknesses of that movement.

ART. VIII.—THE CRADLE OF ISLAM.

Travels in Arabia Deserta. By CHARLES M. DOUGHTY.
2 vols. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1888.)

IT is seldom that such a work as Mr. Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta* is issued to the world. Its merits are of a very high order, but we question whether more than an occasional reader outside the small circle of Oriental specialists will persevere to the end of the thirteen hundred compressed pages which these volumes comprise. Yet the conscientious student, who is deterred neither by the length nor the ruggedness of the task, will be amply rewarded. These volumes are essentially

full of matter, and may without exaggeration be called unique in substance, in subject, and in style. Beyond the record of two years' travel and life amongst the Arabs, both in the desert and in desert cities, they describe the geological and historical features of the country and include an admirable map of the almost unknown regions which Mr. Doughty traversed. They contain an account of inscriptions (the whole body of those recovered by Mr. Doughty have been published by the French Institute) and drawings of architectural remains declared by the chief Arabic scholars to be of great importance in casting light upon the obscure Nabathæan dynasty and its relations to Greek civilization and to Islam. Their elaborate glossary of Arabic and vernacular dialect has elicited the approval and personal help alike of English and Italian, of French and German Orientalists. So much for the substance and subject of the work, but what shall we say of its style? The author admits that it is not milk for babes, and a contemporary critic suggests that it is more like nails and gravel for ostriches. It is assuredly utterly unlike anything we have met with in a fairly wide range of English literature. Yet, despite a certain affectation of archaic turns of speech and singularly involved and distorted sentences—despite even the gratuitous and irritating introduction, with quite unnecessary frequency, of Arabic words and phrases—it clearly indicates an eye that can see and a mind that can grasp with no ordinary power; so that Mr. Doughty's descriptions, although dashed in with a confused and picturesque ruggedness, frequently rival the results of the most delicate play of light and shade in the successful production of a vivid picture. It accords with the eccentric character of the work that it contains no dates, and that it is only from the heading of the map that we learn that Mr. Doughty's journeys were performed during a period which extended from November 1876 to August 1878. We can well believe that the reproduction of the inscriptions and the preparation of this massive work of Arabic scholarship and travel has been completed (to use the author's own phrase) in a decennium with incessant labour.

Mr. Doughty joined the Haj, or annual sacred caravan, on its way to the holy cities of Islam; not proposing to penetrate within the hallowed precincts of Mecca or Medina, but to explore the little-known region of Nejd. Deserted and disowned by the English consul at Damascus, whose intervention could have secured for him a firman that would have been priceless in many a perilous hour (is it only Englishmen who meet with such treatment at the hands of the Foreign

Office *employés* ?), Mr. Doughty obtained a grudging permission to journey as far as Medáin Sâlih, and hurried forward to join the pilgrims. It was no matter of difficulty to overtake the stately march of the Haj, whose annual progress is arranged with all the laborious care of a state ceremony of high national importance. The movements of the caravan are regulated by the pasha of the Haj, who travels in his litter with a military guard and all the pomp of Oriental splendour. The signal to rest or to set out is sounded by gunshot, and the march is lengthened or cut short at the pasha's bidding. When the hour of prayer arrives, the multitude halts on its way, and while the loaded camels remain standing, the 'men alight, and the more devout bow down their faces to say the canonical prayer towards Mecca.' At the signal to start, the multitude—some six thousand souls and not less than ten thousand cattle, the most of them camels—strike their tents and move forward in loose marching order some four abreast, members of the same tribe or fellowship naturally keeping together. Merchants of grain and dry stuffs, pedlars, and others, who would combine business with religion, mingle in the throng. 'The length of the slow-footed multitude of men and cattle is near two miles, and the width some hundred yards in the open plains.' There is no artificially-constructed road, but the well-worn track of many generations has left traces which guide the travellers. There is no disorder or confusion. Each company preserves the place which has fallen to it at the outset. The train of tent servants, more lightly equipped than the rest, are first at the appointed halting-place, and when the caravan arrives its lodgings are pitched in due order. After dark, paper lanterns shed a dreamy light on the encampment, and pilgrims visit their friends in other companies at much risk, as a keen look-out is kept for prowling robbers that hover round the caravan, and shots are fired indiscriminately, on the first alarm, at the dreaded Beduin. Soon all is quiet until the warning shot rouses the company before the morning star appears, and if the night be dark or showery cressets of iron cages set on poles and borne on men's shoulders serve to light the road. All the details of the journey are organized by the administration, under whose authority the wells on the road are encircled with fortresses strictly guarded, provision of water is arranged for marches where no springs are available, and a fixed tribute is paid to certain nomad tribes for annual permission to pass unmolested through their borders. In this, as in all other branches of Turkish executive government,

accusations of speculation are rife, and the thirsty pilgrims pass with deep curses the ruined kellas whose cisterns the officials have neglected to maintain.

Among so vast a company there is but a small proportion of richer persons. The pilgrims influenced by religious motives are mainly of the lower orders, and their conduct and character recall the worst traditions of mediæval pilgrimages. Beggars, fanatics, dervishes, madmen, swell the crowd. Sickness and old age gather a plentiful crop of 'martyrs,' as those who perish on the road are called. There is no ambulance service, and all charity is cold in the great and terrible wilderness. Instances of humanity indeed are not wanting, but the half-starved wretches who must fain be left behind will be stripped ere they are dead by the Arab camp followers, and their corpses are the prey of foul hyenas. No wonder that amidst such gloomy scenes men's fancies conjure up visions of desert monsters—Jin and Ghoul and Ghrôl, women fiends, monoptic cyclops, misshapen and discordant-footed, one hoof like that of the ass, another like that of the ostrich—prowling around the tents and luring victims with the voice of some one dear to them—sister or mother—to their destruction. Brains distraught with fiery heat and burning thirst are troubled by distorted images which the ready falsehood of the Beduin confirms as truth 'by the life of Ullah.' No gunshot affects these monsters, and they can scarce be beaten off with burning brands. We are once more in the atmosphere of the *Arabian Nights* and under the caliphate of Haroun Alraschid.

One traditional feature of the journey is lacking, and for a characteristic reason.

'I saw not anywhere the reported strewed skeletons of camels nor mounds of sand blown upon their fallen carcases. *The Arabs are too poor so to lose cattle* ; but these and the like are tales rather of our European Orientalism than with much resemblance to the common experience. The Haj from Syria is the most considerable desert caravan of the Eastern world. There faint always some camels which have thinner soles, when these are worn to the quick, in the length of so great a journey. Any such bleeding-footed beast is sold for a few crowns to the Beduins, and after some weeks' rest may be again a good camel ; but if there be no buyers at hand, and he must needs be abandoned, they cut the throat in haste, to take his skin, and go forward. The hyena, the wolf, the fox, which follow the camp, finding this meat, the carcase is rent, and the bones will be scattered. I have never seen any frame of bones lying in the desert or buried by the sand-driving wind, which blows lightly and only seldom in inner Arabia' (vol. i. p. 57).

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Amongst the strange experiences of the pilgrimage one may notice the stern administration of justice in a case of suspected theft, and the last hours of certain of the travellers. In the first instance the prisoner was laid bound before his judges and beaten until he should confess his guilt; 'but if the wretch were innocent, for his health broken what god or human afterthought might make him amends!' Horrified at the sight and at a bystander's remark, 'Except he confess they will leave no life in him,' the stranger interfered. 'Sirs, I am an hakim. This man may not bear more; hold, or he may die under your handling.' A stony stare of surprise was the only result of this appeal, and a friendly warning that such interference with fitting punishment might lead to the Nasrany's expulsion from the caravan (i. p. 14).

Amongst the most conspicuous objects on the march are certain litters, or camel coaches, 'borne in such sort that each is suspended by four shafts, between the withers of a fore and the shoulders of an after camel.' As these *takhts*, as they are called, are provided at great expense Mr. Doughty wondered to see several of them empty; he was told that they would soon be tenanted.

'If any poor man sickened to death in the company he would pay the 100 piastres of daily hire to ride like a lord in the few hours that remained for him to live. . . . As we advanced I saw the *takhts* to be inhabited, and that they were the beginning of a man's funeral. Wrapped in his large hair cloak, he was laid in them, soon to die, and the pompous litter was often his bier before evening. I saw none of those clay-white faces that came in there which left it again alive; they depart this life in the vehement labour of the way, without comfort of human kindness, amidst the litany of horrible imprecations which are all moments in the mouths of the young Damascus drivers' (vol. i. p. 66).

At an early stage of his journey Mr. Doughty became familiar with the ill faith and barbarity of the people amongst whom his life was ventured. The occasion was peculiar. A Persian lady in the caravan made it her dying request that she should be buried in the holy soil of Mecca, from which the Haj was yet thirty days' distance. Her faithful serving-man, in order to fulfil her wishes, bought a camel that he might sew up the corpse in the raw hide and carry it thus in her cradle-litter to the journey's end. The beast selected for the slaughter was Mr. Doughty's camel, and, in violation of his contract, an unbroken creature was substituted, whose vagaries involved the stranger in constant peril, from which he was only delivered by threatening to shoot his mutinous attendants.

'These shrews,' he says, 'played an ill comedy ; the danger urgent, I drew out before them my naked pistol ; after other days they gave over thus to trouble me. They are wolves to each other, and what if some were hounds to me? for the distress of the way edges all men's spirits. And this is spoken proverbially in Syria amongst Mohammedans as against the Haj : "Ware of any neighbour of thine an hajjy ! Twice a hajjy, keep thy door close ; an hajjy the third time, build up the door of thy dwelling and open another upon the contrary part"' (vol. I. pp. 67-8).

At Medáin Sâlih Mr. Doughty left the Haj to lodge in the kella, hoping from thence to visit the Nabathæan monuments and to obtain accurate drawings of the buildings, as well as to transcribe such inscriptions as might remain on them. The purpose of the traveller's coming was occasion of irrepressible surprise amongst the Arabs, which was increased rather than allayed by every explanation and by every account rendered of England's condition or empire. What in the name of Ullah could be the sense or meaning of a man's making so long a journey to so poor a country only to copy the scratches on some ruined and half-forgotten graves? It was unintelligible that any save a madman should be influenced by motives so incredible as antiquarian or philological curiosity. He must be either come to spy out the land with a view to Frankish conquest or else inspired by hope of disinterring buried treasure or be an ill-omened adept in some sorcery or unlawful magic through which the Arab should be bewitched out of his fatherland. The latter, in Arab eyes the most reasonable explanation, became a certainty whenever any scrap of paper covered with unknown and therefore cabalistic characters was detected on Khalîl's person or in his camel's bags. It was not until familiarity had accustomed them to the presence of the Nasrany that it was safe for him to wander for a stone's throw beyond the walls of the kella, and when the object of his journey was at length credited all friendly and well-disposed persons very earnestly dissuaded him. So devoid of curiosity are the Mohammedans that only two parties of the more civilized of the returning pilgrims, men brought up in the enlightened atmosphere of Damascus, would travel a mile out of their road to see the monuments. Even these went more to visit the Englepsy (Englishman) than to see the ruins he had travelled so far to explore. Urgent were their entreaties to the misguided stranger.

'Khalîl, think better for thyself and return with us while the way is open from this hunger-stricken wilderness and consumed by the sun ; thou wast not bred, and God calls thee not, to this suffering in

a land which only demons can inhabit. The Beduw are demons, but thou art a Nasrāny. There everyone that seeth thee will kill thee ! And if the Lord's singular grace save thy life to the end, yet what fruit shouldst thou have for all those great pains? Other men jeopardy somewhat in hope of winning, but thou wilt adventure all having no need' (vol. i. p. 204).

Life in a solitary outpost like the kella, where a scanty garrison of half a dozen men keeps watch over the water supply of the Haj, was speedily exhausted. The fierce occasional quarrels of the wardens afford but a sorry diversion to the tedious and pointless stories with which they wile away the evening hours. Mohammed Ali, one of the party, had been so much a traveller as to have been on an English ship, and he rivalled Baron Munchausen in the audacity of his description. She had three hundred guns, every one of which was nine yards long and so wide that three men's outstretched arms could hardly span them. On one of her decks was a market at which all kinds of provisions were sold. Her sea soldiers were twenty-five thousand. As may be imagined the Arab conception of European politics as discussed on these occasions was fantastic enough. It was a strong point in the Englishman's favour that his country was the ally of the Sublime Porte against the hated Muscov. They contrasted proudly the long resistance of Algeria with the speedy conquest of France by a nation hitherto unheard of. The Italians, owing to their dark complexions, were thought to be the slaves of the English. They gravely enquired what tribute British Christians paid the Sultan for permission to remain alive, and could with difficulty believe that the Empress of India rules over more Mohammedan subjects than Abdul Hamed II.

It is one of the incessant and irritating incidents of Arab travel that no reliance can be placed upon the plighted assurances of the native guides, and that no Western imagination can gauge the motives that will influence them. We cannot recall a single instance in which Mr. Doughty was fairly treated by his conductors, except when dread of vengeance at the hands of their Oriental masters induced obedience to their orders. Prepayment of the stipulated wage was invariably insisted upon, and as invariably followed by attempts to evade at least some portion of the bargain solemnly concluded, or to extort more money for its exact performance. Every act of chicanery is exhausted to compass some trifling advantage. Every article carried in the traveller's valise or on his person, no matter how useless to the ignorant Ishmaelite—his aneroid equally with his tobacco pouch or his carbine—is coveted with

a greed for which the universal poverty of the desert perhaps affords some excuse. The contents of an average portmanteau represent unheard of possessions to the wandering Beduin, whose wealthier members will clothe themselves in rags on setting out for a distant expedition lest they should be stripped in a chance encounter with some members of a hostile tribe.

Life amongst the nomad tribes formed that part of his sojourn of which Mr. Doughty speaks most favourably. Hospitality, practised under limitations to which we shall presently advert, is the practical piety of the Arab. Nowhere does the character of the sons of Ishmael appear to such advantage as when playing the host. The absolute freedom of daily existence from the constraints of civilized life ; the purity of the dry desert air ; the simple yet adequate milk diet ; the splendid *dolce far niente* of the sweltering day, passed in one long siesta, and of the cool evening hours, wiled with languid chat round the coffee hearth under the canopy of heaven ; the lightness of body induced by a rigid temperance which is vexed by no craving for heavier food—these items form the silver side of the shield. But they can only be enjoyed under favourable conditions and whilst the tents remain stationary at their temporary grazing ground. With the signal to depart the European's miseries begin. The gait of the camel is an uneasy shuffle, and if the journey be made beneath a burning sun presently becomes so intolerable as to be called by Mr. Doughty 'a long dying without death,' protracted until life becomes matter of indifference. As the heat waxes fiercer the tempers of the Arabs wax, it may be, more ferocious, and curses deep and loud are hurled at the Nasrany, and shrill women's voices mingle in the taunts and bid their brothers cut the throat of the infidel. Let the reader picture to himself a journey in such companionship through a volcanic region, over stones so hot that the hardened herdsmen are fain to save their bare feet from scorching by sitting on the croups of their browsing cattle, and when parched with thirst denied a drop of water, or finding it so foul that they can scarce raise it to their lips. 'With the skin of the hands, neck, and face, and of the shins and feet broken and peeled I rode in a sort of trance and half burned.' We can hardly wonder that Mr. Doughty found a very small thing—even a shrew's angry tongue—a new affliction. It was the day in which the grasshopper becomes a burden. 'What for the infelicity of nature, human malice, and the devilish iniquity of religions, I hoped not to spend many other such days in the world.' Yet both mind and body rapidly recover their due balance, under the

serene and salubrious atmosphere of the desert, from the fatigue and fury of the way.

It is impossible to conceive a stronger contrast than that which is presented by the energy of Western civilization with the calm passiveness of life in the tents of the Beduin. All the more laborious work is done by the women. It is they who strike the tents when the camp is raised, and when a halting-place is reached it is they who pitch them, the sheyk only indicating with the palm of his hand which way they shall be faced. The hareem churn the butter, prepare the household meals, spin the yarn and weave the coarse hair cloth, take charge of the family possessions. Only on the march, mounted high upon the sprawling camels, do they enjoy a fitful rest. The men simply lounge and laze. Even the pasturing of the flocks is an unwelcome care, to be cast upon and reluctantly accepted by the poorest of the tribe; and such simple arts as desert life requires are the monopoly of the Solubby, a vagrant race of gipsy tinkers. The dignity of labour is an unmeaning solecism to the Oriental mind. The only indoor work which the lord of the tent does not consider to be derogatory is preparing the coffee. With his own hand he will solemnly pound the scanty coffee beans, and pass the thick boiling sippets round to his guests. His highest glory is to ride in the *grazzhu* (foray) on some headlong raid and sweep off the cattle of his foes. Only where the strong hand of some powerful overlord enforces peace through a wide district does agriculture or commerce flourish.

How far climate and creed are severally responsible for the existing conditions of Arab life is a problem of almost insoluble intricacy. We have been tempted to think that there is some subtle connexion between Calvinism and a stiff clay soil, and the area within which certain phases of Christian thought have been restricted suggests matter for copious, if inconclusive, meditation. The influence which climate exerts in Arabia Deserta may be estimated in some degree by the following extract, which will also serve, we think, as a striking illustration of Mr. Doughty's graphic power:—

‘The summer’s night at end, the sun stands up as a crown of hostile flames from that huge covert of inhospitable sandstone bergs; the desert day dawns not little by little, but it is noontide in an hour. The sun, entering as a tyrant upon the waste landscape, darts upon us a torment of fiery beams, not to be remitted till the far-off evening. No matins here of birds; not a rock-partridge cock calling with blithesome chuckle over the extreme waterless desolation. Grave is that giddy heat upon the crown of the head; the ears tingle with a

flickering shrillness, or subtle crepitation it seems, in the glassiness of this sun-stricken nature ; the hot sand-blink is in the eyes, and there is little refreshment to find in the tent's shelter—the worsted booths leak to this fiery rain of sunny light. Mountains looming like dry bones through the thin air stand far around about us—the savage flank of Ybba Moghrair, the high spire and ruinous stacks of El Jebâl Chebâd, the coast of Helwân ! Herds of the weak nomad camels waver dispersedly, seeking pasture in the midst of this hollow, fainting country, where but lately the swarming locusts have fretted every green thing. The silent air burning about us we endure breathless till the assr, when the dazing Arabs in the tents revive after their weary hours. The lingering day draws down to the sun-setting ; the herds-men, weary of the sun, come again with the cattle, to taste in their menzils the first sweetness of mirth and repose. The day is done, and there rises the nightly freshness of this purest mountain air ; and then to the cheerful song and cup at the common fire. The moon rises ruddy from that solemn obscurity of jebel like a mighty beacon—and the morrow will be as this day, days deadly drowned in the sun of the summer's wilderness' (vol. i. p. 323).

Mr. Doughty notes some curious points of nomad etiquette. On arriving at a sheyk's tent the stranger, when introduced into the canvas home, and specially if the hareem are present, must enter with a demure and half-reluctant demeanour. The host commends his guest to his house spouse, who thenceforth is styled 'the aunt' of the visitor. At a feast it is the mode to present ample portions of meat to an honoured guest, and he whose hunger is satiated should still hold his hands over the trencher, as though participating in the banquet, until all the rest have finished their meal. It is reckoned churlish to abstain from offering coffee to any visitor of sheykly rank, and the coffee pots once started all comers are welcome to such refreshment as repeated doses of water will produce. When Mr. Doughty's hostess Zirfa fled her husband's tent, the stranger learned that it would be *de rigueur* for him to undertake the task of luring back the fugitive to her home. His efforts were successful in persuading her to return, but it was intimated that he should give largesse in tobacco to her tribes-women, who professed to have overcome her reluctance, and the demand was repeated when they next day escorted her to the encampment. The etiquette of the desert becomes of vital importance in the hour of danger, when a skilful stratagem may establish relations of 'bread and salt' between opponents, or by a sudden kiss upon his brow an angry foe may be converted into a pledged and pacified ally. 'Perilous rovers in the field, the herdsmen of the desert, are kings at home, fathers of hospitality to all that seek to them for the night's

harbour. "Be we not all," say the poor nomads, "guests of Ullah?"

The extent of Arab hospitality is amazing if one considers their poverty and the common scarcity of provisions. Corn is almost always dear, forage so uncertain that milk and flesh alike are precarious. Swarms of locusts may ruin in a single day the promise of a year. Carriage of goods over any distance from the markets speedily doubles their cost from the merchants. Whilst wandering upon the Harra with the Moahîb clans Mr. Doughty was entertained by a chieftain named Abeydillah. The feast did not include any dainties. It consisted of a vast trencher filled with boiled rice, in the midst of which was a pan of melted clarified butter, into which a half-handful of the rice was dropped, rolled into a ball, and then consumed. Simple as was the fare, it came later (says our author)

'to my knowledge that our host had spent upon this guest-meal nearly all the victual which remained by him in this low season. They had thereafter but milk, and that not enough, and mereesy.¹ The Arab can live for long months so slenderly nourished that it seems to us they endure without food. Startling is this occasional magnanimity of the Beduw in the religious sacrifice of hospitality; men who in their other dealings are commonly of so merely vile, fraudulent, self-loving mind and envious misanthropy. The most honour of a man's life is the people's praise of his bounty. The Beduin is moved to the bountiful receiving of guests where his nature is very sensible; vainglorious, he would be catching at an estimation in the world: also the nomad's natural religion is working within him, whose days are wanderings between the empty earth and sky, with perils evermore about them. Faithfully he receives God's guests, who is the Host of all and the Giver of all good; and this doing he looks for a blessing and the Divine protection' (vol. i. p. 400).

It is of the essence of this hospitality in the estimation of the Arabs that it should be bestowed without thought or acceptance of reward. Poor women readily waited upon lone strangers. Who else should fill a man's girby with water, or grind his corn, or bring him firewood? Passing travellers are regaled with copious draughts of milk, the wealth of the desert, drawn fresh from the udder for their use, and when two days' thirst is upon them are welcomed to their fill as they swallow three or four pints at a draught. Remuneration is unwillingly received, especially when a feeling of genuine friendship has arisen between a host and his guest. When an equivalent is pressed it is held to be doing away with a man's good works.

¹ Dry milk.

'Nay, Khalil, leave me happy with the remembrance of any kindness, and take it not away from me by requiring me ! Only this I desire of thee, that thou shouldest sometimes say, "*The Lord remember him for good*;" and thou art poor in the midst of a land which thou hast seen to be all hostile to thee.'

It were hard for a Christian gentleman to surpass either in thought or expression this utterance of a poor Mohammedan at Kheybar.

Our notice of Arab hospitality would be incomplete without the following description of a city dinner party. The scene was Aneyza, perhaps the most flourishing town of El Kasim. The host was Abdullah el Kenneyny, a man of good family and one of the wealthiest foreign merchants. The company was the best that the place could supply :—

'The dinner tray was set on a stool (the mess is served upon the floor in princes' houses in Hâyil), and we sat half kneeling about it. The foreign merchant's meal at Aneyza is more town-like than I had seen in Arabia : besides boiled mutton or temmn (river rice) Abdullah had his little dishes of carrots fried in butter, and bowls of custard messes or curded milk. We sit at leisure at the European board, we chat cheerfully ; but such at the Arab's dish would be a very inept and unreasonable behaviour ! he were not a man but an homicide who is not speechless in that short battle of the teeth for a day's life of the body. And in what sort (forgive it me, O thrice good friends ! in the sacrament of the bread and salt) a dog or a cat laps up his meat, not taking breath, and is despatched without any curiosity, and runs after to drink, even so do the Arabs endeavour that they may come to an end with speed, for in their eyes it were not honest to linger at the dish, whereunto other (humbler) persons look that should eat after them. The good Bessâm, to show the European stranger more kindness, rent morsels of his mutton and laid them ready to my hand. "Yerhamak Ullah" ("The Lord be merciful unto thee") say the town guests every one in rising from dinner, with a religious mildness and humility. Bessâm himself and his sons held the towel to them, without the door, whilst they washed their hands. The company returned to their sitting before the hearth ; and his elder son sat there already to make us coffee' (ii. pp. 351-2).

The ordinary occupation of the guests gathered about the coffee hearth or of the tribesmen that recline around the evening camp fire is to wile away the time with telling stories. No rule of probability, no chastened restraint of imagination, confines the utterance of the speaker or disturbs the credulity of the audience. Tales of robbers naturally occupy a large place in this spoken literature of a people who are daily liable to such deeds of violence, and revive the reader's faded memory of the hunchback or the forty thieves. The following

example is at once so characteristic and so novel as to deserve quotation :—

‘There was an old Lahabby, not less praised for his prudence than for his legerdemain, and there was a young man that would be the best among them. “What,” said he, “is this gaffer good for any more?” The greybeard answered, “I choose thee, young man, for my rafik to rob at the next Haj ; it shall be seen then whether of us twain is the better man.” At length the time was come, and the Haj lay encamped at evening before them. “Partner,” quoth the old man, “their watch is yet awake ; abide we till midnight, when this people will be in their first sleep.” . . . They went down, and the elder bade the younger choose a tent. And there the greybeard entering boldly brought out what he would, and laid it on the young man’s shoulders, and bade him come again quickly. Then the greybeard whispered, “Whether of us twain is the better man?” “I durst say I am as good as thou, partner.” The old shrew whispered, “Well, go we to supper ; here is rice in the hajjies’ pot ; put forth thy hand, bismillah.” When they had eaten enough the greybeard turned to him. “Now tell me whether of us is the better man.” “In all this I doubt not but I am as good as thou, partner.” Then the old man caught up the pan and let it fall on a stone, and with the clangour those weary sleepers—the pilgrims lie down mistrusting all things, with their weapons under their heads—awakened in dread. The young robber was nimble ; but some of their outstretched hands have caught him in the dark, and he was pulled down among them. That old fox lay abroad on his breast (as the Beduins slumber), and breathed deep in the moonlight ! It was some poor old man, they said, as they saw him, one of the wretched people of this country, who came begging in the Haj menzil to eat some poor morsel among them. As for that young thief, they beat him well and bound him with their girdles to the tent pole till morning. When the old man saw that the pilgrims slumbered again he came and loosed his partner’s bonds, and whispered, “Tell me, young man, which is the better of us twain?” The other answered, so soon as they were without, “Ay, wellah, my father, thou art the better man.” Abdullah ended with a proverb, which might be said in English, “The young may the old outrun but not outread”’ (ii. pp. 155–6).

The relation of Arab husbands and wives is abundantly discussed in these volumes. To the more thoughtful of European travellers nothing is more astounding than the position of women through the vast regions of the world where the creed of Mohammed prevails. ‘The open loving affection of our spouses for life they esteem unmanly.’ On one occasion some difficulty being found in deciphering the postscript of a letter, it was suggested that it might be a message from the absent wife. When do the hareem send their greeting, or what man sends ever a greeting to the hareem ? was the im-

mediate rejoinder. In a large district of Arabia Deserta the strict female seclusion of the cities is unknown and the women appear unveiled before strangers. As Mr. Doughty approached the Beduin tents under the guidance of Zeyd, the sheyk, he drew back, observing the desert courtesy ; but Zeyd called him after him to the women's apartment. 'There he presented me to his young wife. "Khalil," said he, "here is thy new 'aunt ;' and, Hirfa, this is Khalil, and see thou take good care of him."' The bonds of matrimony sit but lightly upon the Beduin, and the word of divorce may be pronounced at the mere caprice of the husband, and even when that is not uttered there is always a dread in the heart of the Arabian wife when she has reached middle age that the good man may bring a new bride home to his household.

The ignorance of Arab women is profound, almost incredible. The name of Christian seemed to fill some of them with terror, and when the first strangeness was overcome their curiosity found vent in the most outlandish questions. 'Nas-rany, are there women in your land ?' 'Yes surely, mothers, daughters, and wives. Am I not the son of a woman, or dost thou take me, silly woman, for a son of the wolf ?' 'Yes, yes, I thought so ; but, Khalil, be the Nasâra born as we ? *Ye rise not, then, out of the sea !*' It should be added that the word 'sea' only represents to their minds the notion of some indescribable monster.

It is a dark picture which Mr. Doughty gives of the results that spring from the facility of divorce in Arabia Deserta. The sorrows involved in polygamy are heavy, and they are aggravated not only by unequal concubinage and weary servitude, but the dread of being cast off as soon as the bloom of youth is over. The misery thus wrought is far more general than would be imagined.

'Certainly as she withers, which is not long to come, or having no fair adventure to bear male children, she will as thing unprofitable be cast off ; meanwhile all the house labour is hers, and with his love will be lost . . . Few, then, are the nomad wives whose years can be long happy in marriage ! they are few indeed, or nearly none, that continue in their first husband's household. Such are commonly mothers of many children, or wedded in needy families, so that the house-fathers are not able to maintain another housewife. But substantial and shekly persons will have done betimes with these old wives and pass to new bride-beds, or they were not Moslemin ; and being rich men they spend cheerfully for new wives as they will spend for the seasonable change of clothing. The cast housewife may be taken up by some other worthy man in favour of some old liking, or pass to the new marriage and household service of some poorer per-

son. The woman's joy and her comfort is to be the mother of sons, that at least she may remain a matron in her boy's tent when even his hard father shall have repudiated her' (i. pp. 236-7).

Under such conditions there is lacking the atmosphere in which alone pure conjugal love can exist, and the sweet home life which is so large an element in English happiness is almost unknown. Broadly speaking the hareem of the desert excel their veiled sisters of the city in morality, and the crown of licentiousness is reached within the sacred walls of Mecca and Medina. Yet what purity of mind is possible for women so long as they are regarded in the light of the creed of Islam, and whilst the foulest language receives no check from their presence with that of their nearest male relatives? This degradation of women appears the more unnatural in view of the important duties which are cast upon them in the desert. It is pleasing to note that any delicacy or kindness shown to Arab women by the English stranger invariably elicited the most cordial gratitude.

Mr. Doughty found no small advantage in his practice of medicine, but he is strong in his denunciation of his Arab patients. They preferred charms to medicine, were dishonest and untrustworthy in their promises of payment for medical attendance, grudging of their silver for scarce and necessary drugs, and importunate for cures beyond all human skill. Their wild impatience makes them look to see marvels, and they imagine that a right physician should be able on feeling a pulse at once to divine all a man's past infirmities. When the medicines were ineffectual they scouted the physician; when they produced some manifest result, such as morphia, they were little moved: 'All is as nothing compared to God's miracles.' Some men were ungracious enough to steal the cups—a trifling loss in itself, but one not to be repaired in the desert—in which the medicines had been carefully mixed for them. 'Who has not made the experience can hardly think how tedious it is to prepare medicines in the wilderness; in that sun-stricken languishing, and indigence of all things, and often confusion of the nomad tent, to weigh out grains in the balance, the sand blowing, and there is no pure water.' When all was ready hardly any Arab could find a phial in which to receive his physic, and finally 'the elves' commonly 'withheld the price.' So said the men at our homely evening fire, 'The people come to Khalil's tent for medicines; and Khalil, not distinguishing them, will give to all of them in trust: the people go their ways, and he sees them no more, wellah! Khalil, there is no witi n thee at all for buying and selling.'

With alternate obstinacy and panic they disdained vaccination when freely offered them so long as danger of infection seemed remote, and were frantic to purchase it at any cost when rumour reported the approach of pilgrims amongst whom small-pox was raging. While adverting to this phase of Mr. Doughty's experience we may observe that he occasionally enters upon somewhat nauseous medical details. No doubt it is a very difficult task to give an adequate picture of Oriental and semi-savage life without revelations which shock our sense of propriety, and Mr. Doughty handles such topics with unaffected straightforwardness and without any of that scarcely veiled satisfaction in indelicate nastiness which disfigures too much contemporary literature. It would be a mistake to suppose that the fatalism of the Arabs forbids their taking advantage of medical aid ; but their native practitioners are rather diviners than physicians, and the more popular medicines are revolting compounds of foul things, such as might find their counterpart in the deepest ignorance of the darkest European ages.

We may notice a few of the Biblical illustrations which teem in Mr. Doughty's volumes. In the desert life of to-day a thousand incidents recall the manner of life and speech of the Hebrew patriarchs. Every phrase indicative of modes of thought and feeling which were prevalent 3,000 years ago is repeated by our contemporaries in Arabia Deserta. A land flowing with milk is still, rather than any term suggestive of the gold fields, *the* proverbial and appropriate expression for wealth and prosperity. The honoured guest is welcomed with the slaughter of a firstling from the flock or the herd, which the host himself will dress, and then will attend in person to the wants of his visitors without joining them at table, whilst those who are bidden dip their fingers together in the mighty wooden trencher. The food of the desert includes, as of old, locusts and wild honey. Pilgrims setting out upon their journey carry a batch of dough, not only to supply the first day's victuals, but to spare their water-skins. Semitic life is still as full of significant gestures and sacramental signs as when Gehazi laid Elisha's staff upon the dead child's face, or Jeremiah buried his girdle on the banks of the Euphrates. For example, on one occasion Mr. Doughty's conductor uncoiled his kerchief and bound it round a sheyk whose protection was besought, to signify that his suzerain in like manner bound the sheyk surety to answer for the traveller. Brawls constantly arise amongst tribesmen about their pits and their days of watering, and are settled either by mutual agreement

to break up a community too great for the land to bear or by appeal for judgment to them that sit in the gate. Time is measured by the shadowing round of a little wand set upon the channel's brink, the dial of which we read in Job that 'a servant earnestly desireth the shadow.' The readiness with which the friend of yesterday joins in the copious and ribald cursing of one who has for the moment incurred unpopularity reminds the reader of Shimei's abuse of King David when the latter fled at the first outbreak of Absalom's rebellion. Such examples might be multiplied indefinitely. From the first moment when Mr. Doughty sets out with the Haj in a vast caravan that recalls the departure of Israel from Egypt to the last stage of his journey, when the worn-out and plundered traveller, who reaches Et Tayif half dead and in rags, is presented by the generous emir with two changes of raiment, we breathe the atmosphere and live the life of the patriarchs and the prophets—the life of that strange section of the world where alone custom is unchanging and type of race indelible.

We have no space to record Mr. Doughty's experience in the several towns—Hayil, Teyma, Kheybar, Boreda, Aneyza—which he visited during his sojourn in Arabia Deserta. With the exception of Aneyza—and this place, despite the just and tolerant government of Zâmil, he was eventually compelled to flee—he found little save ill-will and suspicion in these miserable and decaying cities. The city Arab is greatly inferior in nobility to his nomad brethren. His fanaticism is fiercer, his greed more unblushing, his hospitality more grudging. The traveller was exposed to serious danger from the religious bigotry of the mob, from the disfavour of the rulers, and from individual rancour; but his perfect command of temper and his profound acquaintance with Arab character brought him deliverance from the most urgent peril. The fear of having to answer to the Turkish Government, if his life were sacrificed, contributed materially to his safety, and increases the indignation with which we regard the neglect of the English consul at Damascus. At times his escapes were almost miraculous, and on more than one occasion he was on the point of drawing his concealed revolver and selling his life as dearly as he could.

It would be impossible within the limits of an ordinary review barely to touch upon, much less to exhaust, the variety of topics embraced in this vast storehouse of knowledge, but we will attempt in conclusion to summarize Mr. Doughty's verdict upon Islam as expressed in these two volumes. The

question is one of exceptional interest, owing to controversies that are still waged amongst us, and the value of Mr. Doughty's judgment is enhanced by his evident freedom from bias, by his judicial calmness of temper, and by the singular opportunities he enjoyed of ascertaining the true condition of the people. The terms of absolute equality upon which he mingled with the Arabs, the length of his stay and his mastery of their language, the intimacy begotten of his capacity of physician and of a certain *bonhomie* and sympathy, all combined to secure for him that acquaintance with a wide mass of particulars on which alone a trustworthy estimate can be based. Other considerations augment the importance of the test. The decision is not hazarded upon the character and condition of the Turks, debauched by conquest and by contact with an alien civilization; but appeal is made to the results of Mohammedanism in its native soil, amidst the primitive simplicity of a people unspoiled by intermixture of foreign elements and beyond all other peoples in the universe free from the influence of qualifying intrusions.

How, then, does the matter stand in Arabia Deserta? Does the creed of Islam, as seen in its cradle home, present such advantages as a Christian philanthropist might fain be content to accept as at least a temporary substitute for Christianity? In its influence over a nation to whose temperament and modes of thought it is asserted to be specially suited can we recognize such a stage of religious development as we may thankfully acknowledge to be adequate for the present, even whilst we hope for the introduction of a higher faith at some future day? Can a believer in Catholic truth, moved by legitimate reasons of religious economy, fairly consent to the division of missionary labour under which Islam should go to the east and Christianity to the west? These are questions which have been seriously mooted, and we turn eagerly for the help which Mr. Doughty can give us towards a fitting reply.

That reply we should not like to narrow to any single passage in the work before us. It should, we think, be founded upon a broad and fair consideration of all the facts, and upon the conclusion to which they unanimously converge. We would put the question under the most exacting conditions. After a careful study of these volumes we cannot recall a single fact which would make for Mohammedanism rather than Christianity. It should be borne in mind that the creed of Islam has had a fair field and no opposition in Arabia Deserta for thirteen centuries; and what is the result? It

would be difficult to describe it without being suspected of exaggeration. That Mr. Doughty met with grand examples of hospitality and of occasional generosity may be allowed ; but with this exception there is hardly a redeeming feature in the dark picture. The land is full of violence and the old prophecy meets a present fulfilment. Ishmael is a wild man, his hand against every man. Where order prevails, owing to the energy of some able chieftain, the result is purely personal and ceases on a change of rulers. Human life, female honour, regard for truth, respect for property, are all held in contempt. Towards the close of his sojourn at Aneyza Mr. Doughty records, 'I passed this one good day in Arabia, and all the rest were evil because of the people's fanaticism.' With the name of God upon his tongue the Arab violates every precept of the moral law, so that our author says of him that he sits steeped in a cloaca to the lips whilst his brows are in the skies. It is the deliberate verdict of Mr. Doughty after his long acquaintance with every phase of Arab life, and despite the unprejudiced goodwill with which he regards those who were so long his hosts, that 'Islam never can be better;' and the conscientious student of Arabia Deserta will arrive at the conclusion sorrowfully expressed by native lips, 'All is shame in Islam.'

ART. IX.—ST. FRANCIS XAVIER.

Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier. By HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, of the Society of Jesus. New edition, 2 vols. (London, 1886.)

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER was canonized in 1622, and he was not only a Roman Catholic but a Jesuit. Yet the Christian world accepts his canonization, and bigotry cannot question or atheism deny his charity, his self-denial, his courage, his humility, his purity of motive, his untiring zeal for souls. He was one of those men to whom doing good was a passion. Winged by pity, armed by faith, and fired by love, he traversed seas and explored lands that were only known to Europe by report. His life was proved faithful by peril. He braved dangers and endured privations which we might well

consider superhuman, and literally compassed sea and land to win one single human being to Christianity. He was not insensible to hardship, nor unaffected by fear of death, but no man, probably, since St. Paul ever faced both in so triumphant a spirit. From the moment when he beheld in a vision all the labours of his missionary career, and cried aloud 'More, O Lord, more!' till he breathed his last upon the desolate shores of the island of San Chan, his efforts never relaxed. Among the Indians on the Comorin coast, among the Malays in the Malay Archipelago, among the highly cultured Japanese, he carried the Cross of Christ. Travelling barefoot, clad in a patched, worn cassock, bearing on his shoulders a satchel which contained the Eucharistic vessels, his reliquary, and a few religious books, living on alms, sleeping on the bare soil—often for only four hours out of the twenty-four—in daily peril from shipwrecks, pirates, cannibals, idolaters, or his own countrymen, he never flinched or turned back from the plough. No employment was too mean for his hands, no drudgery too monotonous for his mind, no enterprise too exalted for his enthusiasm, no danger too appalling for his courage, no human being too degraded for his love. If any think that this is the language of exaggerated panegyric let them read the records of his life, and they will agree that the praise is rather inadequate than excessive.

Lives of Xavier were written by Orazio Torsellino (1596), by Massei, and by Joam de Lucena, whose Portuguese *Historia da Vida do Padre F. de Xavier* (Lisbon, 1600) was translated into Italian by Mansoni in 1613. Other details of his life may be gleaned from such books as Emanuel Acosta's history of the Jesuits in the East down to the year 1568, which was translated in 1571 into Latin by G. P. Maffei, whose own Indian history (Florence, 1588) is a valuable authority; the *Commentarium de Origine et Progressu Societatis Jesu* of Simon Rodriguez; Nicolaus Orlandini's history of the Society; Ribadeneira's Lives of Loyola, Laynez, and Salmeron; Daniello Bartoli's *Asia*, and the *Peregrinação* of F. M. Pinto. In 1682 Dominique Bouhours wrote his *Vie de S. François Xavier*, and Dryden's translation of this work was published by Tonson in London, in 1688. To come down to more recent times, a translation of the Lives of Xavier by Bartoli and Massei was published in 1858, with a preface by Dr. Faber, and in 1862 appeared Venn's *Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier*. None of these biographies, however, make much use of Xavier's letters. Some of these letters were contained in the *Epistolæ Indicæ* (Louvain, 1566);

but the first important collection was published in 1575, when forty-one of the letters were printed by order of Joannes Suarez, and translated into Latin from the original Spanish or Portuguese by Torsellino in 1600. Sixteen additional letters were given to the world by Possino or Poussines in 1661. But the first complete collection was made by Rocco Menchacha, whose Bologna edition bears the date of 1795. These letters were translated into French by Leon Pagès, and published with some valuable notes and introductory matter at Paris in 1855.

The first biography which makes full use of all the letters of Xavier is the one before us, by Father Coleridge. He has incorporated a complete English version with the text of his *Life*, and this fact alone gives him a superiority over all his predecessors. His first edition was published in 1881, but the interest of the subject is so great that we do not apologize for calling attention to a book which contains the only complete and adequate biography of a Christian hero, before whose saintly character all religious differences are necessarily forgotten.

One preliminary observation must be made before we present our readers with a sketch of the life and character of Francis Xavier. No mention will be made of Xavier's claims to miraculous powers, although they naturally occupy a large space in the work of Father Coleridge. In 1689 the Abbé de T. compiled a *Histoire de l'Eglise de Japon* from the writings of Jesuit Fathers like Du Jaric and Solier. He is himself a devout believer in the miracles which helped to build up the Japanese Church, and had, as he tells us in his preface, selected the most striking which Father Solier related; but 'des gens fort sages m'ont conseillé de les ôter pour condescendre à la foiblesse de quelques délicats du siècle, à qui ces récits merveilleux ne plaisent pas, et qui se dégoûteroient d'un livre s'ils y trouvoient un miracle en leur chemin.' In the nineteenth century we may be permitted to follow the example of the Abbé.

The life of Francis Xavier falls into three main divisions—(1) his early life from 1506 to 1530; (2) his life in Europe from his first acquaintance with Loyola to 1541, when he left Lisbon for India; (3) his missionary career from 1541 to 1552. And this third division may be further subdivided according to the countries in which he preached—in India from 1542 to 1545, in the Malay Archipelago from 1545 to 1547, in Japan from 1549 to 1551, concluding with his expedition to China and his death in 1552.

Francis Xavier was born in April 1506 at the Castle of Xavier, which stands on the river Aragon, about twenty miles from Pampeluna. His father was a man of the robe and of the pen, the trusted councillor of John III., King of Navarre; his mother was a rich heiress of noble birth. Francis was their youngest child. Little or nothing is known of his brothers; but his sister, who was considerably older than himself, took the veil as a poor Clare, and as Abbess of Gandia was renowned for the sanctity of her life.

Among the southern slopes of the Pyrenees Xavier laid the foundations of that strength and endurance which enabled him to support the hardships of his subsequent career. That he was proficient in manly sports, and proud of his skill and activity, we learn from the severe measures which he afterwards took to mortify his athletic pride. But from the first he seems to have been marked out for a learned profession. In 1523, at the age of 17, he went to the University of Paris, then the most famous in Europe and crowded with students from every part of the civilized world. He lodged in the College of St. Barbara, where his room companion was Peter Favre, by birth a Savoyard shepherd, but destined to become one of the first members of the Society of Jesus. Xavier, who obtained his degree of Master of Arts in 1530, aspired to become a Doctor of Theology. For this degree it was necessary that he should, among other studies, lecture upon Aristotle, and he delivered his courses at the Collège de Dormans or Beauvais.

Xavier became a brilliant teacher. With characteristic ardour he threw his whole heart into the work. Tall, fair-complexioned, with brown hair and bright blue eyes, and well-knit figure, his appearance was remarkably attractive. To a winning address and singular charm of manner he added a powerful intellect and an enthusiasm for study. In those days the rewards of learning were great and rapid. Xavier with his abilities and connexions was certain to become a prelate of commanding influence, the trusted adviser of his sovereign, or a world-famous teacher. He had the ball at his feet, and enjoyed his success. But a complete change in his aspirations was at hand.

In 1528 a middle-sized, middle-aged man of swarthy complexion, and halting in his gait, meanly clad and subsisting upon alms, knowing scarcely the rudiments of the learned languages, entered the University of Paris as a student. No one could look at his deep-set, glowing eyes, strong, massive brow, and powerful face without seeing at a glance that the

stranger was a born ruler of men. The man was Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus. Seven years had passed away since Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Jesus Christ* and the *Lives of the Saints* had turned towards God the thoughts of this distinguished Spanish knight while he lay on his sick-bed at Pampeluna. He had spent that interval in vigorous self-discipline by mortifications of the flesh and heroic acts of charity at Barcelona, Alcalá, and Salamanca. Persecution and contempt had pursued him, but he had found the reward that he sought. Studying deeply the spiritual growth of man, he had drawn up the *Spiritual Exercises*, that initiatory discipline which he exacted from his followers, that severe course of devotional training which he had framed after his own conflict with evil in the caves of Manresa. It was a rare instinct which prompted him to the step that he had now taken. Paris, not Salamanca, became the cradle of the Jesuit Order; and thus it was that the Society was not Spanish and national, but Catholic and universal.

From the first, Loyola seems to have marked Xavier for his own. But his task was difficult, for the distinguished lecturer rejected the advances of the unlettered student. The discipline of the University of Paris was very slight, and, although no breath of suspicion ever tarnished the moral purity of Xavier's life, the absence of control was intellectually dangerous. The recent endowment of the Royal College, with its large staff of professors and free lectures, had created a breach in the University. The older teachers, who depended for their livelihood upon the fees of the students, held aloof from the new comers. These last assumed the attitude of reformers, and gathered round them numbers of the younger and more ardent spirits. From advocating changes in University discipline they passed to teaching new forms of philosophy, and thence drifted into unorthodox opinions on the subject of religion. To this younger school, in one or other of its phases, Xavier was attracted. In the first of his extant letters¹ he tells his brother how much he at this time inclined towards the insidious friendship of the new teachers. Nor was this all. On the one side the young, high-spirited Xavier was preoccupied by the applause which he won as a lecturer; on the other he shrank into reserve when thrown into the society of one whose presence seemed to rebuke his own ambitions.

But little by little he succumbed to the patience and skill of the attack. All Xavier's hopes were at this moment

¹ Written from Paris to his brother in March 1535. See vol. i. p. 33.

centred on University distinctions ; yet without funds he could not continue his career. Loyola lent him money, and with such tact that it was impossible to refuse the loan. Xavier was proud of his success as a teacher ; Loyola brought new students, to whom he had praised the talents of the lecturer. Slowly Xavier yielded to the spell of Loyola's stern, intense, unrelaxing nature. As soon as they became intimate friends, Xavier found in Loyola a sympathizing listener who lent a patient ear to all his hopes. At length the crisis came. Father Coleridge does not relate the common story, which is probably only so far true that it condenses into one moment the work of months, and gives concentrated shape to a change in Xavier's mind which was slow and gradual. One day, it is said, Xavier had lectured with more than ordinary brilliancy, and in the flush of his pride he spoke eagerly to Loyola of the glories of learning. Loyola listened with an interest which showed how completely he understood the other's feelings, and then said, half aloud, half to himself, 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul ?' The bow was not drawn at a venture ; the aim was sure ; the arm that drew the bolt to the head was strong ; the shaft went home to the very heart of Xavier. The story is probably not so much true as founded on truth. It is enough to say that Xavier determined, under Loyola's influence, to sacrifice his worldly prospects to the one aim of following Christ, to subdue his earthly ambitions, to detach himself entirely from the things of this life, to yield an obedience, prompt, instant, unhesitating, to the will of his spiritual pastor.

Loyola had already gathered round him the men who were to be the founders of the Society of Jesus. Besides Xavier there were Peter Favre, Laynez, the second General, Rodriguez, its first historian, Salmeron, and Bobadilla. On the Feast of the Assumption (August 15) in 1534 these six men, with Loyola at their head, pronounced their vows of chastity and poverty in the Chapel of St. Denis, on the hill of Montmartre. Their object at this moment was to settle in the Holy Land as missionaries, and when they left Paris for Venice their purpose was to sail on the earliest opportunity for Palestine. The world knows that the design was frustrated—and with what results—by the outbreak of war between the Turks and the Venetians.

In November 1536 Xavier, Favre, Laynez, Bobadilla, Salmeron, and Rodriguez left Paris for Venice. Already Xavier's faith had been tested. He had refused a canonry at

Pampeluna ; he had foregone the degree for which he had laboured and which in a few weeks would have been his. The war which was raging between Francis I. and Charles V. compelled the five travellers to follow a circuitous route. The history of their journey is recorded by Rodriguez, who wrote it down at the request of Mercurian, the General of the Order. Attired in the long dress and hats of Parisian students, their rosaries round their necks, pilgrim staves in their hands, and leathern satchels on their shoulders containing their Bibles, Breviaries, and theological notes, they made their way through Lorraine, Basle, Constance, and Tyrol, to Venice. There they arrived in January 1537, and at once devoted themselves to labours of charity at the hospitals. From Venice they begged their way to Rome, where they got permission to take Orders and to go as missionaries to the Holy Land. They returned to Venice and were ordained in June 1537. But it soon became evident that it would be impossible to reach Palestine, and the Order assumed a new shape. At Venice they took vows of poverty, chastity, obedience under one head, and willingness to embark on any mission which the Pope ordained. Their rules were verbally approved on September 3, 1539 ; but it was not till September 27, 1540, that they received formal sanction by the signature of the Bull 'Regimini militantis ecclesiæ.' Before that date Xavier had left Rome and the side of Ignatius for ever.

The superiority of the Portuguese in ship-building and in navigation enabled them to reach and to rule the Indian seas. Their power was established on the western coast of India from the mouth of the Indus to Cape Comorin, and on the east northwards as far as Madras. But the incessant wars in which they were engaged proved too heavy a drain upon their small population. On the banks of the Congo they had experienced the power of religion to consolidate their conquests. Thus politics and Catholic zeal combined to induce John III., King of Portugal, to apply to Paul III. and to Loyola for two of his Jesuit companions as missionaries in India.¹ Bobadilla and Rodriguez were chosen. But the former fell ill and it was necessary to send another. Loyola determined to sacrifice the man who, as his secretary, was his right hand. On March 15, 1540, Loyola informed Xavier that he was nominated to the Indian mission, and the next day Xavier left Rome to travel overland to Lisbon in the company of the Portuguese ambassador. Xavier's second

¹ Osorius, *Histoire de Portugal, contenant des Gestes Mémoires des Portugalois dans les Indes*. Paris, 1588.

and third letters give an account of a journey which he knew would for ever separate him from his former companions (i. 60-71).

‘For what is left of this life, I am well assured it will be by letter only that we shall hold intercourse ; in the other life we shall be *facie ad faciem* and embrace one another perpetually. So what remains to us is that, for this little time which we have still to pass in our mortal exile, we should take frequent looks at one another by means of letters ; and for my part, I mean to do just as you bid me in this matter, and to keep the rule which little girls observe of writing constantly to their mothers.’¹

Before the Indian expedition sailed from Lisbon Rodriguez and Xavier had so endeared themselves to the King of Portugal, and had given him such ample proof of their powers, that he desired to retain both in Europe. Finally a compromise was effected. Rodriguez remained behind to found the Jesuit College of Coimbra, and Xavier went alone. He had hoped for the companionship of several priests ; but in the end his only assistants were one priest—Father Paul, of Camerino—and a young man named Francis Mancias, who was too dull to obtain ordination in Europe. In April 1541 Xavier embarked with these companions on board the ‘St. James,’ the flagship of De Sousa, the new Governor of the Indies. From the Pope he received the amplest jurisdiction as Apostolic Nuncio ; other honours were pressed upon him by the King, but for himself he would take nothing. He refused provision for his voyage ; all that he accepted from his friends was the present of a few devotional books and a new religious habit.

There is something sublime in Xavier’s determination to abandon friends, kindred, home, country, and all that makes life from a worldly point of view desirable, in order to win the souls of strangers and aliens. It is not the case of a man who has no opportunity of rising at home, who leaves a country which holds out to him but few hopes, or embraces a life of hardship scarcely more laborious than that which he must live on his native soil. Xavier’s sacrifice was in every respect complete. He had resigned all that once was his delight, renounced honours in which he might well take legitimate pride, abandoned a career in which his success was certain, and turned his back upon a world that smiled upon him as it smiles upon but a few of its most favoured sons. He submitted to privations from which his refined nature instinct-

¹ Written from Bologna, March 31, 1540, to Ignatius and Peter Codacio.

ively shrank, accepted humiliations against which his high spirit inwardly rebelled, and determined henceforward to pass his life with no other source of joy except that which proceeds from within. Apart from his difficulties in dealing with the native heathen he was hampered by the misconduct of Europeans, who degraded the Christianity they nominally professed, and hindered by the incapacity of many of the men who were sent to his assistance. In the face of these obstacles he showed himself a born missionary—independent of mind, fertile of resource, tenacious in purpose, conciliatory in address, adding to energy and self-devotion the power of organization, quick to observe and prompt to follow the leadings of Divine Providence, inflamed by a burning zeal to save sinners, and sustained by the firmest conviction that the Lord Himself stood ever at his right hand. Utterly above vanity, and disdaining every assumption of power or ostentation of dignity, he stands out as the very image of a brave, accomplished, persuasive missionary, and it is a true instinct that has made him to this day the ideal and the pattern of his successors among the Roman Catholic clergy.

In the sixteenth century a voyage to India was accompanied with extreme danger and hardship. The 'St. James' carried nearly a thousand persons. Laden with merchandise and crowded with soldiers, there was little space to spare. The storms off the Cape of Good Hope, the calms on the coast of Guinea, made the most fortunate voyage dangerous, difficult, and wearisome. The passengers were a motley crew of desperate adventurers, whom peril stirred to more unrestrained recklessness. From men of this stamp the pride, refinement, and sensitiveness of Xavier naturally recoiled. Yet he at once set himself to mingle with this swearing, dicing, drinking, dissolute herd. He could not prevent their gambling, but he stood by as they played and held their stakes, till, in his presence at least, oaths and cheating were abandoned. When the scurvy ravaged the ship, Xavier alone tended the sufferers. He washed them and their linen, dressed their food, and fed them with his own hands. He gave up his cabin to be a hospital, and slept on the bare deck with a coil of rope for his pillow. He refused to dine at the Governor's table, and while he himself lived only on alms he gave to the suffering sick the daily portion of food which he received. Such was the example which he set of Christian charity that he was known as the Padre Santo, the Holy Father.

It was not till August 1541 that the fleet reached Mozambique. Here, owing to the lateness of the season and the

ravages of the scurvy, De Sousa decided to winter. It was not till March 1542 that the Governor and Xavier set sail for Goa in a light vessel called the 'Coulam,' leaving Father Paul and Mancias at Mozambique with the rest of the fleet. Xavier landed at Goa in May 1542, thirteen months after he had sailed from Lisbon. It is remarkable that the 'St. James' was wrecked and lost on the voyage from Mozambique to Goa.

Goa, according to Xavier's description, was in 1542 'a fine-looking city, entirely in the hands of Christians. It has a convent of Franciscans, really very numerous, a magnificent cathedral with a large number of canons, and several other churches' (i. 115). Contemporary records tell us that the Cathedral Church of St. Catherine (finished in 1519 and made a cathedral by a Papal Bull in 1534) and the Convent and Church of St. Francis of Assisi, which was called the largest and most beautiful edifice in the world, were already built. The principal civil buildings were the palace of the Viceroy, situated close to the great quay, with its shady palm trees, the Bangacal, or Government store-house, the *Peso*, and the *Alfandega*, or custom-house. The city contained a mixed population of Mussulmans, natives, and Portuguese, who, throwing off all restraints, added to Western vices the licence of Eastern civilization. It was already a large and flourishing port, and at that time the capital of India. Little now remains to tell of its former grandeur except the churches and religious houses which still rise above the ruined gardens and mouldering buildings.

In Xavier's missionary labours it must be remembered that he addressed not only the native heathen but the Europeans who had ceased to be Christian except in name. Naturally his methods in dealing with these two classes differed. Goa affords a good example of the practice which he followed among Europeans.

He took up his abode in the hospital, which also served as a poor-house. Thence he devoted himself to the consolation of the poor, the lepers, the sick, and the prisoners; nor was any criminal so base as not to find in Xavier a heart open to pity him. Carefully maintaining his vow of poverty, and himself subsisting on the plainest food, he immediately transferred to the sick the presents of delicacies that he received. Next to the care of the sick and the poor came the instruction of the children. He passed through the streets ringing a bell and calling all parents and slave-owners to send their children and their slaves to learn from him the elements of Christianity. 'Faithful Christians! for the love which ye bear to Christ

send your children and servants to the Christian doctrine.' Then, followed by a crowd of children, he gathered them into the nearest church, where he taught them to pray, to repeat the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Hail Mary. All that the little ones required to learn by heart he set to easy music. Not only did Xavier thus secure the rising generation, but each of the children became a missionary in its own home. Gradually, in high-ways, fields, and bazaars, on the quays, and on shipboard, obscene songs were exchanged for simple melodies of the Christian faith.

Among the adult population Xavier's task was one of extreme difficulty. Many of the Portuguese lived in Mahomedan fashion, surrounded by wives and concubines; extreme cruelties were practised towards the natives, and wealth was gained by fraud or extortion; officials were dead to honour and to mercy; justice was sold to the highest bidder; no crime was too vile to escape punishment, if only the criminal was sufficiently rich. In dealing with Europeans of this class Xavier's tact and knowledge of human nature were as great as his zeal. He had cleansed his own conscience first, that so he might purify the consciences of others. His habits of self-control and watchfulness, strengthened as they were by frequent self-examinations, enabled him to move in any society or mix with any associates, blameless in word and act and thought. Both in public and in private his great object was to induce men to repent, confess, and receive the Holy Communion. Thus, when he preached, he carefully avoided all controversial or doubtful points, selecting as his staple topic sin, its horrors, its deep ingratitude, its inevitable punishment. He never reproved any man before others, and he never administered even a private rebuke until he had come to know his man and could adapt his tone to the recipient's character. Knowing that nothing is more disagreeable than reprehension, he did all that gentleness of tone and courtesy of manner could do to soften the pain which he inflicted by his uncompromising severity. When he had induced a man to confess he urged him to take several days to think over his sins. After hearing the confession, he generally delayed absolution, that the penitent might meditate with pain upon his faults, and by prayer and voluntary self-discipline prepare himself to gain the benefit of his sacramental absolution. In this interval he insisted upon the restoration of unjustly acquired possessions, the severance of criminal attachments, the retraction of

slandrous words that had injured reputations. In the confessional itself his patience and gentleness loosened the bands of shame and encouraged penitents to reveal all their sins. Meanwhile, wherever he might be, Xavier laboured to find out the ways of common life, and to familiarize himself with everything that moulded the character of society. Armed with this knowledge, he was at home with every difficulty that occurred. He pored over the living books that came in his way with the same insight and the same enthusiasm with which he had once studied the dead parchments of theology or philosophy. He carefully avoided all differences with the civil power and conciliated the goodwill of his colleagues. Till the last year of his life, and then only under special difficulties, he never used the power or, except to the Bishop of Goa, divulged his position of Apostolic Nuncio. It is plain that he had thoroughly mastered that secret of self-conquest which is the art of winning souls. In the highest and best sense of the words he was all things to all men. With children the most sportive of companions, with the Governor a keen and witty man of the world, able to talk with the politician upon politics or with the merchant upon trade, attracting to himself men of all ranks, professions, and characters, he everywhere and always used the influence which he acquired for the single object of the glory of God.

It was in this spirit that Xavier laboured among the European inhabitants of cities like Goa and Malacca, or among the soldiers, sailors, and merchants with whom he came in contact upon his numerous voyages. Towards the natives he necessarily employed different means of approach.

Xavier's first expedition was among the native pearl-fishers, or Paravas, a mild, unwarlike race in the extreme south of the Indian peninsula, who had placed themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, and, though practically heathen idolaters, had nominally embraced Christianity. Just before Xavier's visit the Governor of Goa had destroyed a fleet of pirates and given their boats to the pearl-fishers. They were therefore well-disposed towards the Portuguese. On the other hand the dangers from the malice of the Brahmins, or from the expeditions of piratical and marauding tribes, were great and incessant, while the country was nothing but a barren, burning tract of sand, so poor and unhealthy that no European had as yet been able to live there. Xavier's first visit, from 1542 to 1543, was made without any European companion. He only took with him some young native

students from the seminary at Goa.¹ On the second occasion he was accompanied by Francis Mancias.

His method may be taken as illustrative of his ordinary practice in missionary enterprise among the heathen. His first task was to baptize the infants, tend the sick and dying, teach the children, and prepare them, as well as adults, for baptism. He translated the Creed and his *Catechism of Christian Doctrine* into the Malabar language, and gathering the children together twice a day by the sound of a bell, instructed all who came in the elements of Christianity. On Sundays he began with the sign of the Cross and its accompanying profession of faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; then he recited the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria; afterwards he repeated the Commandments and the Apostles' Creed, article by article, explaining each and asking whether his hearers firmly believed the truth it contained, and concluding each with a prayer for grace to enable them to do so. Then followed some simple catechetical instruction as a preparation for baptism. Before he left the country of the Paravas he had provided each village with a copy of the *Christian Doctrine* in the native language, established several Jesuit Fathers at important points, and appointed a number of native catechists. These last were liberally paid. The money was annually contributed by the Queen of Portugal out of a sum allotted to her for shoes and slippers. The Queen had made this contribution at the request of Xavier, who had told her that she could have no fitter shoes or slippers with which to climb the stairs of heaven than the souls of the Christian children among the pearl-fishers.

The organization of the mission was necessarily a work of time. Not only were Xavier's perils and privations great, but his best efforts were often ruined by the rapacity and tyranny of the Portuguese. Within the first three years of his missionary career we find the feeling expressed which eventually led to his expedition to Japan (i. 251).

'I tell you plainly,' he writes, 'I am sometimes weary of my life, and think I had better rather die for religion than live in the sight of so many and such grievous outrages upon the majesty of God, especially when I cannot help seeing them and yet cannot prevent them. Rather than see and hear them I would go to Ethiopia or into the dominions of Prester John, where one might work very hard and well for God with no one to oppose.'²

¹ 'Profectus sum cum aliquot ejus loci indigenis Goani seminariis alumnis.'—*Letters*, bk. i. letter iv., Torsellino's Latin translation, p. 26.

² Xavier to Mancias, November 1544.

During his first expedition he was entirely alone, and even when he returned with Mancias he had no sympathetic companion. He was constantly exposed to sudden and deadly perils as he made his way from place to place through a barren, unhealthy country, perpetually confronted by difficulties which were only overcome by ready tact, courage, and resolution. His life was one of extraordinary hardship and exposure, for he slept on the bare earth and subsisted almost entirely on roasted rice, which he begged as he went. Nor was his work of a character to exercise his intellect; it was hard and elementary drudgery. Often his voice failed him, and his arm dropped powerless to his side from the sheer physical fatigue of catechizing and baptizing. His letters repeatedly reveal his yearning for sympathy and the pathetic glances which he cast back upon his brethren in Europe. They show how he literally hungered for news of his old companions.

'We most earnestly wish you,' he writes, 'to tell us in particular about all and each of ours—what they are doing, how they are, what plans they have, what hopes of themselves, what fruit they produce. This ought not to seem a very severe task for you to undertake, since you will have no opportunity of writing to us except once and no more in each year. Do please manage to make your letters from Europe furnish us with abundant reading for a full week' (i. 101).

Or again :—

'And now, dearest brothers, I entreat and conjure you by God to write to me about every single member of our Society, that, as I have no hope that I shall see them in this life, as St. Paul says, *facie ad faciem*, I may at least see them *per ænigma*, in a dark manner, that is, by means of your letters. Unworthy as I am, do not refuse me this boon' (i. 121).

Or again :—

'It is now the third year since I left Portugal. I am writing to you for the third time, having as yet received only one letter from you, dated February 1542. God is my witness what joy it caused me' (i. 151).

Or again (he had been asked by the Paravas to explain death) :—

'They asked me again how the soul of a dying person goes out of the body; how it was, whether it was as happens to us in dreams, when we seem to be conversing with our friends and acquaintances? (Ah! how often this happens to me, dearest brothers, when I am dreaming of you!)' (i. 160).

To quote one more instance :—

‘It is one of my greatest consolations, dearest brethren, to think often of you, and to call to mind that sweet and tender intercourse with you which God of His immense goodness vouchsafed to me of old’ (i. 162).

Yet in all his solitude, dangers, and difficulties he was sustained by an unfailing stream of spiritual consolation, which could only flow from his perfect faith and trust in the Master he so loyally served.

We have no space to follow in detail the missionary enterprises of Xavier. From the Paravas he travelled through Travancore, preaching, converting, and baptizing the people as he went. From Travancore, where forty-five churches were founded and organized with a permanent staff of European priests and native catechists, he proceeded to the islands of the Malay Archipelago. He sailed from Malacca to the islands in January 1546, and remained there a year and a half. The seas swarmed with pirates, who put their prisoners to death with exquisite refinements of torture; the natives were cannibals, idolaters, and skilled in the use of poisons. But no fear of death diverted Xavier from his purpose. Even the wars of the elements did not appal him. In one of the largest of the islands, which he calls the Islands of the Moors, he stood at the foot of a volcano, and as the earth tottered round him, as the sky was red with flame or black with smoke, as the air was filled with the thunder of the eruption and the mountain sides were scored with streams of molten lava, he never ceased to urge the people to repent and turn from their idols to the Cross of Christ. It is true that he attributed these appalling portents to the expiring efforts of demons, and we, with our nineteenth-century education, may smile at his science. But we shall hardly deny that we have much to learn from Xavier of the nature of Him who has created the world and all that therein is.

In July 1547 he returned to Malacca, after providing for the continuance of the Malay mission by sending two Jesuit Fathers to take his place. At Malacca, which Camoens has described in his *Lusiads*—

‘Malacca’s market, grand and opulent,
Whither each province of the long seaboard
Shall send of merchantry rich varied hoard’—¹

two events of importance occurred. The city was in a panic, owing to the attack of a pirate fleet belonging to the Sultan

¹ *Lusiads*, bk. x. st. 123. The quotation is from Sir R. Burton’s English translation.

of Sumatra or the King of Acheen. Xavier, in whose breast glowed the fire of Spanish chivalry, revived the courage of the people, urged them to man their ships and avenge the insult offered to the Portuguese flag, encouraged them to hope for victory in the cause of Christ, and was rewarded for his confidence by the annihilation of the enemy's fleet. The other circumstance was his encounter with a native of Japan, who, in the Latin letters of the time, is called Anger. To Xavier's romantic expedition to Japan we shall devote some space.

Marco Polo brought the first account of Japan to Europe ; but he only related what he had heard from the Chinese of 'the Land of the Rising Sun.'¹ The first European who landed in the country was Fernandez Mendez Pinto, in 1542. He says that, while sailing with a Chinese corsair, the junk on which he had embarked was stranded on the coast of Bungo the north-eastern province of the island of Kiusiu. In Pinto's account it is sometimes difficult to distinguish truth from fiction. His name of Mendez was treated as synonymous with 'mendaz,' or liar, and his *Peregrinação*² (printed at Lisbon in 1611) was often read as a seventeenth-century *Robinson Crusoe*. In the same year three Portuguese merchants, Moto, Zeimoto, and Pexota, were driven by a storm into Kagoshima, the port of the kingdom of Satsuma, the southernmost province of Kiusiu. These chance visits opened up a European trade, and other merchants reached the same port. There a wealthy native, named Anger, inquired of them where peace might be found for a conscience ill at ease. They advised him to seek out Xavier. Anger was not then prepared to leave his native land ; but two years later, having killed a man in a quarrel, he took refuge on board a Portuguese ship, and was brought towards the close of 1547 by Mendez Pinto to Xavier in his lodging at the hospital of Malacca. Xavier was fascinated by the prospect which was thus opened out of a virgin field of missionary enterprise, and his imagination was stirred by the ancient prophecy current in Japan of the new religion that should be brought from the western world. He was also impressed by the intelligence that Anger displayed. 'Why,' asked Xavier, 'do not the Japanese write, like the Europeans,

¹ Marco Polo's Cipango is a rendering of the Chinese designation, Dschi-pon or Dschi-pen-Kuë, which the Japanese have transformed into Nippon or Nithon, *i.e.* 'Morning Land.' See *Japan*, von J. J. Rein, Leipzig, 1881.

² Pinto's travels are incorporated in the *Histoire du Japon* of Charlevoix. It was also translated into French by B. Figuier, 1645, and into English by H. Cogan, 1663. It is remarkable that Cogan omits the portion relating to Xavier.

across the page instead of from the top to the bottom ?' 'Why, rather,' replied Anger, 'do not you write as we do ? The head of a man is at the top and his feet at the bottom, and so it is proper that when men write it should be straight down from top to bottom' ¹ (ii. 78). By Xavier's advice Anger proceeded to Goa, where, taking the name of the college, he was baptized as Paul of the Holy Faith. He afterwards made the *Spiritual Exercises* and joined the Society of Jesus.²

On April 25, 1549, Xavier set out from Cochin for Malacca, on his way to Japan. He took with him Father Cosmo Torres, who died twenty-three years later in the country ; Joam Fernandez, who subsequently visited China as a missionary ; Paul of the Holy Faith and his two native servants, who were also converts to Christianity. European ships sailing for Japan generally visited China on the way, and occupied seventeen months on the voyage. The only person who would undertake to land the missionaries directly on the coast of Japan was an idolatrous, piratical Chinaman. On this man's junk Xavier reached Kagoshima on August 15, 1549. He and his companions were at once summoned before the King of Satsuma, to whom Anger explained the Christian faith, and who granted them permission to preach. But the intrigues of the Bonzes, together with the removal of the Portuguese trade to the more convenient harbour of Firando, caused the revocation of the edict. In this difficulty Xavier determined to obtain from the Mikado himself at Meaco (Kioto), the western capital of the country, permission to preach Christianity everywhere in the Japanese empire. Leaving Anger at Kagoshima and Cosmo Torres at Firando, he made his way, partly by sea, partly by land, to Yamaguchi, a wealthy, vicious city, the capital of the south-western province of the island of Nippon. Here he remained for several weeks, preaching and disputing in the city and the neighbourhood, but apparently with little success. It was not till December 1550 that he set out for Meaco. The roads were

¹ Xavier to Ignatius, Cochin, January 14, 1549.

² Anger's description of Japan was sent to Ignatius, and is the first detailed description of the country that reached Europe. The sixteenth century had drawn to its close before *The Firste Booke of the Relations of Moderne States* described Japan to English readers. It was followed by the letters of William Adams, 1611-17. In the interval Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco, governor-general of the Philippines, was shipwrecked on the Japanese coast, and wrote an interesting account of his interview with the Mikado. These tracts are reprinted with other letters in *Memoirs of the Empire of Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, London, 1850, 8vo.

rough and the forests almost pathless ; the winter was terribly severe, the country filled with robbers and overrun with contending armies.

'But,' writes Cosmo Torres, 'as to Father Francis, for the great fire of the love of God which is in him for the manifestation of the Holy Catholic faith, neither the frosts nor the snows, nor the fear of the unknown race, could hinder him from undertaking this most dangerous journey' (ii. 290).

With only three companions, with imperfect knowledge of the language, and in the depth of winter, Xavier plunged into unknown districts, climbed mountain ranges, crossed rivers, traversed forests, and after two months descended into the cockpit of Japan, in which stands the city of Meaco.¹

The sixteenth century is one of the most interesting periods of Japanese history, because its close synchronizes with the termination of the Middle Ages. But at the crisis when Xavier landed in Nippon disorder was at its height ; civil war devastated the country ; neither the Mikado nor the Tycoon exercised any influence. Xavier's journey in one sense failed ; he obtained no audience of the spiritual or temporal rulers, and he found the city a prey to revolution. But his visit decided him to expect no assistance from a central authority whose power was merely nominal, to address himself to the *saimios*, or local sovereigns, to abandon the external garb of humility, and to approach their courts with some of the display of authority that belonged to an Apostolic Nuncio and the envoy of the King of Portugal.

When Xavier returned to Yamaguchi he found that his previous efforts had not been thrown away ; it had prepared the ground, and, combined with the announcement of his titles, secured him an honourable reception. A native monastery was allotted to him and his companions, and night and day he was beset by an eager crowd of intelligent natives, who taxed his mental powers to the utmost by the subtlety of their questions. Xavier felt himself confronted by a new difficulty. He required picked men, naturally gifted and carefully trained, to cope with the logical acuteness of the Japanese. On this and other grounds he saw the necessity of returning to Goa, and a Portuguese ship was even then lying in the port of the kingdom of Bouno. Leaving Yamaguchi to the care of Torres and Fernandez, he set out to embark upon

¹ Xavier says that Meaco had once contained 180,000 houses, but that nearly half the city was now in ruins. Don Rodrigo in 1609 gives the population at one and a half million, and the circuit of the walls at ten leagues.

this vessel. The Portuguese, among whom was Mendez Pinto, gave him a magnificent reception. The King of Boungo asked for an interview with the Father Bonze of Chimahicogim (Portugal), and at the urgent entreaty of the Portuguese merchants Xavier consented to pay his visit in state. To the sound of a salute from the 'berches,' falconets, and other pieces on the ships, accompanied by a band of flutes, haut-boys, and trumpets, preceded by the Portuguese, sumptuously arrayed and wearing gold chains and plumed hats, and attended by their servants and slaves in gala dress, Xavier walked in procession through the streets of Funai. He himself wore a black cassock, with a surplice over it, and gold-fringed stole of green velvet (ii. 314). The reception which he received from Civan, King of Boungo, was of the most flattering character, and the impression which Xavier made upon the youthful 'Mæcenæ,' as the Jesuits call him, together with his argumentative triumph over the native bonzes, paved the way for the subsequent introduction of Christianity. On November 20, 1551, Xavier set sail for India, 'to revisit,' as he says in a letter to the Society in Europe (January 29, 1552), 'our fathers and brothers, and to provide members of the Society fitted for the work of cultivating the Japanese mission, as well as other necessary things quite wanting out there' (ii. 345). He reached Cochín on January 24, 1552.¹

¹ Some account of the Japanese Church will perhaps be interesting. Its rapid spread was aided by political causes. Ōta Nobunaga reduced the feudal chaos to order between the years 1557 and 1582, and enforced peace and discipline in the name of the Mikado. His great opponents were the Buddhist priesthood, and as a counterpoise he aided the spread of Christianity. In 1581 the Jesuits had 200 churches and 150,000 adherents. Several of the local potentates had embraced the new religion. In 1585 a Japanese embassy was sent to Gregory XIII. to offer the submission of 'Francisci Bungii Regis, Bartolomæi Ovranorum Regis, Protasii Regis Arimorum' (see *De Trium Regum Japonianorum legatis qui nuper Romam profecti Gregorio XIII., Pont. Max., obedientiam publice præstiterunt* [Lovanii, 1585, 4to]). Gregory, who died after the landing of the embassy at Lisbon, is compared to Simeon in a Latin poem of the time, and the three ambassadors to the Magi. Besides the saintly lives of the missionaries and political causes, Christianity was further assisted by the similarity of rites and ceremonials (e.g. the use of incense, the adoration of images, vestments, rosaries, pilgrimages, celibate priesthood, monasteries, and convents) and by the profitable trade which followed in its wake.

Persecution began in the last decade of the century under Taikosama, who had been the *betto*, or groom, of Nobunaga, and succeeded to more than his master's power. It was largely due to political and social causes, such as fear of Spain, the misconduct of European traders, the intolerance of native Christian rulers, and the intrigues of the English and Dutch. Its record reads like a chapter from Dante's *Inferno*.

In his letter of January 1552 Xavier speaks of his intention to visit China.

'I hope,' he says, 'to go there during this year, 1552, and penetrate even to the Emperor himself. China is that sort of kingdom that, if the seed of the Gospel is once sown, it may be propagated far and wide. And moreover, if the Chinese accept the Christian faith, the Japanese would give up the doctrines which the Chinese have taught them' (ii. 348).

At Goa he had matured his plans in council with Pereira, a man with the calling of a merchant but the heart of a king. The one was to go to Peking as ambassador, the other as the apostle of Christianity. They hoped to achieve a threefold object—to liberate some Portuguese captives, to form an alliance with the Emperor of China, and to wage war against the Devil in his last stronghold. At Malacca they encountered unexpected opposition from the Governor. Jealous of the expedition, D'Atayde refused to permit Pereira to prosecute his voyage; the missionary might go, but not the ambassador. Xavier set sail alone in the 'Santa Croce,' and, after touching at Singapore, reached the island of San Chan, half a day's sail from Canton. For some time he could find no one to brave the penal laws of China. It was death for foreigners to enter the country, and death to anyone who conveyed them thither. At last he found a merchant whom he bribed to land him on the coast. A fever struck him down while waiting the arrival of his agent, *tendentemque manus ripæ ulterioris amore*. For a fortnight he lay in his cabin; then he was put on shore, and a shelter hastily raised of brushwood and coarse grass. At the end of seventeen days he felt that his end was approaching, and desired that his attendants should leave the hut. Deserted as he seemed and racked with pain, his end is enviable even by the happiest of mankind. To mortal eyes he was alone; but to his unclouded vision there floated round him bright forms ready to bear him to the abode where, as the wings of the angel of death winnowed the mists from his eyes, he saw the Blessed figure of his Master standing with arms outstretched to welcome

Banishment, decapitation, burning, crucifixion were the milder forms of punishment. Yet, says a Protestant witness, Captain Cocks, 'very few, if any at all, renounced their profession.' The twenty-six martyrs who were executed at Nangasaki in 1597 were canonized in 1862, when Mgr. Dupanloup delivered an eloquent address (*Notice sur les Solennités de Rome à l'occasion de la Canonisation des Martyrs Japonais*, Marseilles, 1862, 8vo). Many books narrate the persecutions subsequent to 1596. Among popular tracts may be mentioned *Relation de la Persécution du Japon pour les années 1628-9-30* (Paris, 1635, 8vo).

him. The glow upon his face as he entered the dark valley was of sunrise, not of sunset, and it was a ray from the Divine Presence which irradiated his face when with an expiring effort he fixed his eyes upon the crucifix, and, gathering all his strength to utter the words 'In te, Domine, speravi; non confundar in æternum,' breathed his last. He died on December 2, 1552.

The immediate result of Xavier's labours was to found Christian missions which radiated over the coast of Asia from Ormuz to Japan. But his successes also reacted powerfully on the mind of Europe. The Church to which Xavier belonged, by which he was commissioned, and whose doctrines he preached, gained new glory from his fame. While Rome was uniting India, the Malay islands, and Japan to Christendom, who would not hesitate to infringe upon her unity, to impair her power, or to rebel against her authority? No one can truly gauge the strength of the Roman Catholic reaction in the sixteenth century who does not allow immense weight to the labours of Xavier in the distant East. In a Latin poem written to celebrate the Japanese embassy this point is noted. Heresy might invade Europe—

'Haud tamen interea Dominus dormitat et omnem
Subtrahit a nobis curam; verum ordine miro
Tristia demulcens lætis, quantum exulat istis
Partibus alma fides, tanto magis India dives
Shinarumque sinus simul et Japponia longe
Dissita, protensis Christum complectitur ulnis.'

Pages might be written upon the beauty of Xavier's character, which shines with a new lustre in his letters. A well-known hymn has been attributed to his pen. It is possible that he was not its author, but only its translator into Portuguese. Be this as it may, the spirit of love which it breathes was the ruling principle, the consuming passion of his life. We close our imperfect sketch of Xavier's career with a version of the hymn, which, though it cannot pretend to vie with Father Caswall's felicitous rendering, may yet appear to some to preserve more carefully the mediæval quaintness of the original:—¹

¹ We give the Latin form:—

'O Deus, ego amo Te,
Nec amo Te ut salves me,
Aut quia non amantes Te
Æterno punis igne.

' My God ! I love Thee, not to gain
The bliss of Thy eternal Reign,
Nor to escape the fiery Lot
Reserved for those that love Thee not.
Thou, Thou, my Jesu, on the Tree
Didst in Thy Arms encompass me.

' Thou didst endure the Nails, the Lance,
Disgraces manifold, the Trance
Of Bloody Sweat, and boundless Seas
Of Bitterness and Anguish—
Nay, even Death's last Agony—
And this for me—for sinful me !
Most loving Jesu, shall this move
No like Return of Love for Love ?

' Above all Things I love Thee best,
Yet not with Thought of Interest ;
Not thus to win Thy promised Land,
Not thus to ward Thy threat'ning Hand.
But as Thou lov'st me, so do I
Love, and shall ever love, merely
Because Thou art my God, my King,
The Source and End of everything.'

' Tu, Tu, mî Jesu, totum me
Amplexus es in cruce ;
Tulisti clavos, lanceam,
Multamque ignominiam,

' Innumeros dolores,
Sudores et angores,
Ac mortem, et hæc propter me,
Ac pro me peccatore.

' Cur igitur non amem Te,
O Jesu amantissime !
Non ut in cœlo salves me,
Aut ne æternum damnes me,

' Nec præmii ullius spe,
Sed sicut Tu amasti me ;
Sic amo et amabo Te,
Solum, quia Rex meus es.'

ART. X.—ANCIENT WESTERN SACRAMENTARIES.

1. *Bibliographia Liturgica. Catalogus Missalium Ritus Latini ab anno MCCCCLXXV. impressorum.* Collegit W. H. IACOBUS WEALE. (Londini apud Bernardum Quaritch, MDCCCLXXXVI.)
2. *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires.* Par M. LÉOPOLD DELISLE. (Paris, MDCCCLXXXVI.)

IT would not be easy to exaggerate the obligation under which liturgical students are laid to the authors and compilers of such volumes as those which have been named at the head of this article. Their compilation could only be accomplished by persons who, in addition to a certain amount of previous training, bibliographical or palæographical, have both leisure and means at their disposal. M. Delisle is placed in exceptionally favourable circumstances for such work by his official position as chief librarian of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

Mr. Weale has compiled a catalogue of all printed Latin Missals of the Western Church, from the invention of printing to the present time, with these two limitations—it has not been thought worth while to catalogue the issues of Roman Missals since 1604, on account of their excessive number, though a few later editions, somewhat special in their character, are enumerated; and no notice is taken of modern reprints, such as those of the Arbutnott Missal by Bishop Forbes, the Leofric Missal by Mr. Warren, the various reprints in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, &c. Mr. Weale's work is a catalogue, and not much more. He gives the title or colophon, the size and number of volumes, leaves or pages, columns, and lines. With so many books to be described, a more complete description would have been out of the question, and though this volume is no exception to the general rule, that no bibliography extending over a period of many centuries can be complete, yet it is as near completeness as could have been reasonably expected in a first edition, and the labour involved in such a compilation must have been very considerable, while to most people it would have been somewhat uninteresting. We are all the more grateful to Mr. Weale for giving us a volume which enables us to see at a glance the various editions of printed Latin Missals belonging to the different Uses of Western Christendom.

M. Delisle, in the volume described at the head of this article, has accomplished for a much earlier period what Mr. Weale has done for more recent times. He has given us a catalogue of all extant MS. Sacramentaries written before A.D. 1100. In this case, as in the previous case, absolute completeness is unattainable, as M. Delisle himself candidly confesses on p. 400, where he refers in the text and footnotes to several MSS. of the existence of which he was not aware in time to include a description of them in the body of his work. The total number of MSS. described is one hundred and twenty-seven, and as this number is small compared with the number of printed volumes handled by Mr. Weale, we are treated not to a mere catalogue but to a more or less detailed description of each volume. In the course of such description the different passages are referred to, and generally quoted, which fix the date and locality of the MS., and any features of an exceptional interest or of an unusual character are noted and described.

Of this total number of one hundred and twenty-seven MSS. only thirteen are assigned to an earlier date than the ninth century, and as two out of this limited number have recently passed out of existence, No. XII. having been burned at Reims in 1774 and No. XIII. at Strasbourg in 1870, the total is reduced to eleven.

It is a curious and noteworthy fact that out of these eleven MSS. only one is of Italian origin in the sense of either having been written in Italy or of having been written for use in an Italian church. This is the *Sacramentarium Veronense*, which M. Delisle places as No. I. on his list, and which is better known, and usually quoted from, as the '*Sacramentary of Leo*,' in consequence of its first editor, Joseph Blanchini, having attributed its composition to Leo I. (440-61). The MS. itself is of the seventh century. It is a voluminous collection of the Collects, Prefaces, &c., of separate Masses, many or them undoubtedly of great antiquity, some of them probably coeval with Leo, but there is no reason for connecting the name of Leo with the *Sacramentary* as a whole; indeed, the presence of a Collect for the repose of Pope Simplicius, who died in 483 (Muratori's edit. col. 454), makes such a connexion chronologically impossible. Unfortunately, this MS. is incomplete. The first three months of the year are missing. There is no Canon. Whether it ever contained the Canon cannot now be known. Whether it did or not, that portion of the MS. is now probably irretrievably lost.

The remaining ten MS. Sacramentaries were all prob-

No.	Name	Liturgy	Where Written	Present Place of MS.	Press Mark	Century	Publisher and Remarks
I.	Sacramentarium Veronense or Sacramentarium Leonianum	Roman	Italy	Verona	No. LXXXV.	VII.	Blanchini, <i>Vit. Rom. Pont.</i> tom. iv. <i>Cod. Sacram.</i> Verona, 1735
II.	Sacramentarium Gelasianum	Roman	France	Rome, Vat. Lib.	Queen of Sweden Colln., No. 316	VII. or VIII.	Muratorii, <i>Lit. Rom. Vet.</i> i. 293-484
III.	Missale Gothicum	Gallican	France	Rome, Vat. Lib.	Queen of Sweden Colln., No. 317	VII. or VIII.	Thomasius, <i>Codic. Sacram.</i> 1-262 Muratori, <i>Lit. Rom. Vet.</i> i. 493-776 Thomasius, <i>Codic. Sacram.</i> 263-397
IV.	Missale Francorum	Gallican	France	Rome, Vat. Lib.	Queen of Sweden Colln., No. 257	VII. or VIII.	Mabillon, <i>De Lit. Gall.</i> 174-300 Muratori, <i>Lit. Rom. Vet.</i> ii. 517-658 Neale & Forbes, <i>Gall. Lit.</i> 32-150
V.	Missale Gallicanum Vetus	Gallican	France	Rome, Vat. Lib.	Fonds Palatin, No. 493	VII. or VIII.	Thomasius, <i>ut supra</i> , 398-431 Mabillon, <i>ut supra</i> , 301-328 Muratori, <i>ut supra</i> , ii. 661-758
VI.	Sacramentarium Gallicanum or Missale Vesontionense	Gallican	France	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	MS. Lat. 13246	VII.	Thomasius, <i>ut supra</i> , 433-492 Mabillon, <i>ut supra</i> , 329-379 Neale & Forbes, <i>ut supra</i> , 151-204
VII.	Sacramentarium Gallicanum	Roman	France	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	MS. Lat. 12048	VIII.	Mabillon, <i>Museum Italicum</i> , i. Muratori, <i>ut supra</i> , ii. 775-968 Neale & Forbes, <i>ut supra</i> , 205
VIII.	Missale Richenovense	Gallican	France	Karlsruhe	—	VII.	Not published. Extracts are given by Martène, <i>De Antiq. Eccles. Rit.</i> ed. 1788, i. 41, 283, ii. 41, 127, 244
IX.	Codex Rhenaugiensis	Roman	France	Zürich	Fonds de Reichenaue, No. 30	VIII.	Mone, <i>Latini. und Griech. Messen</i> Neale & Forbes, <i>ut supra</i> , 1-31
X.	Codex San-Gallensis I.	Roman	France	St. Gall	MS. 348	VIII.	Gerbert, <i>Monum. Vet. Lit. Alemanni.</i> i.
XI.	Codex San-Gallensis II.	Roman	France (?)	St. Gall	MS. 350	VIII.	Gerbert, <i>ut supra</i> . It is a Gelasian Sacramentary, and once belonged to Remedius, Bishop of Chur, A.D. 800-820 Not published

ably of French execution, and originally connected with some church or monastery north of the Alps. Five of them are service-books of the Roman type : viz. the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* (No. II.), *Gellonense* (VII.), *Rhenaugiense* (IX.), *San-Gallense 1.* (X.), *San-Gallense 2.* (XI.) Five of them are survivals of the ancient Gallican Liturgy : viz. the *Missale Gothicum* (No. III.), *Francorum* (IV.), *Gallicanum Vetus* (V.), *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* (VI.), *Missale Richenovense* (VIII.). Two out of these five (Nos. IV. VI.) contain, and one (III.) evidently did contain, the text of the Roman Canon side by side with specimens of the varying Gallican Canon. They point to a period when the two forms co-existed in use, before the Roman Canon had, cuckoo-like, dispossessed its Gallican sister. The same combination exists in the earliest extant Irish Missal, called the *Stowe Missal*, in which a similar transition stage from Gallican or Hiberno-Gallican to the Roman rite may be noticed.

This allusion to the *Stowe Missal*, the exact date of which is much disputed, reminds us that in addition to the *Sacramentaries* enumerated by M. Delisle there survive certain small but ancient, and therefore important, liturgical fragments, notice of which has been omitted by him, presumably on account of their very limited extent, or because they are not parts of volumes technically known as *Sacramentaries*.

Among these we may mention (*a*) a roll containing thirty-eight collects, written in Italy, probably for the Church of Ravenna, in a handwriting which Dr. Ceriani has assigned to the fifth century ;¹ (*b*) an eighth-century fragment of the Gallican Liturgy, consisting of a single leaf, or two pages, found by the Rev. H. B. Swete in 1867 attached to one of the covers of MS. No. 153 in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge ; (*c*) several early liturgical fragments connected with the Celtic Church in the Books of Deer, Dimma, Mulling, the Antiphonary of Bangor, and various MSS. at St. Gall.²

The importance of such fragments is out of all proportion to their number and size, for they are in some cases the relics of the liturgical language of Churches of which no complete *Sacramentary* is known to survive, or ever likely to be discovered.

M. Delisle's volume is palæographical rather than liturgi-

¹ *Il Rotolo Opistografo* (Milan, 1883). It is referred to by M. Delisle in a note on p. 65.

² Printed by Mr. Warren in *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*.

cal, and with a palæographical purpose in view he has published a second part, or supplementary volume, containing eleven plates. The first four of these are specimens of Merovingian art, being facsimile pages of the Gelasian Sacramentary, a French MS. of early eighth-century execution, which passed with other MSS. of Queen Christina of Sweden into the Vatican Library at Rome. The remaining seven plates are specimens of Carolingian art, drawn from various celebrated MSS. at Paris, Lyons, and Stockholm. These will form a useful supplement to the publications of the Palæographical Society, and in part a good substitute for the rough facsimiles with which, while photography was undiscovered, Muratori was compelled to be content in his well-known volume entitled *Liturgia Romana Vetus*.

One useful result to any student of M. Delisle's book is that he will rise from it with a scientific and exhaustive knowledge of the different forms of internal evidence which a MS. Sacramentary may be expected to possess as to the place where and the time when it was written. Armed with such knowledge, he will be saved much labour, and will know instinctively to what parts of a MS. he should turn with the view of making himself acquainted with its history. For it is an extremely rare thing for an early MS. to have any entry inserted in it corresponding to the colophon of some later MSS. and of most printed books, in which the place and exact year of writing or printing are set forth. Only one out of the hundred and twenty-seven early Sacramentaries described by M. Delisle has an entry of such a description. It is numbered CXXIV. in his list, and the following paragraph, in it states with unusual (we believe, unique) exactness the place where and the year in which it was written, viz. in 1075, for the monastery of Subiaco:—

‘Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi MLXXV, indictione XIII, præside Gregorio quintus [*sic*] papa in cathedra apostoli Petri, anno II, ob honorem Dei, et amorem beati Benedicti sanctissimi abbatis, et beatissime virginis Scholasticæ, hunc sacramentorum libellum, jubente domno Johanne gloriosissimo abbate ex venerabili monasterio sancti Benedicti qui ponitur in Sublaco, ob memoriam sui nominis remediumque suæ animæ, a quodam scriptore nomine Guntone¹ exaratum est. Deo gratias.

But in the almost universal absence of such explicit information as this, we are driven to other and less direct

¹ Erroneously printed ‘Wittone’ by Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, p. 69. It is from a ‘Sacramentarium olim Sublacensis monasterii, nunc Vallicellanae bibliothecæ.’

sources of information. The following list of such sources, with examples, may be of use to liturgical students. It stands quite apart from purely palæographical evidence supplied by the texture, shape, &c., of the skin employed, the peculiarities of the handwriting, and so forth.

We turn, then, first of all, naturally to the Kalendar, if the Sacramentary possesses one. A Kalendar is the invariable concomitant of a modern Missal, but it did not necessarily or always form part of the ancient Sacramentary or Missal, or it may in the course of centuries have become detached and lost. But where the Kalendar survives it is almost sure to contain entries of a local character which will throw light on the original home of the MS. Let its twelve pages first be scanned for any entries of dedications of churches, omitting as valueless for purposes of identification the 'Dedicatio ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ ad Martyres' on May 13, and the 'Dedicatio basilicæ sancti Michaelis Archangeli' on September 29. The former, referring to the dedication of the Pantheon at Rome by Boniface IV. (608-15); and the latter, referring to the revelation of a site, probably in the time of Gregory I. (590-604), were very generally received at quite an early date into all Western Kalendars. As instances of local dedications we may specify 'VIII. Kal. Martii. Dedicatio ecclesiæ sancti Vedasti,' which connects the earlier history of a tenth-century Corbie Sacramentary at Paris (Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 12052) with the Abbey of Vedast at Arras (p. 190). So two other entries, 'V. Kal. Augusti. Dedicatio Gereonis æcclesiæ' (p. 236), and 'V. Kalendas Octobris. Dedicatio ecclesiæ sancti Petri in Colonia,' connect two different MSS. (Nos. XCI., CI.) with Cologne. The entry 'Dedicatio æcclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ Virdunensis' by a twelfth-century hand connects a tenth-century MS. originally belonging to the Province of Treves with the town of Verdun (p. 253). Less frequently we come across the dedication of a monastery. A MS. now at Zürich shows its original connexion with Reichenau through this entry in its Kalendar: 'XIII. Kal. Augusti. Dedicatio Renaugensis monasterii' (p. 209).

When the key to the home of the MS. has thus been found by the entry of the dedication festival, other and corroborative evidence will be found to support the conclusion arrived at. It will take the form (*a*) of the entry of obits of the great personages of the day, or of the bishops of the diocese, or of the abbots of the monastery, or of the benefactors of the church; or (*b*) the scribe will have written the names of local saints in capital letters of ornamental design, sometimes of pure gold;

or (c) there will be commemoration of the chief events in the life of the patron saint, such as his ordination, consecration, enthronization, deposition, translation; or (d) the name of some special place will occur with frequency, such as 'in Glæstonia' or 'in Hybernia.' The former in the Leofric Missal (August 31, September 25), the latter in the Drummond Missal (*passim*), connect those MSS. with Glastonbury and Ireland respectively.

The following references to the family and life of Hugo I., archbishop of Besançon (1031-1066), are unusually circumstantial, and connect the MS. in which they occur closely with him (No. cxv.):—

'VIII. Kal. Augusti. Ipso die obiit HUMBERTUS pater domini Hugonis archipresulis.'

'VII. Kal. Novembris. Obiit ERMEMBURGIS, Deo fidelis, genitrix archiepiscopi Hugonis, pro cujus anima non dedignemini exorare prece solita.'

'VII. Idus Novembris. Ordinatio Hugonis archiepiscopi.'

'XVIII. Kal. Decembris. Exceptio Hugonis archiepiscopi in sede Crisopolitana.'

And lastly, in a later hand, against July 27 :—

'Ipso die depositio sancti Hugonis I ejusdem civitatis archiepiscopi.'

But supposing that no Kalendar is prefixed or attached to the Sacramentary with which we have to deal, what is the next place to which we should turn for information as to its history? To the Canon of the Mass. This has remained fixed and invariable so far as proper names are concerned, and in most other respects as well, for some six centuries—absolutely since the sixteenth and practically since the twelfth century; but before the twelfth century a good deal of variation was permitted, and local names were freely introduced into various parts. Such parts were chiefly the following: (a) in the Commemoratio pro vivis.

Instead of the bare symbols 'N. et N.,' words of a local or personal colouring were introduced into the text, as in the following form (No. xxi.):—

'Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum omnis congregationis beatæ Dei genitricis Mariæ sanctorumque confessorum Medardi atque Eligii omniumque propinquorum meorum, et quorum elemosinas suscepimus, seu qui mihi confessi sunt, necnon et quorum nomina super sanctum altare tuum scripta habentur, et omnium circumadstantium, quorum tibi' [&c., as in present Roman text].

This occurs in a ninth-century MS. Sacramentary now in the public library at Reims. It came thither from the Monas-

terium S. Theoderici, near that city, to which it had belonged for centuries; but the above extract proves that it was originally written for the cathedral of Noyon, which was dedicated to the B. V. M. and SS. Medardus and Eligius.

The same formula, with varying references to proper names, is frequently to be met with in early MS. texts of the Canon: as, for example, in the Corbie Sacramentary (No. LI.), the Red Book of Derby,¹ &c.

(b) The next paragraph—‘Communicantes et memoriam venerantes,’ &c.—commemorates in its present stereotyped form the B. V. M., twelve Apostles and twelve martyrs ending with ‘Cosmæ et Damiani,’ but the older MS. Sacramentaries generally added on to this list a number of saints generally of a local or national character, which throw light on the original nationality or locality of the volume. The French origin of the so-called Sacramentary of Gelasius is proved by the addition of the following names in this place:—

‘Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, Helarii, Martini, Agustini, Gregorii, Hieronimi, Benedicti.’

The last name probably points to a Benedictine monastery. The three next preceding names are the names of Latin Fathers of universal repute, and present no local colouring. The first five names are those of French martyrs or bishops of great eminence, whose names became at an early date universally commemorated in the Church of France. They therefore indicate the nationality of the MS. in which they occur, but without pointing specially to Paris, Poitiers, or Tours. In the case of such prominent names as these, special localization cannot be pressed unless a name is distinguished from other names on the same list by being written in capital letters, perhaps of gold or silver, or with some other form of ornamentation.

Thus, the addition at this point of the two names **HELARII**, **MARTINI**, in red capitals in the ‘Missale Francorum’ (No. IV.) probably justifies us in associating that MS. with either Poitiers or Tours. The presence of the name ‘Martini’ in the following list in capitals (semi-uncial) letters among minuscule surroundings connects another MS. (No. XXVIII.), now at Paris, with Tours:—

[After Cosmæ et Damiani] ‘Mauricii cum sociis suis, Dionisii, Rustici et Eleutherii, Corneli, Vincentii, Hilarii, **MARTINI**, Gregorii, Hieronimi, Agustini, Benedicti, Antoni et omnium sanctorum.’

¹ Leofric Missal, p. 60, n. 10.

The earliest extant Ambrosian Missal (No. LXXI.), recently published by Dr. Ceriani and assigned to the tenth century, adds the following list of names after Cosmæ et Damiani:—

‘Apollinaris, Vitalis, Nazarii et Celsi, Protasii, Gervasii, Victoris, Naboris, Felicis, Kalimeri, Materni, Eustorgii, Dionisii, Ambrosii, Simpliciani, Martini, Eusebii, Hilarii et Julii.’

The presence here of the names of six early Bishops of Milan at once stamps the service-book as Ambrosian.

There is a curious small MS. Missal at Rouen (No. CXVIII.), called by M. Delisle an ‘Abrégé de Sacramentaire,’ and supposed by him to have been written for the use of priests while journeying, or for the use of poor churches which could not afford the larger and costlier volumes. In the Canon in this MS., written in the eleventh century, the twelve martyrs, who are not named in the usual order, are followed by these saints:

‘Dyonisii, Rustici et Euleutherii, Cucuphatis, Ypoliti, Innocentii, Hylari, Vedasti, Martini, Agustini, Gregorii, Geronimi, Benedicti, Mauri, Arsenii, Gilli, Paulini, Carilepphi, Germani, Marcelli, Albini, Eustachii, Romani et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum hodie festa in conspectu gloriæ tuæ cælibratur triumphus, illorum meritis,’ &c.

The first four and last two of these additional saints—viz. SS. Cucuphat, Hippolytus, Innocent, Hilary, Eustache, and Roman—are known to have been held in special veneration in the Monastery of St. Denys, with which this MS. may accordingly be connected.

We pass on next to the ‘Commemoratio pro defunctis.’ The opening sentence of the text as now printed presents us with the usual blank formula ‘N. et N.’; but in some of the earlier MSS. local allusions occur, as in the following in an early-tenth-century hand in a French Sacramentary (No. XLII.):—

‘Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum, Gregorii omniumque antistitem Romanorum, Firmini omniumque presulum Ambianensium, fratrum nostræ congregationis et presbiterorum hujus parrocchiæ, fratrum necnon et sororum omnium cœnobiorum ejusdem, omniumque sacri ordinis ministrorum, patris mei et matris, fratrum et sororum, nepotum et consanguineorum seu familiarium et amicorum, et suas mihi elemosinas largientium, omniumque mihi commissorum qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis; ipsis Domine’ [&c., as in present text].

On the margin the name TETBOLDI is written in capital letters of the same date. Now, as Firminus was first bishop

and patron saint of Amiens, and as Tetboldus was a Bishop of Amiens who died in 975, we necessarily connect this Sacramentary with that city.

The longest and most curious prayer which occurs at this point in any Western service-book is to be found in the Stowe Missal. It is too long to quote. It enumerates thirty-seven patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, seventeen New Testament saints, three martyrs, two hermits, thirty-six bishops (including twenty-nine Irish, four Gallican, and three English saints), and thirteen priests, all Irish.

The next paragraph in the Roman Canon, commencing with the words 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus,' enumerates fifteen saints, eight men and seven women, beginning with 'Joannes,' to be identified probably with John the Baptist, and ending with the matron-martyr Anastasia. The list is now a fixed one, and is considered to be representative of different orders in the Church. But in early Sacramentaries the list was variable. In the earliest Ambrosian Missal (No. LXXI.) it contains eighteen names, omitting Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, and Alexander, and substituting a second Iohannes (probably the Evangelist), Andreas, and five more virgin martyrs—Eufumia (= Euphemia), Justina, Savina, Tecla, Pelagia. In an eleventh-century Rouen MS. (No. CXVIII.), Genofefa and Afra are added to the list. In a Cologne Sacramentary of the same date (XCI.) Eugenia is added. In the Stowe Missal SS. Peter, Paul, and Patrick are prefixed to the list.

We pass on next to the expanding conclusion of the Pater Noster, technically known as the Embolismus. In its present fixed form it runs thus :

'Libera nos, quæsumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris ; et intercedente beata et gloriosa semper virgine Dei genitrice Maria cum beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque Andrea et omnibus sanctis, da propitius pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuvi et a peccato simus semper liberi et ab omni perturbatione securi, per,' &c.

The older Sacramentaries frequently added to the three Apostles one or more local saints. One, now at Paris (No. XXXIV.), adds 'et beato Amando,' and is thence inferred to have belonged, if not to the Abbey of St. Amandus, at least to a church in the north of France. Two Irish Missals, the Stowe Missal, and St. Gall MS. 1394, substitute St. Patrick for St. Andrew.¹ A Tours MS. (No. XXVIII.) adds St. Hilary

¹ *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 177, 242.

and St. Martin. A tenth-century Ambrosian Missal (No. LXV.) adds here the names of two early Bishops of Milan—'necnon et beatissimis confessoribus tuis Ambrosio Simpliciano atque Martino.' A tenth-century Italian MS. (No. LXIII.) adds the names of four saints—'et beatis confessoribus tuis Martino, Proculo et Zenone, atque Benedicto.' The two centre names are names of early Bishops of Verona, and connect the MS. with that city. An eleventh-century Gregorian Sacramentary at St. Gall (No. CV.) adds six names, the last three of which are the names of Abbots of St. Gall, and connect the MS. with that abbey—viz. 'necnon et electis confessoribus tuis Silvestro, Gregorio, Benedicto, Gallo, Magno, atque Otmaro.' An Angers Sacramentary, *c.* 1000 (No. LV.), adds nine names, the last one of which is now obliterated beyond recovery. This is the longest list which we have been able to discover. It is unique in commemorating a martyr as well as confessors, and it establishes the Angevin character of the MS. in which it occurs—viz. 'et sancto Mauricio martyre tuo cum sociis suis, et sanctis confessoribus tuis Ilario, Martino, Maurilio, Albino, Lizinio, Magnobode [*sic*], Sansone . . . et omnibus sanctis.'

Besides the Canon of the Mass there are other parts of a Sacramentary which may be expected to yield information about its origin. Among the most important of such parts are the Litanies. These Litanies occur in various positions. The ninefold 'Kyrie eleison' at the commencement of the Ordinarium Missæ is a relic of the Litany which anciently always preceded Mass. The Litany is very rarely found *in extenso*. A specimen is given from a French Sacramentary by Martène.¹ Two Irish examples survive in whole or in part in the Stowe Missal,² and in St. Gall MS. No. 1395.³ Litanies were also used in the service for the Benediction of the Font on Easter Eve, and in that for the Visitation and Unction of the Sick. In early MSS. the Litany is often written in a detached position by itself, but it must be intended for use on some one of the above occasions.

In addition to the stock list of names of saints whose invocation obtained universally, there will generally be found a few names of unmistakably local complexion which indicate a connexion with some particular country, diocese, city, abbey, or church. When a list of martyrs includes after well-known names 'Dionisi, Rustici, Eleutherii, Laurenti, Maurici, Gervasi, Sergi,' and when the immediately following list of confessors in the same Litany invokes, after the usual saints of world-

¹ *De Antiq. Eccles. Rit.* i. 206.

² *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 226.

³ *Ibid.* p. 179.

wide eminence, 'Maurili, Albine, Lupe, Lizini, Magnobode,' all of whom were Bishops of Angers (except Lupus), the connexion of the Sacramentary with that city is plainly indicated.

In the Litany just quoted all the names are written alike, and such is frequently the case. Sometimes, however, the name of the saint, or the names of the saints, had in local honour are written in uncial letters, or receive some specially ornamental treatment.

When in a list of confessors invoked in a Litany three names stand out thus,

'Silvester, Gregori, Ambrosi, Martine, Aniane, Augustine, Germane, Nicolae, Columba, Columbane, GALLE, OTMARE, MAGNE, Paule,' &c.,

and when those three names in capitals are known to be the names of the first three abbots of St. Gall, the home of the Missal in which this Litany occurs is unmistakable (No. CV.).

But a single name so treated is sufficient. S. AMANDE in a Litany (p. 363) connects a Sacramentary with the Abbey of St. Amandus (No. XX.), and S. VEDASTE in a Litany in the Leofric Missal (No. LXXX.) connects that portion of the Missal with some church in the province of Reims, if not with the Abbey of St. Vedast in Arras itself. S. KOENELME in another Litany (p. 367) connects another Sacramentary (No. LXXIX.) now at Orleans with the Abbey of Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire. This is a discovery, and an interesting and important discovery, made by M. Delisle. For eight centuries this MS. belonged to the Benedictine monastery of Fleuri-sur-Loire. On the destruction of that monastery it then passed with the *débris* of the monastic library into the city library at Orleans, where it is now numbered MS. 105. It had been long considered and frequently quoted from as a French Sacramentary. Martène printed large extracts from it as such in his well-known work.¹ Its true character and history are now discovered for the first time through the keen insight and careful examination of M. Delisle. The monastery of Winchcombe was restored by St. Oswald, successively Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York, in the second half of the tenth century. He confided the administration of the house to an abbot named Germanus, specially summoned from Fleury for that purpose. Hence the connexion between Winchcombe and Fleury. An entry across pp. 63 and 64,

¹ *De Antiq. Eccles. Rit.* ed. 1788, ii. 376-84.

written in the eleventh century, records the fact of the volume being sent a present from England (*a transmarinis partibus*) to France; but the entry is unfortunately mutilated at the commencement, and the donor's name is lost.

. . . [patro]no suo Benedicto, ob sui memoriam, a transmarinis partibus misit, imprecans cum juramento maledictionis, ut si quis eum de ipso monasterio aliquo ingenio non redditurus abstraxerit, cum Juda proditore, Anna et Caipha portionem æternæ dampnationis accipiat. Amen. Amen. Fiat. Fiat.'

On other grounds it is proved that the MS. must have crossed to France before the year 1109. The whole of M. Delisle's description of this volume, with his discovery of its history (pp. 211-18), will form for English liturgiologists one of the most interesting parts of his book.

The student should next turn his attention to the 'Benedictio cerei' commencing with the words 'Exultet jam angelica turba,' &c., as used on Easter Eve. It is a ceremony of great antiquity, its institution being attributed to Pope Zosimus, and the words to St. Ambrose, by Durandus.¹ Its composition has also been assigned to St. Augustine while yet a deacon.² Towards the close of it an intercession occurs which at present is thus worded:—

'Precamur ergo te, Domine, ut nos famulos tuos, omnemque clerum, et devotissimum populum, una cum beatissimo Papa nostro N. et Antistite nostro N. quiete temporum concessa, in his paschali-bus gaudiis, assidua protectione regere, gubernare et conservare digneris. Respice etiam ad devotissimum Imperatorem nostrum N.,' &c.

But in other MSS. the names of places or persons occasionally took the place of the present vague symbols.

An eleventh-century Bobbio Missal, presented by the monks to Cardinal Frederic Borromeo in 1606, and now at Milan (No. CXII.) betrays its old home by the following wording:—

'Una cum beatissimo papa nostro *illo*, et serenissimo imperatore nostro *illo*, seu et abbate nostro *illo*, hac cuncta congregatione sancti Columbani, quiete temporum concessa,' &c.

Another Sacramentary (No. LXII.) written in the tenth century, and originally belonging to Ratisbon, but transferred to Verona and adapted to the use of that church between 994

¹ *Rationale*, lib. VI. cap. lxxx. § 1. See also the Hereford Missal Re-print, p. 105.

² Missale Gallicanum, Burntisland edit. p. 184.

and 1008, betrays its first home and date of execution very clearly in the following sentence:—

‘Precamur ergo te, Domine, ut nos famulos tuos, omnem clerum et devotissimum populum una cum papa nostro *ill.* et gloriosissimo rege nostro OTTONE, necnon et venerabili antistite nostro Wolfgango, quiete temporum concessa,’ &c.

From the introduction of these names we can infer with certainty that the MS. was written between the coronation of Otho III., in 983, and the death of St. Wolfgang, Bishop of Ratisbon, in 994.

And the Sacramentary now at Monza (No. LXIV.), assigned in the catalogue to the eighth century, but asserted by M. Delisle to be at least not earlier than the end of the ninth century, is thought to have belonged at one time to the chapel of Berengarius II. (950-62), King of Italy, in consequence of the following words inserted in this place:—

‘Et serenissimo rege nostro Berengario, atque domna nostra gloriosissima Byreila regina.’

It may next be worth the student’s while to turn back a few pages from the services of Easter Eve to those of Good Friday. The nine special collects assigned for that day, each with its short special ‘Præfatio’ or ‘Bidding Prayer,’ are both, as to their position before the Canon and in their structural form, a survival of Ephesine or Gallican features from the most primitive times. The fourth address thus invites to prayer:—

‘Oremus et pro Christianissimo Imperatore nostro N.’ &c.,

and the corresponding prayer contains the petition,

‘Respice ad Romanum benignus imperium,’ &c.

Local colouring may occasionally be found, though, as a matter of fact, it seems to be rarely found here. An instance occurs in the case of the Gelasian Sacramentary, the French origin of which is indicated by the phrase,

‘Respice propitius ad Romanum sive Francorum imperium.’

A Verona MS. (No. CXXVI.), written *c.* 1100, commences the second Oremus in words which indicate the religious community to which it belonged:—

‘Oremus et pro episcopo nostro *illo*, simulque pro cuncta congregatione beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis.’

More instances would probably be discovered by a more extended search.

Next, let us turn over the 'Missæ Votivæ,' which will generally be found in considerable number and variety at the conclusion of the 'Commune Sanctorum.' There will generally be found among them one or more Masses 'Pro rege,' or under some equivalent or nearly equivalent title. The prayers so entitled will frequently be in the form of language into which they are cast suggest some identification, and will sometimes, though less frequently, like a modern Book of Common Prayer, insert the name of the then reigning sovereign. As an example of the former class we may refer to language in the Leofric Missal, where, though no monarch is named, we find a petition for 'regem nostrum et reginam nostram,' and these words, 'Da de lumbis ejus sobolem regnaturam.' This mention of a king and queen, and the implication that they are childless, point to Leofric's great friend and patron, Edward the Confessor, and his wife, Queen Edith.¹

A French Sacramentary of the tenth century (No. LII.) contains a 'Missa cotidiana pro rege,' in which these passages occur :—

'Quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus Hluduuuicus, qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa, quibus decenter ornatus et vitiorum monstra devitare,' &c.

'*Ad complendum.* Hæc, Domine, oratio salutaris famulum tuum Hluduuuicum ab omnibus tueatur adversis,' &c.

The reference here is to Louis IV. (d'Outremer), who reigned 936–954, within which period of eighteen years the MS. must have been written.

Another, a ninth-century, French Sacramentary (No. CXVI.) contains a collect headed thus :

'*Oratio qua benedixit dominus apostolicus Ioannes regem nostrum Ludouuicum, junioris Karoli imperatoris filium Trekas civitatis.*

'Spiritus sanctificationis quæsumus Domine Hludouuico regi nostro propitiatus infunde, et cor ejus quod manu tua continet virtute tuæ benedictionis inlustra, quatinus sancti Spiritus rore fecondatus, ubertate donorum precepta sic externis regni gubernacula teneat, ut intime contemplationis tuæ interiora gaudia consequatur. Per.'

The reference is unmistakably to the coronation of Louis II. (The Stammerer) by Pope John VIII. at the Council of Troyes in 878, and, as the collect refers to Louis as living, the Sacramentary must have been written during his reign (877–9). So many kings bore the name of Louis between 900–1100 A.D. that the introduction of that word into a collect is not so

¹ Pp. lvi, lvii.

helpful towards fixing the date as more rare or unique royal names, of which we take the following as a specimen :—

‘Prætende, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut famulus Zuentibolchus, qui a tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, a te percipiat virtutum omnium incrementa,’ &c.

‘Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui famulum tuum Zuentibolchum regni fastigio dignatus es sublimare, fac eum humilitatis, justitiæ ceterarumque virtutum bonarum exuberare,’ &c.

These are extracts from a Sacramentary (No. C.) which once belonged to the abbey of Epternach, and which was certainly written in the reign of King Zuentibold, 895–900.

We must next search carefully for any Missæ or collects in commemoration of saints of local celebrity. For this purpose we must turn over page by page the *Proprium Sanctorum*, where it will be easy to notice any departure from the commemorations usually found in the Roman Kalendar or Martyrology. We must at the same time keep the eye wide awake to note any extraordinary ornamentation of ordinary saints’ Masses. If, for example, the Mass of St. Benedict or of St. Thomas the Apostle was exceptionally decorated it would almost certainly connect the Missal originally with a Benedictine monastery, or with a church dedicated to St. Thomas. Sometimes Masses or collects in honour of special saints will be found added by a contemporary or somewhat later scribe on the first or last leaf of the volume, or on blank spaces up and down the MS., or on the unoccupied margins. The French MS. (No. LI.) which Hugo Menard published under its traditional name of *Missale Sancti Eligii*, assigning it to the eighth century, but which M. Delisle now declares to be two centuries later, has a Mass entitled ‘Translatio corporis sancti Gentiani martyris,’ written on the *verso* of the first leaf. It contains this prayer :—

‘Deus, qui beatum Gentianum martyrem tuum, ineffabili provisione patronum nobis destinatum tribuisti, da quæsumus, ut sicut hodierna die, te auctore, venerabile ejus meruimus suscipere corpus, ita ad tuam impetrandam misericordiam intercessorem habere mereamur, quem filii tui Domini nostri martyrem læti suscepimus. Per.’

These words connect the book with the abbey of Corbie, to which the relics of St. Gentian, twenty-ninth Bishop of Angers, are said to have been translated.¹

¹ We have not been able to verify the fact of this translation. Tresvaux, the historian of the church and diocese of Angers, says that nothing is known of St. Gentian beyond his name.—*Histoire de l’Eglise et du Diocèse d’Angers*, i. 80.

The Anglo-Saxon Missal of Robert of Jumièges, now at Rouen (No. LXXXI.), has on its first leaf a 'Missa Sancti Guthlaci.' This is no doubt one of various proofs of its English origin, but it was insufficient ground for Dr. Dibdin's venture in christening the MS. by the name of the Book of St. Guthlac, a misleading name which subsequent writers have fortunately failed to endorse.¹ Sometimes one among the Missæ Votivæ will be found connected with a local name. Two twelfth-century gatherings interpolated into a tenth-century French Sacramentary (No. LIII.) contain a votive Mass entitled 'Missa pro comitissa Legardi et pro aliis feminis familiaribus nostris.' The Countess Leutgarde, wife of Thibaud le Tricheur, was a great benefactress of the abbey of St. Peter at Chartres, and was specially commemorated in the services of that establishment.

The seventh-century Sacramentarium Gallicanum (No. VI.) contains a votive Mass connected with the name of St. Sigismund, king of the Burgundians, killed in 523.

The presence of this Mass connects the MS. with Besançon (Vesontio), the capital of Burgundy, and caused Messrs. Neales and Forbes in editing it to change the name of 'Sacramentarium Gallicanum' given it by Mabillon² to 'Missale Vesontionense.'³

A few early MSS., but only a very few, exhibit a colophon, sometimes at the beginning, more usually at the end of the MS. Where this colophon gives us the name of the writer or possessor of the MS. only, without any allusion to the office which he held, or the country, or the period in which he lived, it is not of much use. It may actually be misleading if the writer is too hastily identified with some bishop or distinguished person of the same name. The Irish books of Dimma and Mulling contain the colophons, 'Finit. Oroit do dimmu rodscrib,' and 'Nomen scriptoris Mulling.' They have accordingly been assigned to the seventh century, chiefly, if not solely, on the ground that the writer of the first is to be identified with one Dimma who lived *c.* 650, and that the writer of the second is to be identified with Mulling, Bishop of Ferns, who died in 697. It is tempting to propound such identifications, and generally impossible to prove or disprove them; but the burden of proof lies on those who make them, rather than the burden of disproof on those who hesitate to accept them. A good deal of the controversy which has been lately carried on—chiefly in the pages of the *Academy*—

¹ Leofric Missal, p. 276.

² *Museum Ital.* i. 273-322.

³ *Gallican Liturgies*, Burntisland, 1855, p. 205.

about the date of the Stowe Missal turns on the tenableness of a suggested identification of the person who writes near the end of the Canon of the Mass the short sentence 'Moel Caich scripsit.'¹

There are, however, rare instances of entries which give a great deal more information than the above, and which furnish authentic news about the early history of the MS. in which they are found. Among the few such we have observed the following.

There is a Sacramentary (No. LVII.), partly published by Gerbert, under the title of *Codex Solodorensis*, because in his time, as now, preserved at Soleure. These dedicatory verses occur in it :

'Pastor Adalberte, summa date cœlitus arte,
Qui meritis constas vitæ venerabilis abbas,
Præbeo quod dulus gratanter suscipe munus
Eburnant vilis, tibi toto corde fidelis,
Semper ubique tui promptissimus assecla voti,
Scriptor, domne, tibi præsens quem porrigo libri
Quo tu cum sanctum celebres chisticola cultum,
Tecum scriptori pia præmia posse mereri.'

Nothing more is known about the writer Eburnant; but Adelbertus was Abbot of Hombach in 973, in which monastery the MS. was evidently written, and in the latter part of the tenth century, as pointed out by M. Delisle, and not in the ninth century, as supposed by Gerbert.

There is an entry at the beginning of the Missal of Robert of Jumièges (No. LXXXI.), which proves that this beautiful MS. is of evidently English execution, and that it was presented by Robert to his old monastery while he was Bishop of London (1044-1051), after he had resigned the abbacy of Jumièges, and before he became Archbishop of Canterbury. It runs :—

'Notum sit omnibus tam præsentibus quam futuris per succedentia tempora fidelibus quod ego Rotbertus, abba Gemmetensium prius, postmodum vero sanctæ Londoniorum sedis præsul factus, dederim librum hunc sancte Marie in hoc mihi com[m]isso monachorum sancti Petri cœnobio, ad honorem sanctorum quorum hic mentio agitur, et ob memoriale mei, ut hic in perpetuum habeatur. Quem si qui vel dolo,' &c.

We know but of one Sacramentary earlier than A.D. 1100 containing an entry giving the exact year in which it was written, with a precision similar to that now usual on

¹ *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 243.

the title-page of printed books. It is a Sacramentary once belonging to the abbey of Subiaco, now preserved in the library of S. Maria in Vallicella at Rome, which was written in the year 1075. The entry has been already quoted *in extenso* on p. 186.

Another paragraph in the same MS. repeats the scribe's name, but nothing further is known of Gunto. John was the first abbot of Subiaco.

'Incipiunt nomina monachorum congregationis supradicti monasterii sancti Benedicti et sanctæ Scholasticæ, ab eo tempore ex quo hunc expletum est librum [*sic*]. In primis domnus Johannes, clarissimus abbas, qui studiosissime eruditus vel enutritus fuit in venerabili monasterio sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ quod ponitur in Farfa, filius vero comiti[s] Joh[anni]s Octoni. Ipse quidem ut jam dictum est, hunc libellum amabiliter a supradicto Guntone scribere fecit. Deo gratias.'

We have now enumerated and described the chief sources of information as to the origin and date of any MS. which may be found in the text itself, or in close connexion with it, before the uniform language of more recent Western Missals had been generally enforced and adopted.

We will next proceed to call attention to various entries which are sometimes found on the pages of the older MS. Sacramentaries. They are miscellaneous, and only indirectly, or even not at all, liturgical in their character. The reason for their insertion seems to be that, in the days when there were no public record offices, and family Bibles must have been a very rare and expensive luxury, the principal Church service-book seemed the most public and secure place for registering facts or transactions of importance.

The first class of entries to be mentioned have, however, a liturgical connexion of some interest and importance. It is common to find a number of names, male and female, written on the fly leaves, or on blank places, or on the margin, or between the lines, especially (but not always) in close connexion with the Canon of the Mass. Frequently no description is attached to them. Sometimes they are headed 'Nomina vivorum,' or 'Nomina infirmorum,' or 'Nomina mortuorum.'¹ Their history seems to be this. The primitive custom of reading out from the diptychs the names of those persons whom it was desired to specially commemorate in the course of the Liturgy was becoming, or had become, obsolete. But people still craved to be remembered, both in

¹ See Leofric Missal, p. 6.

their lifetime and also after their decease, at the altar. They therefore got their names inscribed, sometimes on the altar itself, more often in the Mass book, so as to be sure in either case of falling under the eye of the celebrating priest. Instances of the former practice have been found at Minerve and at many other places in France. Le Blant discovered and deciphered no less than ninety-three names on a single marble altar-slab, of which he has printed a transcription, together with a plan of their position.¹

Instances of the latter practice are frequent. We must content ourselves with quoting a single specimen taken from a French Sacramentary, now at Stockholm (No. XX.)

Fol. 3, verso. 'Berardus. Johannes. Eldoerius.'

Fol. 30, verso. 'Ugo. Vembardus. Frotmundus. Mili**.'

'Gozfridus. Ozrannus monachus. Gualterius monachus peccator. Eldesindis. Digbertus. Teodericus. Eldena. Eribertus. Ragenardus monachus peccator. **uinus. **gbertus. [Il]delindis. **mengardis.'

The large majority of names preserved in this and similar lists are those of obscure individuals whose history cannot be traced. A general inference as to their French, English, or other nationality is the utmost which can usually be obtained. However, in the case before us the keen eye of M. Delisle has detected in the last name but one a lady named Ildelindis, who seems to have had a special claim on the chapter of Sens. Her obit is entered on April 15 in the same Sacramentary. She is recorded to have travelled to Rome to obtain absolution for herself and the papal intercession on behalf of her deceased husband and her children. A letter of Pope Sergius IV. (1009-1012), preserved in a Sens Sacramentary (No. XX.), furnishes us with these details. The number of names thus entered varies considerably, sometimes reaching immense length, as in the case of the Codex Othobonianus, a ninth-century French MS., now at Rome (No. XXXV.), a large part of which has been published by Muratori.² No less than one thousand and forty-seven names have been written in this book, partly on the margins and between the lines of the Canon, partly on other pages, at irregular intervals up and down the MS. Over portions of them headings occur which connect the entries with Paris, e.g. 'Nomina fratrum de societate duodecim apostolorum' and 'Nomina canonicorum Parisiacensium.'

¹ *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, ii. 432.

² *Lit. Rom. Vet.* tom. i.

It was impossible for the priest to repeat so many names *seriatim* each time he celebrated. Therefore a compendious form of prayer was sometimes inserted into the text of the Canon itself, or may be found in votive Masses for the living and the dead, in which the persons named are alluded to *en masse* in language which contains reference to the habit, previously referred to, of inscribing their names on the altar or in the altar book.

The following are specimens of such prayers. Italics have been introduced to mark the passages which refer to the customs in question.

1. From the French MS. known as the Missal of St. Eligius (No. LI.) ; being eleventh-century additions to a tenth-century text :—

‘ *Oratio interim dum Sanctus canitur.* ’

‘ Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, Deus, in ve[ne]ratione nominis tui et honore omnium sanctorum tuorum, hanc oblationem quam tibi indignus offero pro peccatis meis innumerabilibus, ut veniam adipisci merear, et pro elemosinariis nostris, et pro his quoque qui mihi consanguinitate vel familiaritate vincti habentur, et pro cunctis sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ fidelibus, *seu etiam pro fidelibus defunctis qui in libello memorialis mei scripti memorantur*, et pro omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, quesumus, Domine, ut omnibus nobis prosit ad indulgentiam. Per.’

2. From the same MS., in the text of the Canon :—

‘ Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum omnis congregationis sancti Petri, apostoli tui, omniumque propinquorum meorum, et quorum elemosinas suscepimus, seu qui mihi confessi sunt, *necnon et quorum nomina super sanctum altare tuum scripta habentur*, et omnium circumstantium quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio,’ &c.¹

3. From an eleventh-century MS. at Reims (No. CXVI.), in a Mass for the living and the dead :—

‘ Majestatem tuam, clementissime Pater, suppliciter exoramus et mente devota postulamus pro nobismet ipsis et fratribus ac sororibus nostris, necnon et pro his qui nobis de propriis criminibus vel facinoribus coram tua majestate confessi fuerunt, atque pro his qui in nostris orationibus commendaverunt, tam vivis quam et solutis debitum mortis vel quorum elemosynas erogandas suscepimus, *et quorum nomina ad memorandum conscripsimus, vel quorum nomina super sanctum altare tuum adscripta esse videntur,*’ &c.

¹ Compare a similar prayer quoted for a different purpose on p. 188, and several MSS. collated in the notes to the text of the Canon in the Leofric Missal, p. 60.

Lists of personages of importance are not uncommonly written out in these Sacramentaries, without any direct liturgical connexion or intention, so that they become important contributors to local or general Church history.

A Senlis Sacramentary (No. XXXII.) contains an early list of Archbishops of Senlis from the tenth to the twelfth century.

A Sens Sacramentary (No. XX.) gives a list of the first fifty-six archbishops (or bishops) of that see.

Lists of abbots, canons, benefactors, or other classes of official persons are sometimes to be met with.

Another interesting class of entries are lists of serfs or copyholders, and still more of their manumissions or enfranchisements. A list of such persons occupies two pages of the Senlis Sacramentary (No. XXXII.) just referred to, commencing thus:—

‘Isti sunt homines qui solvunt capacium sanctæ Mariæ sanctisque Gervasio et Protasio denarios iiii^{or} nativitate sanctæ Mariæ,’ &c.

The Leofric Missal has many entries of manumissions of slaves.¹ Two early Sacramentaries, published by Gerbert, contain each a formula of manumission, and the former of them a long list of slaves.² Other liturgical books besides Missals were used for this purpose, as may be seen in the case of the Gospels of St. Chad, now at Lichfield,³ and the Bodmin Gospels, now in the British Museum.⁴

Lists of relics were sometimes entered in early service-books. Most churches and monasteries had their possessions of this sort, and vied with each other in the value and uniqueness and attractiveness of their wonderful, and often wonder-working, curiosities.

In a tenth-century Sacramentary now at Zurich (No. XLVIII.) we find this entry:—

‘Hæc sunt reliquiæ quæ hic continentur ; sancti Blasii Martyris, et sancti Ypoliti. De lapide sancti Stephani,’ &c.

Such lists have little interest except as bearing testimony to the simplicity, if not to the duplicity, of the clergy, and to the credulity of the common people in the middle ages. The long list of relics given in the Leofric Missal as belonging to Exeter in the tenth and eleventh centuries, includes a bit of the candle with which the angel lighted up the Holy Sepulchre to show the inside to the first visitors on Easter

¹ Pp. 1, 5, 6, 269.

² *Mon. Lit. Vet. Alemann.* ii. 112-13.

³ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c. i. 206.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 676.

Morning, and a bit of the burning bush in which God spoke to Moses (p. 4).

Miscellaneous facts of interest or importance are sometimes entered on the blank spaces in the old service-books, such as (a) earthquakes.

A Verona Sacramentary (No. CXXVI.) records in very doggerel lines an earthquake which occurred on Christmas Day in 1223, and caused much desolation throughout Lombardy.

'Anno Domini ducenti
Mile erant viginti
Et tres com ile [=Pecorarius] rexit Veronam,
Cum tere motum cunti samsere
Longobardiam qui coluere
Festa Natalis ;
Brisie ture [=turres] tunc cecidere
Domos fere omnes ruere.'

Or (b) eclipses. An eclipse of the sun on June 3, 764, is noted on that day in the Kalendar of an Amiens Sacramentary (No. XLII.).

'III. Non. [Jun.]. Translatio sancti Vedasti. Et depositio sancti Lifardi. Facta est eclypsis solis hora vi anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXLIII, indictione ii.'

In an eleventh-century Missal at Monza (No. LXIX.) we find this prayer for the success of the first crusade :—

'Deus qui admirabili providentia cuncta disponis, te suppliciter exoramus ut terram quam unigenitus filius tuus proprio sanguine consecravit, de manibus inimicorum crucis eripiens restituas cultui christiano, vota fidelium ad ejus liberationem instantium misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis eterne. Per.'

Prognostications, charms, spells, or medical receipts were frequently entered.

A long list of prognostications is given in alphabetical order in a Sens Sacramentary (No. XLIII.), of which the following lines are specimens :—

'Aves in somnis qui viderit et cum ipsis pugnaverit lites aliquas significat.'

'Aves in somnis capere, lucrum significat.'

'Ab apibus se nocere, perfidas personas movere significat.'

&c.

&c.

The Leofric Missal exhibits the Sphere of Apuleius, an intricate drawing with elaborate instructions for its use in prognosticating future events (p. 45).

A French Sacramentary (No. XX.) contains on its first two leaves, in an eleventh-century hand, various receipts :

‘Ad capitis vertigine. Ad febres infusio probatissima. Ad cordis dolore. Ad capitis vertigine. Potio probatissima ad omnem guttam.

The Stowe Missal preserves on its last page three spells—the first against blindness, the second against a thorn, the third against strangury. These are written in the old Irish language, and are therefore of exceptional interest on that account.

We have now enumerated the most frequent and the most important entries of the miscellaneous and more or less extraneous matter which is to be found in ancient MS. Sacramentaries. No doubt solitary entries will be found occasionally which would not fall under any of our headings, such as the letters of Popes or of other distinguished individuals, &c. There are also many points of interest raised, and to some extent illustrated, by these MSS. in connexion with liturgical terms and liturgical usages. We refrain at present from entering into such questions. We have adduced sufficient proof that these old ecclesiastical MSS. contain matters of much and varied importance, and are worthy of careful examination and study on many other besides purely liturgical grounds.

ART. XI.—BENVENUTO CELLINI.

1. *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini*. Newly translated into English by JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 2nd edition. 2 vols. (London, 1888.)
2. *Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini, a Florentine Artist*. Written by Himself. Containing a variety of Information respecting the Arts and History of the Sixteenth Century, &c. Translated by THOMAS ROSCOE. (London, 1888.)

WE are not surprised that a large sale and a considerable flourish of trumpets has followed the publication of Mr. Symonds' new translation of Benvenuto Cellini's famous autobiography. There were many causes which might concur to bring about this success. The universal passion for travel, which has introduced all the world to the Loggia at Florence

and to Cellini's famous statue, with which it is adorned ; the fashionable dilettanteism of the day, which makes every other half-educated person pose (with whatever pretensions) either as artist or art critic ; the reputation gained by Mr. Symonds' *History of the Renaissance in Italy*, which marked him out as specially fitted to handle this singular self-portraiture of one of the Renaissance's most prominent representatives ; the peculiar advantages enjoyed by a section of the literary world for pushing their work into notoriety—all these, added to some other more questionable attractions, were well calculated to secure the admiration of the critics and to swell the translator's balance at his banker's. Nor were some higher and more legitimate reasons lacking for the favour with which, as we are assured, the work has been received both in England and America. We are quite prepared to admit that the new translation is spirited, and by an occasional happy adaptation of modern slang conveys with much felicity at times the idiosyncrasy of the original. That the book itself is a marvellous example of living portraiture, the astounding audacity of the writer's self-esteem finding adequate expression in his narrative, so that he describes with graphic force what he felt so strongly, no one can deny. So vivid is the picture of the man, and of the manners of his time, that its realism comes nigh to genius, and we live again in Rome under Pope Clement VII. and in the Paris of Francis I.

Before we turn to Cellini's pages it is only right that we should devote some attention to the preface of his most recent translator. It will not be Mr. Symonds' fault if the reader is not adequately impressed with the grandeur and importance of his performance. Never was a very simple matter ushered into the world with more pompous ceremony.

'The translator of an autobiography,' says Mr. Symonds, '*especially if it be a long one* like Cellini's, or like Rousseau's *Confessions*, enjoys very special opportunities for becoming acquainted with the mind and temper of its writer. No other method of study, however conscientious, can be compared in this *particular* respect with the method of translation ; in no other way is it possible to get such knowledge of a man's mental and emotional habits, to judge the value of his accent and intonation so accurately, or *to form by gradual and subtle processes so sympathetic a conception of his nature*. The translator is obliged to live for weeks and months in close companionship with his author. He must bend his own individuality to the task of expressing what is characteristic in that of another. He tastes and analyses every turn of phrase in order to discover its exact significance. He taxes the resources of his own language, so far as these may be at his command, to reproduce the most evasive, no less than

the most salient, expressions of the text before him. *In the case even of a poem or a dissertation he ought, upon this method*, to arrive at more precise conclusions than the student who has only been a reader. But when the text is a self-revelation, when it is a minute and voluminous autobiography, he will have done little short of *living himself for awhile into the personality of another*. Supposing him at the same time to be possessed of any discernment, he will be able afterwards to speak of the man whose spirit he has attempted to convey with the authority of one who has learned to know him *intus et in cute*—bones, marrow, flesh, and superficies' (vol. i. pp. v, vi).

We make no apology for quoting this paragraph at length, for any abbreviation would fail to convey an adequate conception of its turgid vacuity. Almost every sentence is either an empty truism or else is absurdly inappropriate to the subject which Mr. Symonds is handling. Is the general public so ignorant of self-evident truths as to need Mr. Symonds' assurance that an autobiography, especially if it be a long one, affords special opportunity of becoming acquainted with the mind and temper of its author, or that no other method of study can be compared *in this particular respect* with reproducing in another language what a man reports about himself? Is the world at large so dense that it must have its attention seriously challenged lest it should fail to grasp the subtle truth that the translator who tastes, and analyses, and lives himself into another—although it be over some inferior subject, such as a poem or a dissertation—ought upon this method to arrive at more precise conclusions than the student who has only been a reader? Is there any schoolboy living who needs to be informed that in preparing his translation he must give his mind to what he is about—Mr. Symonds calls it 'bending his own individuality to the task of expressing what is characteristic in that of another'—under pain of an imposition or the birch? No doubt whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well, and Mr. Symonds has been, we dare say, ungrudging of pains over his work. No doubt the ruggedness and imperfection—the quaint violations of grammar and occasional obscurity—of Cellini's style make an accurate rendering of his meaning at times extremely difficult; and let Mr. Symonds have all the credit of surmounting any such obstacles. But to exhaust all the resources of phraseology over such a matter—to speak of tasting and analysing every turn of Cellini's phrase, of reproducing the most evasive as well as the most salient of Cellini's expressions, of forming by subtle processes a sympathetic conception of Cellini's nature, of living one's self for awhile (*sic*) into the

personality of another (whatever that magnificent sentence may mean), and that other Benvenuto Cellini! Such language would verge upon extravagance if applied to Shakespeare or Dante: it is pure balderdash when applied to the Florentine autobiographer. The undergraduate who expected a first in classics because he had mastered the entire works of Moschus, is the nearest parallel one can recall to Mr. Symonds' exultation at his stupendous grasp of the 'bones, marrow, flesh, and superficies' of Benvenuto Cellini.

For of all the authors who could fall into the hands of translators or commentators Cellini is the most transparent. Great poems or metaphysical dissertations—at which Mr. Symonds glances so slightly—might present remote allusions or obscurity of thought of such a character as to require a delicate shade of expression, and some slight *nuance* of phrase might be essential to reproduce the meaning of the poet or the philosopher. In such cases we could understand the necessity for careful analysis, and for sympathetic insight into the meaning of the original, in order to preserve a translator from mistakes. But subtlety of thought and expression are both alike alien to the spirit of Cellini. No man ever wore his heart more constantly upon his sleeve, and to this fact Mr. Symonds bears emphatic testimony. He was as impulsive in speech as in action. 'The man presents himself dramatically by his deeds and spoken words, never by his ponderings or meditative broodings. It is this healthy externality which gives its great charm to Cellini's self-portrayal, and renders it an imperishable document for the student of human nature' (p. vii). But then what becomes of all the grandiloquent phrases we have quoted? What need that you should 'live yourself into another's personality,' that you may dive to what lies upon the surface or decipher that which is transparently intelligible? Surely no such effort is called for when your author is one who, 'unspoiled by literary learning, wrote precisely as he talked, with all the sharp wit of a born Florentine, heedless of grammatical construction, indifferent to rhetorical effects, attaining unsurpassable vividness of narration by pure simplicity' (vol. i. p. viii).

Yet Mr. Symonds is not content thus far to magnify his office. It is difficult to think that he was not laughing in his sleeve when he penned the third section of his introduction. After his elaborate affirmation of the 'healthy externality' of '*this potent human actuality*'—the world is indebted to Mr. Symonds for this terse and elegant periphrasis—his latest editor propounds and answers the following question with all

the solemnity of a man who suggests and solves an insoluble problem :—

‘ But what was the man himself? It is just this question which I have half promised to answer, implying that, as a translator, I have some special right to speak upon the topic. Well, then : I seem to know Cellini first of all as a man possessed by intense, absorbing egotism : violent, arrogant, self-assertive, passionate ; conscious of great gifts for art, physical courage, and personal address. Without having read a line of Macchiavelli he had formed the same ideal of *virtù*, or manly force of character, as the author of *The Prince*. To be self-reliant in all circumstances ; to scheme and strike, if need be, in support of his opinion or his right ; to take the law into his own hands for the redress of injury or insult : this appeared to him to be the simple duty of an honourable man. *But he had nothing of the philosopher's calm, the diplomatist's prudence, the general's strategy, or the courtier's self-restraint*’ (vol. i. pp. viii, ix).

We should like in turn to ask one question *à propos* of the inimitable modesty with which this paragraph commences. It is this : Beyond and beside the question of Cellini's veracity, is there any possible or conceivable room for two opinions about the ‘man himself’? Could any person of ordinary intelligence hesitate about his reply to the question which the sensitiveness of Mr. Symonds could only half promise to answer? Did any sane reader, even of that villanous translation which substituted ‘knapsacks’ for aprons, and which for this and like enormities is duly gibbeted in the introduction, ever derive any other impression than that which his translator *seems to know*? What was the man himself? He was, by universal consent, in equal proportions an artist and a ruffian, if not more ruffian than artist, and in the light of this fact the appropriateness of the sentence about ‘the philosopher's calm and the general's strategy’ will become apparent. The range of incongruity is almost boundless, but Mr. Symonds has penetrated as nearly as most competitors to its utmost limit. He might share the palm with the Dissenting preacher who commenced his prayer before sermon with, ‘O Thou that paintest the petals of the polyanthus.’

We may leave Mr. Symonds for a little space (we shall return to him anon) to dwell upon the singular career of the man whose autobiography he here presents to us. Benvenuto Cellini was born at Florence on the night of All Saints 1500. His father was a practical engineer, skilled in such varied branches of handicraft as making mills and drawbridges, carving ivory, and fashioning musical instruments. These more serious pursuits were, however, much neglected, owing

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to his love for music, which he practised as a fifer in the orchestra of Lorenzo de' Medici. Benvenuto inherited a double portion of his father's skill alike in handicraft and music; but the latter, which was a passion with the elder, was abomination to the younger Cellini. Opposition only fomented his irresistible bent towards an artistic life, and at fifteen Benvenuto was apprenticed to a goldsmith at Florence.

The boy was father of the man. His headstrong, passionate nature was fired because his new suit of clothes had been given to his brother; so he fled from home and worked for a year at his trade in Pisa. When his wrath had cooled he returned to Florence; but the erratic temperament soon resumed its sway, and at nineteen he set off with a fellow-workman for Rome, with wages enough in his purse to pay the expenses of both the travellers. In those days the Italian cities we have named were already schools of art, where the works of Masaccio, Da Vinci, and Michael Angelo were accessible to a host of aspirants, and the young craftsman was an untiring student of their masterpieces. His early training may have engendered that careful attention to details and that laborious mastery of technicalities which are in such striking contrast with a nature that was so essentially Bohemian. The skilful artisan gradually developed into the able artist, no uncommon evolution in a day when art and craft were not yet distinctly separate. This rapid sketch of his early years would be utterly incomplete if we failed to add that the young Florentine was superbly self-reliant. He meant to hold his own against all the world, and if need were would buckle on sword and dagger and ruffle it with the very best. Two years more saw him back in Florence, but a furious brawl with some members of the goldsmiths' guild drove him to seek asylum with Fra Alessio Strozzi. 'Have no fear,' was the friar's reply. 'Had you committed every sin in the world you are in perfect safety in my little cell.' But the ban was pronounced against him and he had to fly. Once more he set out for Rome, and on his way he met the courier with the news of the election to the Papacy of Clement VII.

The condition of the Eternal City is easily gathered from the vivid stories of Cellini's pen. The luxury and extravagance of the Papal Court, the prevalent fondness for rich plate and jewelry, the high esteem in which art was held among the great, the superficial polish beneath which the rudest savagery was concealed, only to burst forth on provocation in ferocious violence, the mingled refinement and brutality of the hierarchy, the easy, joyous, thoughtless Bohemian life of

the artists, the unbridled licence of the men-at-arms, all pass before us in turn. At one time it is a graceful contest between Cellini and the Lady Porzia, the lady lost in admiration of the beauty with which he has reset her diamonds, the artist gallantly disdaining payment which is lavished on him in no stinted measure ; at another a passing word gives a glimpse of his Holiness himself at table, throwing the bones from his plate and the rind of fruit into a silver basin beside him ; at another Cellini is copying Michael Angelo's frescoes in all the gloss of recent finish on the walls of the Sistine Chapel, or the incomparable paintings of Raffael in the Villa Farnesina ; and we smile on hearing that the Chigi 'plumed themselves exceedingly when they saw young men of my sort coming to study in their palaces.' Artistic jealousy, professional quarrels, episcopal commissions, jovial feasts, intrigue and struggle incessant, days of sporting in the Campagna, banquets in questionable company, details of the goldsmith's art, crowd Cellini's pages, and through them all we are given to understand with no bated breath that it is no ordinary person whose fortunes are being so graphically portrayed.

An event soon occurred which put Cellini on his mettle, and is too characteristic of the man and his times to be passed over. Among the foremost of Cellini's patrons was Don Francesco de Bobadilla, Bishop of Salamanca. This prelate, after other numerous commissions, had ordered a large silver vase, and as it was not completed so rapidly as he desired he took his revenge on the artist by refusing to pay for it. The vase, which was elaborately adorned with little animals and foliage and masks, had a handle moved by a spring of delicate workmanship, and this was broken by one of the Monsignor's gentlemen. Forthwith the butler was sent with it in all haste to have the damage repaired ; but Cellini declined to part with it again until he had the money for it. Presently the major-domo returned with a crowd of Spaniards, whom he ordered to seize the vase and give a sound beating to the presumptuous artist. But Cellini was undaunted. He presented his gun and cried out that he would shoot down the butler if a man of them stirred. Soon a number of Roman gentlemen assembled and the Spaniards retired, and presently a mutual friend came with a message from the Bishop that if Cellini did not bring the vase at once he would make mince-meat of him, but that if he did he would pay its price down. In reply Benvenuto threatened to lay his case before the Pope.

‘In the meantime, his anger and my fear subsided ; whereupon, being guaranteed by some Roman noblemen of high degree that the prelate would not harm me, and having assurance that I should be paid, I armed myself with a large poniard and my good coat of mail, and betook myself to his palace, where he had drawn up all his household. I entered, and Paulino followed with the silver vase. It was just like passing through the Zodiac, neither more nor less ; for one of them had the face of the lion, another of the scorpion, a third of the crab. However, we passed onward to the presence of the rascally priest, who spouted out a torrent of such language as only priests and Spaniards have at their command. In return I never raised my eyes to look at him, nor answered word for word. That seemed to augment the fury of his anger ; and, causing paper to be put before me, he commanded me to write an acknowledgment to the effect that I had been amply satisfied and paid in full. Then I raised my head and said I should be very glad to do so when I had received the money. The Bishop’s rage continued to rise ; threats and recriminations were flung about ; but at last the money was paid, and I wrote the receipt. Then I departed, glad at heart and in high spirits’ (i. pp. 55, 56).

It would be satisfactory if we had some means of testing the exactness of Cellini’s narrative, for as a braggart he has few equals. He is by his own testimony the first of goldsmiths, the finest of sculptors—Michael Angelo alone excepted. He can compete with and complete the finest works of classic ages, and his own productions have been mistaken for antiques. He knows no fear and holds no man in dread, be he pope or cardinal, princeling or sovereign. He is the finest swordsman, the most skilful artilleryman, the most unerring marksman, the most sagacious engineer. His coinage rivals or surpasses that of the Cæsars. His casts are bigger, sounder, better than those of any other artist, living or dead. From the foil to a gem or the enamel on a trinket to the casting of a bronze statue of giant proportions ; from a pigeon match or a single-hand encounter to the defence of a rampart or the design of a bastion ; from the intaglio of a cope button to the modelling of a colossus—he is fully persuaded that no man can compare with him. He speaks with a calm self-assurance, with an entire absence of misgiving, which makes it impossible to question his gravity or his sincerity. Intrigue, favouritism, envy may undermine or overreach his pretensions, but he knows no superior in merit. Perhaps it is still more wonderful to relate that his talents were at once so diversified and so eminent as in some degree to justify even such extravagant self-assertion.

We must pass rapidly over the siege of Rome in 1527, at

which Benvenuto did yeoman's service in the Papal cause. As usual he claims the credit for no small share in the fray where the fight was hottest and the danger fiercest. But for him the Castle of S. Angelo, where the Pope took refuge, would have been carried, and it was his aim that laid low the Constable Bourbon in the hour of his triumph. With better reason he could assert that the Prince of Orange was wounded by a discharge of the cannon he had planted against the foe with his own hands. 'I pursued my business of artilleryman, and every day performed some extraordinary feat, whereby the credit and favour I acquired with the Pope was something indescribable' (vol. i. p. 99). The ordinary business of the defence was varied by a summons from the Pope, who wished to save his tiaras and the great jewels of the Apostolic Camera.

'So the Pope, the Cavaliere, and I, being shut up together, they laid before me the tiaras and jewels of the regalia ; and his Holiness ordered me to take all the gems out of their gold settings. This I accordingly did ; afterwards I wrapt them separately up in bits of paper, and we sewed them into the linings of the Pope's and the Cavaliere's clothes. Then they gave me all the gold, which weighed about two hundred pounds, and bade me melt it down as secretly as I was able. I went up to the Angel, where I had my lodging, and could lock the door so as to be free from interruption. There I built a little draught-furnace of bricks, with a largish pot, shaped like an open dish, at the bottom of it ; and throwing the gold upon the coals, it gradually sank through and dropped into the pan. While the furnace was working, I never left off watching how to annoy our enemies ; and as their trenches were less than a stone's-throw right below us, I was able to inflict considerable damage upon them with some useless missiles, of which there were several piles, forming the old munition of the Castle. I chose a swivel and a falconet, which were both a little damaged in the muzzle, and filled them with the projectiles I have mentioned. When I fired my guns, they hurtled down like mad, occasioning all sorts of unexpected mischief in the trenches. Accordingly I kept these pieces always going at the same time that the gold was being melted down ; and a little before vespers I noticed some one coming along the margin of the trench on mule-back. The mule was trotting very quickly, and the man was talking to the soldiers in the trenches. I took the precaution of discharging my artillery just before he came immediately opposite, and so, making a good calculation, I hit my mark. One of the fragments struck him in the face ; the rest were scattered on the mule, which fell dead. A tremendous uproar rose up from the trench ; I opened fire with my other piece, doing them great hurt. The man turned out to be the Prince of Orange, who was carried through the trenches to a certain tavern in the neighbourhood, whither in a short while all the chief folk of the army came together' (vol. i. pp. 103-4).

We must refer the reader to Cellini's narrative for the sequel to this characteristic passage. The spectacle of the Holy Father proposing to concentrate all the artillery upon the house where the generals were assembled, that he might annihilate them all at one blow ; the terror of Cardinal Orsini lest, if the leaders were killed, the soldiery should disregard the proposals for peace, which were nearly concluded, and storm the Castle ; the wrath of Cellini at being ordered to desist from firing, and his disobedience in taking one parting shot, which did much execution, and for which Orsini wanted to have him hung ; the helplessness of the Pope and his high words with the Cardinal—are all vividly described. At the conclusion of the truce Cellini returned to Florence, which he speedily left for Mantua, as the plague was raging in his native city. The devastation it wrought was terrific, and Cellini's father was one of the 40,000 who fell victims to its ravages.

The invasion of Rome led to the overthrow of the Medici at Florence, and Cellini has been severely blamed for deserting the cause of freedom and returning to the service of Clement. With the Pope himself he was soon in high favour, but the Papal Court was swayed by intrigue and chicanery, and a swarm of competitors strove to lessen his reputation and to withhold the honours which his Holiness was disposed to confer on him. Open detraction and covert insinuation, all that malice could suggest or envy could invent, were employed to beget and foster suspicion, the unfailing bane and bugbear of absolute power. A commission to prepare a cope button which should include the largest diamond in the Apostolic treasury, and a grand gold chalice to be borne on state occasions in pontifical processions, kindled the angry passions not only of rival artists but of the cardinals by whom their pretensions were supported. Cellini had asked and obtained absolution from the Holy Father for appropriating a portion of the gold melted down by him during the siege of S. Angelo ; but the fact would afford a handle to his foes, whilst the plea with which his fault was extenuated—namely, that the Pope's chamberlain had withheld the payment which Clement ordered—casts light upon the difficulty the artist experienced in carrying out the Pope's commissions and upon the practical limitations of unlimited sovereignty. 'Do not trust so young a man too implicitly ; do not pay him too lavishly. He is rash in speech, not sparing even your Holiness, yet more rash in action. Is he the man to be trusted with property of great value ?' Such were the counsels unweariedly

whispered in Clement's ear. It was not long before they seemed to be more than justified.

Amongst the Italian princes then staying in Rome with a body guard of armed retainers was Alessandro, Duke of Penna. He had engaged a troop which had formerly served under Giovanni de' Medici, the famous Captain delle Bande Nere; and Cellini's only brother, Cecchio, had thus passed into his service. In a brawl that arose from some foolish quarrel Cecchio was mortally wounded, his death being caused by a musket shot fired in pure self-defence by one of the city police. The whole circumstances, as related by Benvenuto himself, show that he knew his brother fell in avenging the death of a friend who had wantonly attacked the Bargello's guard, and that, not content with assassinating the man who had dealt the fatal blow, he was rushing furiously upon his comrades when the constable shot him down. All these circumstances apparently weighed as nothing in Cellini's mind. He was so absorbed with the lust of revenge that he fell into a burning fever and lost both sleep and appetite. No thought of honour amongst foes, no concern for fair play or for a manly, open combat hand to hand seems to have once occurred to him. He shall describe the event in his own words.

'It had just struck twenty-four [eight o'clock P.M.], and he was standing at the house-door with his sword in hand, having risen from supper. With great address I stole up to him, holding a large Pistojan dagger, and dealt him a back-handed stroke, with which I intended to cut his head clean off; but, as he turned round very suddenly, the blow fell upon the point of his left shoulder and broke the bone. He sprang up, dropped his sword, half-stunned with the great pain, and took to flight. I followed after, and in four steps caught him up, when I lifted my dagger above his head, which he was holding very low, and hit him in the back exactly at the juncture of the nape-bone and the neck. The poniard entered this point so deep into the bone, that, though I used all my strength to pull it out, I was not able. For just at that moment four soldiers with drawn swords sprang out from Antea's lodging and obliged me to set hand to my own sword to defend my life. Leaving the poniard then, I made off, and fearing I might be recognized, took refuge in the palace of Duke Alessandro, which was between Piazza Navona and the Rotunda' (vol. i. pp. 139, 140).

The scandal of so foul a deed in those turbulent times was but short-lived. Within eight days the Pope sent for Cellini, and at the sight of his handiwork the Papal wrath was pacified, when a new adventure occasioned fresh misgiving. One night Cellini's shop was broken into, and would have been stripped but for the ferocity with which the watch-dog, a large

shaggy animal, attacked the thief. By this time Cellini had opened a handsome shop and had engaged five workmen, and had in his possession the Papal jewels. In vain the dog tried to rouse them; they only drove him away with curses, and to their horror next morning found the shop broken open and the caskets rifled. The folly of entrusting such valuable property to a young man under thirty, and he more soldier than artist, had been duly urged upon Clement; and when he asked if Cellini had given any just cause for suspicion, the reply was prompt and pointed: 'No; but, your Holiness, he never had such a chance before.' The robbery was speedily reported at the palace, and the consternation there may be imagined. When Cellini was announced the Pope turned upon him sternly: 'What are you come about? What's the matter?' 'Holy Father, here are all your jewels and the gold; there is nothing missing.' 'Then you are indeed Benvenuto [Welcome!]' Shortly afterwards Cellini chanced to meet a man in custody in the Piazza Navona, and his dog instantly flew at the prisoner, who in his fright dropped a little ring which Cellini recognized as his own. Benvenuto recovered all his property, and the thief was hanged in the Campo di Fiore.

We cannot follow the chequered fortunes of Cellini during the remainder of Clement's pontificate. At one time he was appointed Master of the Mint, and was high in favour; at another his appointment was cancelled and himself threatened with imprisonment. If the impatience of the Pope chafed at the delay in completing his orders the spirit of the artist never bent before threats of punishment he knew to be undeserved. Serious illness, which affected his sight, suspended his labours for some length of time. The quarrel waxed fierce and furious. The Pope demanded the promised jewel, done or undone; the artist offered to refund the money he had received, but refused to part with his work before it was complete. At length, upon the solemn promise that the parcel should remain untouched, Cellini sent the jewel in a sealed packet, which Clement, despite his plighted word, at once opened. 'You may tell Benvenuto that Roman pontiffs have authority to bind and loose things of much greater importance than this.' 'I thank Heaven that I am now qualified to set a proper value on the word of God's viceregent,' was the audacious reply. A bold front carried the day, and, after many rebukes for his folly and blindness to his own interests, Cellini's work was restored to him and he was received again into favour.

We have not space for the singular story of the incantations wrought by a Sicilian priest in the Coliseum. The unique rites, the magic circle, the precious perfumes, the noisome odours, the wreathing smoke, amidst which the priest, with prayers that his disciple would stand by him, discerned more than a thousand devils, all combine to form a weird scene within the amphitheatre, whose arena might well be haunted by the spectres of its countless victims. The modern arts of necromancy—spiritualistic or theosophic—pale before the horrors which seem for a moment to have seized Benvenuto and his companions. ‘I gave myself over for a dead man, seeing the terrible fright the necromancer was in.’ Yet we are soon upon familiar ground. There is the old jargon of addressing the spirits in a strange tongue ; and when all the infernal principalities are summoned to answer the important question whether Cellini will soon meet again his lost mistress we recognize, *mutatis mutandis*, all the essential elements of a modern *séance*.

The death of Clement was followed by the usual disorder within the walls of Rome. Rival parties hired bravoës to inflict or repel attack. Adversaries exchanged defiance and watched their opportunity for vengeance. Men clustered in groups round the friend who had reason to fear assault. All was confusion, lawlessness, suspicion, violence. No other Christian State in times of internal peace presented a parallel to the days of interregnum in the Eternal City. Pompeo, the late Pope’s treasurer, had been in bitter enmity with Cellini, and he now secured ten armed men and thought he might safely insult his foe. He little knew his man. Cellini declined the proffered assistance of several intimate friends, broke through Pompeo’s body guard single-handed, and killed him on the spot. No sooner was Cardinal Farnese elected to the Papacy and installed as Paolo III. than a safe-conduct was asked by and granted to Cellini. A friend of Pompeo’s suggested that it was dangerous to grant such favours so soon after his elevation to his new dignity. ‘You do not understand these matters. Men, like Benvenuto, who are unique in their profession, should not be subject to the law.’ No wonder that Cellini quotes a maxim so accordant with his self-esteem, although so complete a violation of all righteous judgment.

The new reign was destined to be fraught with sorrow to Cellini. He had a deadly foe in Signor Pier Luigi, the Pope’s natural son ; and, despite his safe-conduct, Cellini’s house was attacked at night by a body of the city guard, and it was only by the most strenuous efforts and by performing pro-

digies of valour that he succeeded in beating them off. On the festival of the Virgin he walked in procession, accompanied by his boy Cencio, both of them dressed in blue and silk—we may note in passing that the artist says he cut out the clothes himself—and then received a full pardon. But the excitement of so many perils crowded into a brief space of time had over-strained even his iron frame, and he fell into a raging fever. Phantom shapes haunted his couch and threatened to drag him off; yet amidst the frenzy of delirium his characteristic irritability was kindled by the cool criticism with which visitors handled the weapons of the patient they supposed to be unconscious of their remarks. The unwearied and affectionate nursing of his partner, Felice, and the concern of many attached friends bear convincing testimony that the harsh, rugged nature of the man was tempered by qualities which could elicit such genuine regard. We must omit the details of this sickness, from which Cellini recovered after drinking his fill of cold water in defiance of his physician's orders. It is recorded with all the author's picturesque vivacity.

We must hurry on to the scene of Cellini's long incarceration in the Castle of S. Angelo. Impenetrable obscurity still overshadows the reasons of his disgrace. According to one account Paul's wrath was kindled by a false accusation that his goldsmith had spoken disrespectfully of the shape and figure which now sat upon St. Peter's Chair, and had even compared it to a sack stuffed with straw. According to another story Pier Luigi asserted that Cellini had embezzled large sums entrusted to his keeping, and had obtained from the Pope a grant of the alleged plunder which he was determined to extort from Cellini, or to punish his obstinacy by perpetual imprisonment. Cellini tells us that a treacherous workman had informed the Duke of Castro—as Pier Luigi was now entitled—that his master was worth full 80,000 ducats in gold and jewels, the proceeds of plunder from the Papal treasury. There was no limit to the Pope's subserviency to his son's wishes, to Castro's avarice and hatred, or to Cellini's indomitable pride. In vain friends suggested concessions, or at least such restraint upon his words as prudence would dictate. In vain the mad governor of S. Angelo strove to bring his prisoner to reason. In vain was harsher treatment employed to break his intractable spirit. From the foulest dungeon of the keep Cellini hurled defiance at his captors, and vowed he would regain his liberty despite them all. Through what strange phases of conviction he passed

during the long gloomy hours of his terrible imprisonment, mind and body alike strained to the utmost power of endurance! The record of his visions, his study of the Bible, his prayers, his poem in favour of imprisonment, fill some of his most striking pages. It were easy to mock (in the light of his subsequent conduct) at his professions of piety: the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be. In our judgment the unblushing avowal of after profligacy is wholly inconsistent with intentional hypocrisy. It were more philosophical to regard the unvarnished tale as a singular example of the intricacy and unfathomableness of man's mingled nature. It is quite in keeping with the superb self-satisfaction which shines through Cellini's account that he regarded himself as a special object of Divine favour—we had almost said as one that deserved as well as received marked instances of Divine interposition. With what address and ingenuity he contrived to open the door of his cell and scale the prison walls; with what endurance he dragged a broken limb until a water-carrier carried him on his ass to St. Peter's Church; his subsequent recapture and his eventual release at the entreaty of the Cardinal of Ferrara, who adroitly took advantage of a moment when the Pope had been indulging too freely in wine—all these circumstances compose a romance of the deepest interest and illustrate the maxim that truth is stranger than fiction.

The scene changes from the Court of Rome to that of Francis I.; but the artist's life is subject, as before, to the varying caprice of the royal will and to the intrigues of the courtiers. A liberal pension of fixed amount, a residence assigned by royal patent, abundant commissions on a scale of royal magnificence, and an ample share of royal favour established Cellini in affluence and importance beyond anything he had hitherto enjoyed. These advantages were in part marred or neutralized by the enmity of the Duchesse d'Etampes, the King's mistress, and the treachery of his treasurer, the Cardinal of Ferrara. The former sent some creatures of her own to occupy the hôtel which had been granted him. The latter diverted the King's bounty by promising Cellini in his presence a pension of 300 crowns, which was never paid. Cellini met such opposition in his wonted fashion. He threw out the intruders' goods, and threatened not to spare their persons unless they beat a speedy retreat. The jolly monarch laughed heartily at the discomfiture of his frail favourite, and forthwith sent letters of naturalization to her audacious antagonist.

Nowhere else, we suppose, could a more striking picture

of the Court of Francis I. be seen than in Cellini's pages. The huge train—he states it at 12,000 horsemen—which attended the monarch, and the straits to which so vast a retinue was at times reduced; the reckless extravagance of the French King, who conferred on one occasion an abbey worth 7,000 crowns a year on the Cardinal d'Este in return for a gilt vase and basin; the haughty imperiousness with which the Duchesse d'Etampes imposed her commands upon her royal lover; the energy and the impatience, the dissolute life and the proud independence of the author—are all sketched with masterly realism. One day, surrounded with a brilliant suite, Francis set out after dinner to visit Cellini's studio. In his train were his sister, Margaret of Valois, and her royal husband, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duchesse d'Etampes, the Dauphin and his young wife, Catharine de' Medici, then in her twenty-first year. Arrived at Cellini's gate, the King, on hearing the sound of so many hammers, bade his retinue be silent and entered the workshop quite unexpectedly. As he came in

'the first object he perceived was myself with a large piece of plate in my hand, which I had not yet placed, and which was to make the body of Jupiter; another was employed on the head, another again on the legs, so that the shop resounded with the beating of hammers. Whilst I was at work, as I had a little French boy in the shop who had some way or other offended me, I gave him a kick, which drove him above four cubits forward towards the door, so that when the King entered the boy fell against him. The good monarch laughed heartily and I was in the utmost confusion. His Majesty began to ask me what I was about, and expressed a desire that I should proceed with my work, telling me that he should be much better pleased if I would never harass myself with my business, but take as many men as I thought proper into my service, for it was his desire I should take care of my health, that I might be the longer able to serve him' (Roscoe, p. 317).

We are tempted to linger over other incidents which crowd the narrative and maintain its unflagging interest. Many a passing glimpse reveals to those who have eyes to see a whole world of inner life. At this stirring time Cellini executed some masterpieces in goldsmith's work and in bronze, and was in the full flood of apparent prosperity, when he suddenly determined to return to Florence. The reason he alleged for this resolution—namely, his desire to provide for his sister and her family—seems hardly adequate to the vast sacrifice he was making. Had he any ground for apprehending that he might be called to account for the sums he

had received from the royal treasury? He was open-handed, expensive in taste, dissolute in life, and, despite large and profitable patronage, he had apparently gathered but a moderate fortune. To accusations that followed him he professed to be able to furnish a complete refutation, and a passing whim was motive enough to one of his erratic temperament. He himself calls God solemnly to witness that he was solely influenced by a longing to assist 'six poor unfortunate maidens and their mother.'

The story of Cellini's life in Florence, and especially the varying fortunes of his great achievement—the Perseus of the Loggia—occupy the remainder of the autobiography to its abrupt conclusion. If we do not dwell upon this part of the narrative it is not because it yields in interest to what has gone before, but because we have a serious question to handle before our task is done. Life in Italy during the stormy days in which Cellini's lot was cast was stained by foul immorality and licentiousness, and the artist's record is defiled by obscene allusions and by filthy details which are utterly unfit for reproduction in an English dress and for English readers. Such at least was the manly and modest verdict of early translators. Mr. Roscoe spares us the pain and shame of passages which Cellini obtrudes with revolting coarseness, and permits us the unalloyed enjoyment of his picturesque and vivid story. Why have the dictates of common decency and the established etiquette of modern social life been violated by the reinstatement of suppressed passages? On what ground has it been thought expedient to thrust before the public these nasty items of debauchery and this reeking foulness of the stews? There are passages in the autobiography which are simply bestial and brutal, unredeemed by a single spark of human feeling, hateful in all the naked deformity of ruffianly outrage and lust, and yet in this nineteenth century these forgotten abominations are dragged forth from their dark retreat and thrust upon the unsuspecting reader.

We are of course aware of the plea upon which such action is defended. It is said that only by acquaintance with the entire work of such a writer can the student obtain full acquaintance with the times in which Cellini lived. This pretext has been ably exposed and refuted in a recent number of *Macmillan's Magazine*.¹ No person worthy the name of student could read Roscoe's translation without forming a tolerably accurate estimation of this 'topping goldsmith.' However able in the practice of his art, however fascinating from the

¹ 'The Practice of Letters,' in *Macmillan's Magazine*, January 1889.

dashing vigour of his style, however interesting from the variety of his experience and the historical importance of those with whom he had to do, Cellini is palpably and pre-eminently a ruffian, with the qualities of the ape and the tiger close to the surface and ever ready to burst forth. When such a man, in the sad shamelessness begotten in large measure of the evil days in which his lot had fallen, shocks every law of decency, can we not turn away without having every prurient passage offensively held up before our eyes?

We feel bound to speak thus plainly upon a most disagreeable subject; the signs of the times are such as would make our silence criminal. The appetite for garbage grows upon that on which it feeds, and only a large demand for impure literature can explain the risk which publishers are found ready to incur in providing much of the filthy trash which deluges the market. The evil is not confined to one class, nor does it spring only from one source. It is in part the outcome of a superficial infidelity, in part the consequence of that spreading want of self-restraint which corrupts even the naturally healthy passion for knowledge into a morbid intrusion into the forbidden. It is fostered in some degree by a godless æstheticism, which makes art pander to lubricity. Its taint, wherever it occurs, is deadly. A thousand times rather let us have Roscoe's translation—however occasionally imperfect—than any other, however accurate, which includes paragraphs that are an insult to the refinement of gentle manners and an outrage on the comeliness of Christian modesty.

SHORT NOTICES.

Charles George Gordon. By COLONEL SIR W. F. BUTLER.
(London: Macmillan and Co., 1889.)

THE story of General Gordon's life is told by one who very highly appreciates, although at times he seems not quite fully to understand, the remarkable man of whom it treats. He appears occasionally to long for a more dramatic hero than the one he has to deal with, and to shrink from the penalty of neglect which such men as General Gordon have ever to pay for their honourable and absolutely essential independence. He regrets, while yet he elsewhere rightly explains it, that he was not more valued by official persons and the

world at large, to whom of necessity his character was simply a mystery. He writes at p. 89 of 'the pity of the fate that let this "captain of good leading" waste his life in the deserts of Africa.' And at p. 180 he writes of his sojourn in Mauritius as 'this waste of a great life.' And at length he writes at p. 199 :—

'The hour had at last struck. No more was this great soul to be permitted to bury itself in unseen wildernesses. He is to go forth indeed into a remote region, but he will draw after him the eyes of all men ; and ere this year, 1884, which has dawned in such complication of purpose, shall have closed, there will be seen, as though raised aloft upon a colossal pedestal, the figure of this grand centurion, with all the effort of his life, and the honesty of his heart and the faith of his soul, made visible to the four points of the earth, written in letters of flame amid the darkness of disaster.'

To us this dramatic description seems out of harmony with General Gordon's character and life, to have a taint of idolatry about it from which Gordon would have shrunk, and to express that against which Gordon's life was a firm and constant protest. How many such protests he has left us, in his letters to his sister, as for instance :—'I remember that God has at all times worked by weak and small means. All history shows this to be His mode, and so, I believe, if He will, He may work by me.' And of that sojourn in Mauritius, which he speaks of as Patmos, his own estimate was, 'I believe the pilgrimage to Mauritius will be blessed to me,' &c. And 'you must be more or less in the desert to use the scales of the sanctuary, to see and weigh the true value of things and sayings. Getting quiet does one good ; it is impossible to hear God's voice in a whirl of visits.' This so-called 'waste of life' was General Gordon's training, and he well knew it to be so, and gratefully owned it. Sensational writing simply puts such a man in a false position, and obscures a character of masculine simplicity and humility, in which there was no element of an actor, no thought of an admiring audience.

We do not mean that Sir W. Butler does not frequently describe admirably and truly the real General Gordon, but that, having to write a popular biography, he occasionally plays to the gallery level, and distorts his subject. He gives at p. 163 a very instructive explanation of the neglect which he regrets, but cannot quite bring himself to regard as a matter of course :—

'Men like to think of their hero beloved and honoured during the brief span of his life on earth ; they are apt to forget that the very singleness of purpose which made his name appear so wonderful after death, and was the real secret of the success they so much admire, was also the cause of isolation in life and of opposition to fellow-men, which must ever be two of the most potent factors against popularity. "The praise and blame of the world," Gordon had often said, "are equally indifferent to me ; you may write of me as if I were dead." The contemporary world does not like to be told this, however much its children and grandchildren may admire it later on ; and the contemporary world has many methods of showing its dislike.'

And there follows more to the same effect.

Gordon well knew that society will only generally accept such as himself in a last necessity, when matters are critical and dangerous, when the individual must be trusted if he is to be of any use. In the Journals edited by Mr. Hake, General Gordon expresses in a humorous and happy way, at p. 59, his sense of his not being an easy instrument in official hands.

‘I own to having been very insubordinate to her Majesty’s Government and its officials ; but it is my nature, and I cannot help it. I fear I have not even tried to play battledore and shuttlecock with them. I know if I was chief I would never employ *myself*, for I am incorrigible. To men like Dilke, who weigh every word, I must be *perfect poison*.’

His qualities were of a kind which men of the world will only accept under compulsion. ‘The absolute rule which God,’ as he held, ‘has over all events, good or evil,’ does not suit their views. ‘It is so very hurtful to our pride to have Him intruded into our affairs.’ We make such criticisms upon a few passages in Sir William Butler’s biography because its merits will ensure for this book a large and doubtless an enduring sale. But it just fails of giving a consistent account of General Gordon’s profoundly religious character, and of emphasizing the effort which it cost him to perfect that which made the real difference between him and other men.

Beginning with the Crimea, the life is continued through his Chinese campaign against the Taiping rebels, his work at Gravesend, his first mission to the Soudan, his visit to Palestine, and to its ending at Khartoum.

The details of his achievements in China with the ‘Ever Victorious Army’ will be almost new to many readers. And the same may be said of his first mission to the Soudan in 1874, in the account of which much interesting information is given by Colonel Butler as to the Nile, its nature and ways, the climate of the ‘country of the blacks’ into which the slave-trader has not yet penetrated, and the African slave-trade generally.

‘Sooner or later’ (he puts it, p. 94) ‘the great fact will be known that interior Africa has one lasting article of export, and only one. Ivory and ostrich feathers soon disappear : gum-arabic does not grow in the true country of the blacks : cassava and plantain are but the cabbages and potatoes of the people : men, women, and children still form the one sure and certain export, just as they formed it three hundred years ago, when the Elizabethan captain of war, Hawkins, carried the first cargo of slaves from Africa to America.’

It is with the Soudan and Egypt that General Gordon’s name will be ever chiefly associated by his countrymen. His first mission as governor-general of the Equator is described largely in General Gordon’s own words. The welfare of the tribes and the confusion of the slavers was its object, and to gain the confidence of the natives was his first care. A dream of a Central African empire possessed his mind until experience showed him its hopelessness as soon as the novelty had worn off. He then writes of the country, at p. 99 : ‘No one can conceive the utter misery of these lands—heat and mos-

quitoes, day and night, all the year round.' But, bad as it is, there was for General Gordon something worse. 'I prefer it infinitely,' he says at p. 101, 'to going out to dinner in England.' 'I prefer life amidst sorrows, if these sorrows are inevitable, to a life spent in inaction.'

At p. 117 he writes again of a special part of that dreary equatorial land which lies between the lakes and the falls of Fola—'a dead, mournful spot, with a heavy damp dew penetrating everywhere. It is as if the Angel Azrael had spread his wings over this land. You have little idea of the silence and solitude. I am sure no one whom God did not support could bear up.' 'More and more,' at p. 101 Colonel Butler continues, 'the conviction grows that there is nothing but slaves in the land.' 'There can be no trade,' General Gordon writes, 'for they have nothing to exchange for goods. Poor creatures, they would like to be left alone.'

In describing this first connexion of General Gordon with the Soudan, Sir W. Butler says of him at p. 112:—

'There is nothing so remarkable in the life of this man as his perfect sense of justice; nothing can upset the even balance of his mind in the cause of right against wrong; no matter what self-interest is in the scale, no matter how much disaster to his own side may lie in the triumph of his enemy, he can never lose sight of the original cause of quarrel, and the justice of the native right to the possession of the land.'

This passage is preceded by General Gordon's own words after a defeat—words full of reverence for the religious faith of his enemy in some unknown God, with an utter absence of all feeling of revenge, or, as Sir W. Butler puts it, 'an absolute absence of the truly Saxon element of hate':—

'We derided these poor blacks who fought for their independence, and now God gave them the victory. I declare in spite of the expressions you may note in my letters, I truly sympathize with them. . . . They have said this land is ours, and you shall not have it—neither its bread nor its flocks.' 'Did I not mention the incantations made against us by magicians on the other side,' he asks, 'and how somehow, from the earnestness that they made them with, I had some thought of misgiving on account of them? It was odd, this repulse so soon to follow. These prayers were earnest prayers for celestial aid, in which the prayer knew he would need help from some unknown Power to avert a danger. That the native knew not the true God is true, but God knows him, and moved him to pray, and answered his prayer.'

We can but refer briefly to this his first acquaintance with the Soudan, with its 'gleams of success and dark disappointments.' He was burdened continually with the thought of how his new arrangements would affect the people and their lands, when, as time went on, himself and his influence were removed, and his successors, who would understand his high intentions as little as they would probably understand the people themselves, would be ruling in his stead. 'I think sometimes,' he writes, 'that I am seducing the natives into a position in which they will be a prey to my Arab successors.'

In 1879 he resigned the Governor-Generalship of the Soudan,
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which he had taken in 1874, at a time when seven-eighths of the population were slaves, when the country swarmed with slave-hunters and slave-dealers, and district governors aided and abetted them in their raids.

His second and final mission to Khartoum in 1884 was in consequence of the annihilation of General Hicks' native army.

'At the moment of his departure for Khartoum,' says his brother, as quoted at p. 196, 'he was to the great mass of his countrymen a person who was now heard of for the first time,' a statement the truth of which Colonel Butler accepts to the full, and enlarges upon it.

We know from Gordon's Journals, published by Mr. Hake, in how different a condition he now found the Soudan. His successors had driven the whole country into revolt, and he writes on September 12, 1884, in his Journal, p. 13 :—

'It is most dispiriting to be in the position I am, if it was not good for me, when I think that *when I left* I could say no man could lift his hand or foot in the land of the Soudan without me, and now we cannot calculate on our existence over twenty-four hours. The people are all against us.'

And he had no longer a free hand, but was controlled by the English Ministry, who might have acted more trustfully to a man undertaking such a venture.

Colonel Butler's account is most clear and interesting here and on to the fatal end.

'At last we seem to know him' (he writes at p. 141); 'we are sending out our thousands of men, and opening wide the money-bags of the nation, to save this great heart so long neglected by our rulers; and we are about, too, to make this relief of Gordon into another plank in the platform of our national pride—and then?'

The one new power which everybody, including Gordon, had undervalued was the Mahdi. Since he had left a new power had come into the land, all the old fervour of Islam had awakened. Colonel Butler puts the difficulties of General Gordon's position in the most clear and powerful way, and in admirable form. The race between the Mahdi and the expedition for reaching Khartoum was going on, and the clouds were gathering around Gordon. Desertion and treachery were increasing in the garrison, the news of the murder of his friends Stewart, Power, and Herbin has reached him, he is entertaining the question of half rations, only to feel that the faith of officers and men is too weak for such a process to be possible, and he writes his last notes. 'One help he has through all this time that never leaves him,' says Colonel Butler at p. 246. 'The Almighty God will help me,' he wrote in the last message that ever came to us. And to his sister he wrote that he is 'quite happy, thank God,' and 'like Lawrence, I have tried to do my duty.' And in his Journal 'I am deeply grateful to those who have prayed for us.'

'I like Nelson's signal,' he had once written, says Colonel Butler at p. 162. 'England expects duty, now the race is for honours, not honour, and for newspaper praise.'

And in a similar spirit he writes of 'honours' in the first book of his Khartoum journals, p. 64 :—

'Some accounts in the *Gazette* describing reasons for giving the Victoria Cross are really astounding, such as a man, who, with another, was sent out on a reconnaissance, this other was wounded, and his companion waited for him and took him on his horse, saving his life! What would we have said had he left his companion? The original idea of the Victoria Cross was to give the subaltern officers, non-commissioned officers, and men a decoration which would take the place of the Bath, to ranks below that of major, which, by the statutes of the Bath, could not be done; then came the mistake of giving the Victoria Cross for deeds of *éclat*, and so now it is.'

Just before he had said in this connexion, 'Certainly I would make *Plutarch's Lives* a handbook for our young officers. It is worth any numbers of *Arts of War* or *Minor Tactics*.'

And continuing the journal in the same spirit, he ends by mentioning a fact at p. 65, which is certainly startling, but must be true, as coming from one who had been engaged for so many years upon the defences at the mouth of the Thames. 'I do not think,' he writes, 'it is generally known that if a gun-boat cut the sea-wall near Cooling-on-Thames, the Cliffe and Shornemead Forts are cut off from the main land, and the Thames would come up to high lands and be ten miles wide.'

Such a fact is certainly an awkward one if it is likely to be forgotten. Thus he gave his head and heart and thoughts to home affairs in his journals as a relaxation during his anxieties in Khartoum. And many such bits occur in them.

'The dust of Gordon' (says Colonel Butler, at p. 255) 'is not laid in English earth. Somewhere far out in the immense desert, whose sands so often gave him rest in life, or by the shores of that river which was the scene of so much of his labours, his ashes now add their wind-swept atoms to the mighty waste of the Soudan.'

As Gordon memorials are inevitable, it seems to us that it might have been better if they had merely taken the harmless form of statues. Difficulties seem to beset institutions. Certainly an institution founded in honour of a national hero, although a soldier, should never be nearly exclusively controlled by the military mind. We must not fail to remember that far before all else General Gordon was a man of faith, a definitely and earnestly religious man, and that though, as we assume, originally a Presbyterian he was a communicant for thirty years in the Church of England as frequently as was possible under the circumstances of his life. Religion was with him of the first moment. It meant an acknowledgment of God in everything, after no vague and hazy manner, a religion which conveys something definite to the mind, touches the heart, and forms lifelong habits. God was in all his thoughts. He was not indefinite as to such matters. Of the Holy Communion he writes to his sister: 'I cannot tell you how important I think it. It ought to be taken very often.' And again: 'I like distinct colours, black and white. I like decision.'

We wish such language were held by those who are now working the institution of the Gordon Boys' Home at Bagshot. They seem to appreciate the name rather than the spirit of Gordon. The words of St. Paul that 'the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life,' are not, we think, inapplicable to such a case.

Chapters of Early English Church History. By WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. 8vo. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1888.)

THE appearance of a second edition of Dr. Bright's *Early English Church History*, with some additions and corrections, is a fact interesting to students of Church history, and invites us to say a few words on the general character of this excellent work. What is known as picturesque history—that is to say history abounding in graphic touches and minute details—is very attractive reading, but it often has the fault of inaccuracy. The attempt to present a picture which shall interest and captivate the reader is apt to overbear a careful sifting of the facts exhibited, and these are coloured with too free a brush, and made to present a hue which does not properly belong to all of them. As a rule, scarce any historical facts, periods, or characters can be fairly set forth without qualifications, and the relation of possibly extenuating and counterbalancing circumstances. Testimony is terribly liable to be tinged by party spirit and marred by falsehood. The historian proper must be an enquirer and sifter of evidence, not a partisan who gleefully picks up on every side every specious bit of fact or speech which can be made to do duty for upholding his theory. One special merit of Canon Bright's *Early English Church History* is that while it is eminently 'picturesque,' and full even to repletion of details, it is also accurate and fair. The writer's love and devotion to the early Church does not lead him to set forth as historical statements which will not stand the test of criticism, or even in the case of his most favoured characters, to pass by or gloss over their shortcomings. Thus he is content to say of the British Church, whose history so many endeavour to invest with a definiteness which does not belong to it, that it 'shows like a valley wrapt in mists across which some fitful lights irregularly gleam. We know nothing of its episcopal succession, very little of its internal life or of its efforts at self-extension. We read of some of its buildings having been known to exist at Canterbury, Caerleon, Verulam . . . but antiquarians have found but very few memorials of Roman-Bishop Christianity' (pp. 10, 11). This is perhaps rather an under-statement. We not only *read* of these remains, but we *see* them, as in the fine old Romano-British Church in the castle of Dover. Again, St. Gregory, to whom we owe so much, is described in enthusiastic terms of laudation for his charity and tender heart, but the Canon does not feel justified in altogether omitting the story of the poor monk cast forth on a dunhill to die, because he was found to have a few gold coins in his possession; and is obliged to 'pause a moment' over the great Pope's laudatory letters to queen Brunhild, and his 'repulsive lauda-

tion of the odious tyrant Phocas' (p. 46). Canon Bright's mind is an eminently fair one, and though he is full of a zeal for his subject which gives a special charm to his pages, he is not prepared to disregard any facts, however unpleasant, which his great learning and extensive reading bring up in connexion with the matter which he is treating. To this extensive reading the vast apparatus of foot-notes in his volume bears striking testimony; but while we would not readily miss any of these, we cannot but feel that they are somewhat distracting to anyone trying to 'get up' the history from his book, the eye being constantly drawn away from the text to some bit of curious and interesting information contained in the notes. We may add that the principal additions to the new edition are to be found in these notes. Canon Bright has evidently kept an interleaved copy of his book near at hand and inserted into it any additions or corrections suggested by those who have written on these subjects since his book was published; and we imagine that very few bits of new information have escaped his eye. We cannot commend these constant distractions and this excessive multiplication of references; some to books inaccessible to the ordinary student, some to books very inferior in authority to the volume which appeals to them for support. But the great amount of references, if they do not help the reader much, at any rate testify to the industry and to the fair spirit of the author. The reader may be sure that nothing has been overlooked, and that he has here the fairly-considered conclusions of a most competent enquirer, with the grounds on which these conclusions are arrived at plainly put forward. If he does not agree with all the conclusions, it will not be because anything has been kept back or slurred over, but because he attributes a different value to the data with which he is furnished; and perhaps approaches the subject with somewhat less of that guileless and enthusiastic temper which is eminently characteristic of Canon Bright. This enthusiasm, which makes his book singularly readable, may perhaps prejudice in the eyes of some its historical character; a captious critic may even be inclined to say that all the Canon's geese are swans. It may, however, be perfectly true that a book full of legend and miracle and quaint stories as this is, may give a far more accurate picture of the times historically than a cold and critical narrative which is for ever occupied in trying to separate the legendary from the actual, the miraculous from the real.

Canon Bright's book may be regarded as a loving exposition of Bede, with all the illustration which a most extended and careful research can bring to bear on the pages of the venerable father of English Church History. Nothing is omitted which may help us to get a clear and definite grasp of those misty and feebly-developed times—not alone chronicles and ancient records which may help, but other sources of information, more trustworthy than these, are liberally made use of. Topographical details, evidently gained from personal observation, bring vividness and reality to many a narrative, and, what is more valuable still, because more certain, the etymologies of words are never neglected. One may be mistaken about topography,

and it is perilous to infer facts from the shape and contour of mounds and valleys, as is done so freely in *The Making of England*. But when the locale is sufficiently known and pointed out by the record, then topography is admirable for illustration and the production of clearness. But about etymologies one cannot be far wrong. The name comes down to us as a genuine relic of the past. The early history of a nation may be said to be almost embedded in its names, and is capable to a great extent of being evolved from them. Canon Bright never neglects the meaning of names and words, and gains much illustrative matter from them. We observe that he has added some new etymological notes in the new edition. One of these is the presence of the word *wall*, i.e. strangers, in the compounds *Wallingford* and *Cornwall*, telling us the place where the 'strangers,' i.e. the British, passed the river, and the place where they settled; accounting also for the name of their chief habitation, and linking together, as the refuge of the British, Cumbria, Wales proper, and Devon and Cornwall, West Wales (p. 27). Then we have an undying monument of the work of Paulinus in the name of the village *Pallinsburn* (p. 125), and of the brave constancy of the deacon James in that of *Akeburg* (p. 136). We are glad to see that the erroneous notion of Southwell being the place where Paulinus baptized in the Trent is now abandoned. In the new edition *Tiovulfingacæster* is assigned to Littleborough; still, we think, erroneously, but at any rate on the Trent (p. 128). The Welsh name quoted for the battle of Heavenfield (*Catisgual*, the battle below the wall) seems to fix the locality of this important contest; but Canon Bright is a little inaccurate in calling this the 'definitive triumph of the Christian cause in Northumbria' (p. 138), a description which more properly belongs to the battle of Wingfield. The name of *Bamborough*=*Bebba's burgh*, is made to tell us something of a queen obscured by the mist of ages (pp. 25, 171). *Medeshamstede*, 'the dwelling-place in the meadows,' describes the pleasant location of one of the earliest English monasteries; and *Gyrwy* (p. 333), the original of Jarrow, speaks of 'the smooth bay' near which was the home of the famous Bede. This sort of illustration, scattered so thickly through the volume, is one of the most prominent characteristics of the book.

If we had to point out another striking feature we should select the sort of affectionate zeal with which the writer sets himself to delineate, with almost extravagant detail, individual characters and careers. Bede, Cuthbert, Wilfrid, become saintly heroes in his hands; but here, even, the absolute fairness of the Canon's mind does not desert him. The 'splendid name' of Wilfrid is yet saddled with the charges of 'imperiousness and egotism,' 'a Roman love of domination,' and a 'self-complacent consciousness of exertions and sacrifices made for the Church' (p. 201). These charges are absolutely true, but they would have been omitted by many a writer zealously setting himself to colour an heroic character. We confess not to have much sympathy with Wilfrid, the Roman partisan, nor are we altogether prepared to accept Canon Bright's view, that the Church of Northumbria had only a 'temporary mission' (p. 213), considering

that a far larger portion of the English nation was Christianized from this source than from any other.

As in the case of so valuable a writer as Dr. Bright much interest attaches to the changes which he has made in the new edition of his work, we may note some that we have observed in collating the two editions, but upon the whole there are few of any great importance. At p. 9 the third British bishop at the Council of Arles is almost accepted as the Bishop of Lincoln; p. 49, a paragraph is inserted descriptive of Ethelbert's state of mind in accepting baptism; p. 102, the 'Strathclyde clergy' are added to those who accept the Roman Easter; p. 112, 'Northern Angles' are substituted for 'Northumbrian line'; p. 128, Littleborough for Southwell; p. 183, a new paragraph is inserted as to the locality of Wingfield; p. 268, Malmesbury is spoken of doubtfully as Aldhelm's town (Aldhelm is one of the rare cases in which laudation is used too indiscriminately. We fear he was as lacking in charity as he certainly was in Scripture knowledge); p. 286, the note on Cædmon is rewritten (Canon Bright cannot accept the 'metrical paraphrase' as the work of the Whitby cowherd); p. 326, the Council of *Hatfield* is assigned, not to Hatfield in Herts, but is said to be the same place as Clovesho, or Cliff-at-hoe, near Rochester.¹

That such a small amount of change and addition should have been found necessary in a book which was published ten years ago is a strong testimony to the care and accuracy which characterized the original volume.

History of the Catholic Church of Scotland, from the Introduction of Christianity to the present day. By ALPHONS BELLESHEIM, D.D., Canon of Aix-la-Chapelle. Translated, with Notes and Additions, by D. OSWALD HUNTER BLAIR, O.S.B., Monk of Fort Augustus. In Four Volumes. Vols. I. and II. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1888.)

OUR fellow-Churchmen in Scotland have laid hold of the history and antiquities (especially the Church history and antiquities) of their native land with a strength quite disproportioned to their scanty numbers. What other religious communion in that country can put forward such an array of names as those of Tytler, Scott, Joseph Robertson, John Stuart, Cosmo Innes, Bishop Forbes, Mackay, Burton, Robert Chambers, Professor Grub, and last—most certainly not least—the present Historiographer royal, Dr. Skene? To a certain extent, perhaps, this curious phenomenon may be accounted for. Some thirty years ago one of the most eminent persons in that list, the lamented Joseph Robertson, said to the present writer: 'My countrymen believe that Christianity went to sleep with the Apostles, and woke up again with John Knox.' The speaker was referring, of course, to his Presbyterian compatriots of that epoch. The Roman

¹ Much curious information as to the locality of the early councils is to be found in a pamphlet by Mr. Kerslake on *The Supremacy of Mercia*. The writer shows good reasons for believing that the Councils of Chelsea (so called) were also held at this same locality of Cliff-at-hoe.

Catholics had been driven out of the land excepting in a few somewhat remote and isolated districts. Hence the dearth of Roman and of Presbyterian antiquaries. There were, indeed, brilliant exceptions. Innes was a Roman Catholic and a very honest one. Principal Robertson and David Laing were Presbyterians. But the Episcopalian, speaking roughly, had alone the inclination and the ability, as a body, to discuss the intervening period between the dawn of Scottish Christianity and the Reformation.

The present generation has seen a change in this respect, though it would not be easy, even now, to name many Presbyterian antiquaries who have worked from the sources of history and become authorities. Nor have they done much, we think, in the way of editing. On this point, however, it must be owned that Ireland has enjoyed at least one great triumph. One of the earliest, perhaps the very earliest, book (outside Church offices) ever published in Scotland, was Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*. But the edition of this interesting and valuable work is that of Dr. (now Bishop) Reeves. Still Scottish Episcopacy may console itself with the reflexion that it is a fellow-Churchman who has won for himself this glory; and that as Columba started from Ireland for Iona, an Irish student had a sort of native claim and right to undertake a task which no one could have done more thoroughly and exhaustively.

The Irish famine of 1845 drove thousands from the shores of Erin and made an immense addition to the number of Roman Catholics in Scotland, especially in Glasgow and Dundee. The adoption of the Roman Creed by some Scottish persons of wealth and station during the succeeding decade helped to place Rome in a new and different position in North Britain. Under these circumstances it is only natural that the members of that communion should desire to place before their co-religionists and the public at large their view of Church history in Scotland. Not having, at present, it would seem, a Scotsman ready for this undertaking, they have translated from the German the first two volumes of Dr. Bellesheim's History; and will in due time, we presume, publish the remainder. The translator, F. Hunter Blair, has added many excellent notes of his own.

Let it at once be said that the Roman Catholic view of the subject could hardly be stated more fairly and temperately than is done in the volumes before us. We differ, of course, occasionally; and some *lacunæ* in our judgment exist, which it would be desirable, if possible, to fill up. But we shall at least try to be as candid as Dr. Bellesheim and F. Blair.

Both the author and the translator have examined original matter, especially with reference to Irish Saints whose lives have been connected with the fortunes of Scotland. The last chapter of the second volume which treats of 'Education and Art in Scotland before the Reformation' is perhaps, taken as a whole, the most original and effective in these volumes; though even in that much is due to Cosmo Innes and Mr. Anderson. But if from the portion of the work before us we were to subtract what is borrowed—most honour-

ably and frankly borrowed, be it said—from non-Roman writers, this history of the Church in Scotland would undergo something like a collapse.

For example, we find in each volume an excellent map, one of Caledonia before the eighth century, one of the same land in the thirteenth century. Good ; but they are both taken, with the author's leave, from Dr. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*. On the character of St. Columba there is a difference between the Roman Catholic Montalembert and the Anglo-Catholic Skene. Dr. Bellesheim sides with the Anglo-Catholic. Chapter iii. in vol. i. gives us an interesting and graphic picture of 'The Cloister Life of Iona.' Yes ; but a footnote at its commencement most honestly informs us that, 'to avoid frequent reference, it may here be stated that the substance of this chapter is in great part taken from Dr. Reeves's excellent Introduction to his edition of Adamnan's *Life* (vol. i. p. 90).' We take up this volume again, and open it in two places by chance, pp. 248 and 264. A note appended to the former page refers with approbation to the opinion of Professor Grub ; and three references in the latter run thus : 'Stubbs, *Acta Pontiff. Ebor* ; Haddan-Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. ii. p. 190 ; Keith, *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops* ;' though an inference of the last-named author is (not unreasonably) questioned. We might go on in this strain ; but enough has been done, we fancy, to justify our statements. Let it suffice to refer to the obligations acknowledged to the late Bishop Forbes of Brechin for his edition of the mediæval biographies of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern and his *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*.

Nevertheless even a student who is well read in Skene and Grub may no doubt cull many curious facts or theories from Dr. Bellesheim's volumes. Singular, for instance, is the view that the name of the Scottish capital is derived (i. p. 29) not from Edwinsburg, but at a much earlier date from St. Edana (alleged to be another form of Medana or Monenna) out of which come Dunedene and Edeneburg.¹

In one place Dr. Bellesheim (i. p. 117 n.) may be right in thinking that Dr. Skene has gone too far in asserting that 'by the custom of the Scottish Church only one bishop was necessary for the consecration of another,' and elsewhere he may be justified in asking for further proof from Professor Grub for one of his inferences. Moreover, a great deal, in which the best authorities are pretty well agreed, is set forth in a lively and agreeable manner. Still we feel it to be a duty to specify some points, on which we are not able to accept the conclusions of the work before us.

1. It will be attributed, no doubt, to our prejudice that we are unable to see even that indirect proof which F. Hunter Blair claims for Dr. Bellesheim's book, that St. Columba and his followers acknowledged the *jurisdiction* of the Roman Church.

2. Again, Dr. Skene asserts that 'the Rome of the fourth and fifth centuries was not the Rome of the Middle Ages. It was the

¹ The present Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr. Dowden, adopted, before the publication of Dr. Bellesheim's book, the signature 'J. Edenburgen.'

Church of St. Jerome and St. Augustine.' Dr. Bellesheim naturally enough (i. p. 19 *n.*) combats this statement, and thinks it enough to refer to Allies' *Per Crucem ad Lucem* for proof of the assertion 'that the two Fathers above mentioned were zealous defenders of the Roman primacy.' The examination of Mr. Allies' reasoning would require an article to itself. But, if one living authority is to be set against another, we may surely contrast Mr. Allies with Dr. Döllinger. 'None of the ancient confessions of faith, no catechism, none of the patristic writings composed for the instruction of the people contain a syllable about the Pope, still less any hint that all certainty of faith and doctrine depends on him. For the first thousand years of Church history not a question of doctrine was finally decided by the Pope.'¹

3. Dr. Bellesheim reproves Dr. Skene for a disposition (common, it is said, to most non-Roman Church historians) to explain away the supernatural. Now we readily admit that this is a matter on which the recoil from credulity has made men rush into the opposite extreme. That we, who are members of a reformed Church, are liable to this danger is true, and it well behoves us to be watchful. Still credulity is not faith, but an enemy to faith. One of the ablest apologists for the creed of Christendom, and also for much that is distinctively Roman, the French barrister, M. Auguste Nicolas, feels compelled to commence his chapter on Miracles by admitting the difficulty which arises out of the uncritical and easily-convinced temper of the Middle Ages. Möhler—and we can hardly mention a name of higher authority on the Roman side—regards the marvels recorded of St. Pachomius, in reference to the animal creation, as a kind of expression of the conviction that nature has no enemies for men thoroughly reconciled to God; and he is inclined to believe that St. Athanasius in his *Life of Antony* inserted some details for edification, rather than as statements of fact. The Duc de Broglie, who appeals to Möhler² for support, compares some of these narratives to scenes in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.³ It must not then be supposed that the difficulty of drawing the line of demarcation between the natural and the supernatural is a problem that only perplexes critics who are not of the Roman obedience. Jahn, the author of the *Archæologica Biblica*,⁴ treats the question whether demoniac possession was a form of natural malady as an open one, and now we have another Roman Catholic, Mr. Mivart, apparently suggesting the same view in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*. If we are told that many Roman divines consider this a dangerous license, we reply that

¹ *Janus*, p. 62 (English translation). The *Times* is right, in its article on Döllinger's birthday (March 1889), in assigning to Döllinger the substance as well as a great part of the actual wording of this book.

² *Life of Athanasius*, bk. iv. (*versus fin.*).

³ *L'Eglise et l'Empire au IV^{ème} Siècle* (tome iii. pp. 109–11).

⁴ An English translation was published at Andover in America and at Oxford (1836). Jahn, who was professor of Oriental languages in the University of Vienna from 1789 to 1806, underwent some censure, but on what grounds we have not been able to ascertain.

so do many Lutherans and many Anglicans, who gladly follow in these matters the teaching of such writers as the late Archbishop Trench.¹

But must not Adamnan be considered, despite our debt of gratitude to him, as one of those writers who make us hesitate, if we are invited to accept him as a competent judge and critic of the marvellous? Even Dr. Bellesheim (vol. ii. p. 147) allows that instances of St. Columba's skill as a good judge of wind and weather may by degrees have come to be held 'as proofs of miraculous and prophetic power.' Another exemplification of the same tendency has always struck us greatly. Adamnan records it as a manifestation of predictive power that St. Columba warned one of the brethren that, if he did not take care, a roll of manuscripts which he was carrying under his arm would fall into a vessel of water near at hand. 'And as the holy man prophesied, so it came to pass. For this brother, turning suddenly round, forgot the book, and it *did* tumble into the pail of water.'

4. The chapter on the Celtic Liturgies (in which our author manifests a spirit of opposition to the views of Mr. Warren) is at any rate able and ingenious. But we have only space for a few words on those previous chapters in vol. ii. (the fifth and sixth) which tell the tale of the overthrow of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. Do they solve the problem? How did it come to pass that a Church with so many high gifts, so seemingly entwined with the national life, capable of rearing such saintly statesmen-prelates as Archbishop Kennedy, fell almost as if it had been a child's house built out of a pack of cards, and for at least two hundred years not only failed to make its voice heard in the nation's heart, but seemed to languish as if it had never been?

One point which our authors (for we here conjoin writer and translator) have noticed had long struck us as an element worth consideration. It is one brought forward by Mr. Buckle, namely, the lack of powerful towns in Scotland which might have proved a check to the ultra-feudalism of the land. We are further told in these pages that the Scottish bishops of the Reformation period were better than their English brethren. It is also implied that the charges of immorality brought against the character of John Knox are probably well founded. Well, but to our thinking, this only increases the difficulty. Why were the better men the more easily laid prostrate? How did an immoral reformer come to gain more power and influence than men who were not charged with personal obliquities of conduct? We fear that our authors have different weights and measures when they estimate the evidence against Beaton and against Knox. But on that we cannot pause to dwell. *The Tablet*, in reviewing a recent work on Scottish history, reminded us how many of the accusations against the mediæval Church of Scotland come from enemies, and the warning is repeated in these volumes. Granted; but strike out all that is urged by foes, if you will, and just read the evidence from friends alone which is set forth by Professor Grub and Miss Kinloch.

The authors before us have every right to dwell on the greed of

¹ *Notes on the Miracles.*

the nobles and on the gold of Elizabeth. Nor have they shirked the testimony that reminds us of the words, 'Ye are witnesses unto yourselves.' They admit the faultiness of a condition of matters, in which lay impropiators, often illegitimate sons of nobles, had long held abbacies and other ecclesiastical positions. But they do not seem to us to impress on the mind of the reader, as Professor Grub does, the bad example of many high functionaries and the dearth of preaching (though they allude to the lack of catechisms), nor do their extracts from the pages of that gallant defender of a failing cause, Ninian Winzet, make us feel so deeply as do those given by Miss Kinloch,¹ how painfully conscious Winzet was that it was lack of trustworthy allies, far more than even the energy of opponents, that made his position so dreary, melancholy, and all but hopeless. They do not, with Lingard,² seem to hint that the satires of a Sir David Lindsay were powerful, because based on truth. We do not in the least accuse Dr. Bellesheim or F. Hunter Blair of intentional reticence. But we do think that students of the above-named works, and of the late Lord Crawford's *Lives of the Lindsays* will—we do not say have solved the problem under consideration—but will at least have come nearer to its solution, than those who only trust to the treatment allotted to it in the volumes which we have been attempting to review.

The Minister of the True Tabernacle, and his Ministry in the Church on Earth. By the Right Rev. ALLAN BECHER WEBB, D.D., Bishop of Grahamstown. (London : Skeffington & Son, 1888.)

THE Bishop of Grahamstown, being in England for the Lambeth Conference, was asked by the Bishop of Truro, disabled by ill health, to ordain for him at Whitsuntide last. The seven addresses delivered immediately before the ordination, 'when the strain of examination and anxiety was over,' are now printed, and they are quiet, thoughtful meditations, which must have been very profitable to those who heard them. In the first address, 'On the Anglican Principles of Worship,' we find a number of propositions entirely in accord with those that have been more than once of late set forth in this Review. The Bishop sees clearly enough the disastrous effects that will follow the taking of not merely principles, but details of ritual from the Pian books. He deplores the adoption of 'a servile conformity to a local Latin use' (p. xiv), which may cause, 'on the one hand, a violent Puritan reaction, and on the other, possibly on a large scale, a suicidal submission to the Papal claims from amongst the ranks of the many pious and devout, but not very thoughtful or well-read, followers of this school.' The Bishop charitably suggests that this servile con-

¹ *History of Scotland, chiefly in its Ecclesiastical Aspect* (Edinburgh : R. Grant and Son, 1888). Even *The Tablet* in its review admitted the fairness of the author.

² 'The pride of the clergy, their negligence in the discharge of their duties, and the rigour with which they exacted their dues, had become favourite subjects of popular censure' (*History of England*, vol. vi. chap. i. p. 13, 6th edition).

formity is adopted as 'a way of asserting our own identity with the Church of our fathers.' But surely the last thing that they should do who wish to demonstrate the continuity of the present Church of England with the Church before the Reformation would be to adopt any ceremony on Roman authority only. It cannot be too frequently insisted that the modern Roman books have been so changed, 'reformed,' added to, or mutilated, that they cannot be appealed to as evidence of ancient practice with any certainty of an accurate reply. Most of the Roman customs that we are asked to adopt, in order to show the continuity of the Church in this land, are not even mediæval or post-mediæval; they are of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. If Sir Thomas More were to come back to this earth, and were to be shown a modern fiddle-backed Roman chasuble, he probably would not be able to recognize it as a Church vestment at all. And he certainly would see no kindred in the miserable skimmed cotta to the full surplice—a *vestis talaris*—that he wore in his parish church of Chelsea. The Italian birretta would be entirely unknown to him. A 'servile conformity,' as an historical assertion, is, therefore, perfectly useless. Some Roman Catholics look upon an appeal to history as treason; while the more intelligent have but little sympathy with those who practise ceremonies, such as the reading of the last Gospel at the altar, which they tell us only began with the reform of Pius V. Shall we soon see added to our English service the new prayers which the present Pope has ordered to be said at the end of Mass?

There are many points in which the Bishop speaks a language dictated not only by prudence but by liturgical science. Criticizing unfavourably a little work which we have already noticed, he condemns the rule that 'at a Mass other than the "High Mass" the assistants are not to be priests, though they may be available and present in the church, but lay servers, possibly young lads. No amount of correct ritual accessories,' adds the Bishop, 'can really make up for a lowering of the great ministry of the Eucharist by such substitution' (p. xviii). Of the assumption *whatever is not expressly prohibited is permitted* the Bishop says truly that it would play as great havoc with our ritual as the *dictum* that whatever is not explicitly enjoined is prohibited (p. xix).

The '*sotto voce* utterances of the officiating priest with his assistants, or inaudible recitation of public offices,' which the Bishop condemns, are doubly irritating, because they show an entire want of knowledge of the practice of the Church of Rome, which these clergymen think they are imitating. Let them go to St. John Lateran at Rome, and they will hear all over that great basilica the voice of a priest saying Mass in one of the side chapels. The Bishop speaks of 'the huge scandal of a muttered or gabbled consecration' (p. xxviii). Only last Lent we heard Mass said by a Carthusian abbot, and every word of the canon was audible. The scandal that the Bishop deplores is thus not so delightfully Roman as some may think, and half its attraction will be lost. It is these men on the fringe and outskirts of the Church party, with their grievous folly and ignorance, that

bring upon us such calamities as the prosecution of the Bishop of Lincoln.

What the Church of England needs is not a number of anonymous directories which assume 'the function of a congregation of rites' (p. xvii). but an authoritative setting forth of a few manly, scholarly, sound English principles of worship. As the Bishop tells us, if English *men* are to be drawn to our churches the worship must appeal quite as much to the intellect as to the emotions. And intellect is not likely to be attracted to the ritual set forth by the ordinary directory-maker.

Histoire de la Vie et des Œuvres de Monseigneur Darboy, Archevêque de Paris. Par Mgr. J. A. FOULON, Archevêque de Lyon. (Paris : Poussielgue frères, 1889.)

IN the vestry of Notre Dame at Paris there are preserved as relics the torn cassocks of three Archbishops of Paris. One is that of Mgr. Affre, who fell on the barricades in 1848, saying, 'Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus.' Another is that of Mgr. Sibour, who in a procession at St. Etienne du Mont was stabbed to the heart by an unfrocked priest. The third is that of Mgr. Darboy, the subject of this memoir, whose cruel murder by the Communists in 1871 many of us can remember. There are few Churches in modern times able to boast that three of their chief pastors, almost in succession, have been cut off by violent hands in the midst of their duty. It is a great honour to the Church of Paris that, in a corrupt and demoralized society, it has been able to bring forth martyrs not unworthy of the first ages of Christianity.

Georges Darboy was born on January 16, 1813. His parents lived in a little town called Fayl-Billot, in the diocese of Langres. They gained a modest livelihood by means of a 'commerce d'épicerie.' Their son was ordained priest on December 17, 1836. In 1839 he was made professor in the seminary of Langres; and we are told by the Archbishop of Lyons of two changes that he made in the teaching of the seminary: one was to introduce the easy ethics of Liguori in place of the more austere morals which were the French tradition from Port Royal; the other change was to insist upon the doctrinal infallibility of the Roman Pontiff (p. 47). Neither of these changes can seem to us improvements; and they surprise us. The first work by which the Abbé Darboy came into notice was an edition of *St. Denys the Areopagite* (Pseudo-Dionysius scholars are wont to call the writer), but in which the Abbé maintained the almost exploded hypothesis that Dionysius the Areopagite and the founder of the Church of Paris are the same. Nevertheless, the work served to recommend him to Mgr. Affre, who called him to Paris in 1845; and thus began the connexion of Georges Darboy with the metropolitan see, which, with the exception of a few years' interruption when he was Bishop of Nancy, was to continue till the fatal days of May 1871.

Most of us, in turning over the pages of this memoir, will look at once for the chapters which tell us of the Vatican Council in 1870.

or of the imprisonment of the Archbishop in 1871. The only feeling that we have in reading the chapter on the Vatican Council is disappointment. Mgr. Darboy led the Opposition, or Minority, as it is less respectfully called, at the Council. The part which the Archbishop played at Rome in 1870 is by far the most important episode in his life ; yet all that is said about the Council is given in a chapter of less than thirty pages, out of a volume of 644. *Ce qui se passe au Concile* is not even mentioned. A part of a letter to Louis Napoleon, in which the Archbishop invokes an intervention of the civil power, is indeed printed in a footnote (p. 461) ; but a presentation of the whole of such documents is needed. There is not even a list of the Archbishop's published works. The whole of the pastoral letter issued before leaving Paris for Rome would have been of the highest historical interest ; but only excerpts are given us, though the letter submitting to the Vatican decrees is printed in full. No doubt the Archbishop of Lyons would have found it a hard matter to have spoken fully on all points without wounding Ultramontane sensibilities ; but a life of Mgr. Darboy, which does not deal fully with the Vatican Council, must be singularly imperfect.

The chapters which tell of the imprisonment and death of the Archbishop are the most edifying in the book. The Archbishop was imprisoned and murdered because he was a Christian. 'For eighteen hundred years,' said a man named Raoul Rigault, the president of the Communist tribunal (?), to the Archbishop, 'you have imprisoned free thought in the name of your religion : now it is time for free thought to settle with you' (p. 519). It was with the greatest danger that the Holy Sacrament for their last Communion was conveyed to the prisoners. The incident reads like an episode out of the catacombs ; the sacred elements had to be entrusted to the hands of a pious woman, Mademoiselle Delmas, who secretly and at the risk of her life carried the precious gift to the prison of La Roquette. It was from this source that the Archbishop was able to communicate himself on the day of his death (p. 579).

When the Archbishop and his companions were led out for execution two rounds of bullets were discharged upon them. After the first round the Archbishop was seen still standing, with his right hand raised in the act of blessing his murderers. But this most touching spectacle did not soften the hearts of all who beheld it. 'Ah, tu donnes ta bénédiction ; tiens, voilà la mienne,' cried one of the Communists, who at once fired his rifle at the prelate. The front of the cassock at Notre Dame is pierced with numerous bullet-holes, while the back shows as many bayonet-thrusts : the Communists were not content with simply inflicting death. Surely the last archbishops of Paris have made some amends for the mistakes of a De Retz and a De Harlay. Mgr. Affre gave his life for his flock, Mgr. Sibour for the discipline of the clergy, Mgr. Darboy for the Christian faith—it may almost be said that he died as a witness for the belief in the existence of God. There may be still some hope for the nineteenth century when it can bring forth such Christian heroes as Monseigneur Darboy and General Gordon.

It must have been a troublesome task for the Archbishop of Lyons, the writing of this memoir of his martyred friend. On the one hand it was impossible to avoid all mention of the Vatican Council, and yet on the other, in speaking of it, it was a hard matter not to give offence to the Roman Court even by a simple setting forth of historical facts. A good part of the book is given up to hinting that Mgr. Darboy was always an ardent infallibilist and on the best of terms with the Roman Court. It would almost appear from the book that only once was there any friction between Mgr. Darboy and Pius IX. On October 26, 1865, the Pope administered a severe scolding to the Archbishop of Paris (p. 382) for having been present at the funeral of a Freemason, and also for attempting to visit, in accordance with ancient custom, the houses in the diocese of the Jesuits and Capuchins (p. 279), both old offenders against episcopal rights. Three years later this letter found its way into print, to the just annoyance of the Archbishop. We are carefully told that Mgr. Darboy assented to the introduction into the diocese of Nancy of the 'Roman liturgy'—that is, of the modern Pian books (p. 233). It appears, however, that all the steps necessary for this innovation had been taken by Mgr. Menjaud, his predecessor. And we are not told that Mgr. Darboy steadfastly refused to abolish the Paris rite, a destruction only accomplished by his successor, immediately after his appointment to the see. Mgr. Foulon tells us a curious fact, which will astonish many an English Churchman—that Notre Dame remained unconsecrated till May 31, 1864 (p. 346). We all thought that Notre Dame was a cathedral church which became metropolitan in the seventeenth century. It will be news to many of us that it was only consecrated by Mgr. Darboy.

There are two points in this book on which we should like to have some explanation. At p. 578 it is said of M. Bonjean, who shared the imprisonment and death of the Archbishop, that in the Senate he was the chief defender of Gallicanism, and that he had some dislike to the order of the Jesuits; but in the prison this dislike was overcome. 'Le christianisme revenait tout entier dans cette grande âme.' Does this mean that an admiration of the methods of the Jesuits is necessary to the perfection of a Christian man? If so, we know several excellent Roman Catholics who are very imperfect Christians. For instance, it is hardly possible for a liturgical scholar to be very much taken with either Jesuits or Franciscans. Both orders have done their best to extinguish liturgical studies in the Church of Rome. Next, at p. 118, we are told of Mgr. Darboy's work *Sur le Caractère et le Déclin de l'Anglicanisme* that it was one of the best of his books. We there read passages within inverted commas which need only the learning of an English schoolboy to refute their statements.

'I defy the English Church,' says Mgr. Darboy, 'to pass through the storm which sixty years ago threw down our churches, destroyed their political rights and many privileges, and brought the principal members of the clergy to the scaffold. I defy it to submit to this test and to reappear again in England in ten years after its destruction with the

same doctrine and religious organization, *with its lay pope (!)*, its worship and discipline of to-day.'

Evidently Mgr. Darboy had never heard of the Great Rebellion, when the English Church underwent the very test which he proposes during a longer period than he names. Mgr. Foulon would have been better advised if he had not reprinted a challenge to Anglicanism so easily taken up, for it can hardly increase the reputation of Mgr. Darboy as an historical student. On our side of the Channel does it seem likely, for instance, that the present Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of Oxford would have been found so entirely wanting in a corresponding incident of English history? But we may console ourselves with the thought that sound historical views are not, after all, necessary for those highest forms of Christian endurance and heroism which were evoked by the wretches of the Commune in the prison of La Roquette.

Advent in St. Paul's: Sermons bearing chiefly on the Two Comings of Our Lord. By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L. 2 vols. (London: Rivingtons, 1889.)

THESE volumes exhibit the well-known characteristics which everybody associates with one who, to our minds, retains his pre-eminence among the preachers of the English Church. The sermons now published are, as usual, rich in theology: that essential element appears naturally, just where it should be, and where in some other hands it would fail to be present; a discourse on 'Joy in the Lord' gives occasion for an exact statement of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity (i. 290): the 'Blessings of our Lord's First Coming' suggest the familiar argument from His self-assertion, which is reiterated in a sermon on 'Welcome to the Incarnate Saviour' (i. 186, 424): we are reminded that 'every act and every suffering of His is weighted' by His eternal Godhead 'with an infinite value, a value transcending all earthly estimate' (i. 225, 294), while the routine of His life 'as a young Man in the carpenter's shop' is sketched with almost startling realism (ii. 334); and the Sacraments are vindicated against depreciation by being set forth as the special means of union with His sinless Humanity (i. 241). Grace is defined as a divine 'influence or invigorating power streaming from Christ by the agency of His Spirit,' and 'acting upon the understanding and the will' (i. 235, 328). The difficulties which keep so many minds from the faith are seriously faced, while impatience in regard to them is deprecated (i. 119). What the argument from causation can do is compared with what it cannot (i. 131); the stern or repulsive side of natural facts is acknowledged, or even emphasized (i. 119, 132, 322); an answer is suggested to the old question, Why does not a good God crush out evil? (ii. 112); the probability that God would give a revelation is urged on the ground of human ignorance and weakness (i. 194); His 'rights' are enforced as against a theory which denies them (ii. 26); freewill in man is set forth as real, yet as limited (i. 336, ii. 322); the old cavil about a 'self-seeking' element in

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Christian morality is once more refuted (ii. 89) ; a sense of 'stewardship' in property is recommended as 'the best insurance against the anti-social doctrines which treat it as robbery' (ii. 354) ; and in one of the most impressive of all these discourses it is contended, against positivists or secularists, that the present life receives from faith a 'moral enrichment' which it cannot possess for those who treat it as their all (ii. 237). Those who recollect with gratitude the author's expository lectures will welcome with a smile of recognition the advice to 'put a *great red line*' against Heb. xii. 1-11 in a long-used copy of the New Testament (i. 261). The teaching is enlivened by anecdotes, by reminiscences, by homely allusions to such moral and religious trials as beset young men in London workshops or houses of business (i. 279, ii. 273). And the humorous element, which has been perhaps increasingly discernible in Dr. Liddon's late preaching (e.g. in a passage about 'earthworms' in the Easter sermons), is strongly represented by such observations as that some persons see in life only an opportunity for 'a long doze' (i. 397), that others 'saunter through the Bible as if *taking a stroll up and down a backgarden*,' and 'languidly note the Immensities as if they were daisies or dandelions' (ii. 214) ; or that certain organs of public opinion in discussing religious subjects resemble a body of '*well-disposed and earnest persons armed with brooms*, bursting into the National Gallery with a view of improving Raphael and Turner' (i. 411). Sarcasm, in steady and delicate hands, is often as effective as the irony occasionally employed by St. Paul. If coarsely treated, it links itself to vulgarity, desecrates the preacher's theme, and simply defeats his object. It is Dr. Liddon's perfect taste, his exquisite refinement of mind, which gives so bright a polish to this rapier ; and it is the pervading solemnity and intensity of his whole preaching which prevents its humour from being for a moment misunderstood. These volumes repeatedly inflict on the mind one sombre image, one awful inevitable fact (i. 81, 263 ; ii. 200, 301, 387), and nowhere more powerfully than in a sermon bearing the title, 'The First Five Minutes after Death' (ii. 68). The one criticism which we shall offer touches but the surface : the abundance of initial capitals is such that their significance is, to our thinking, impaired : it is frequently a case of 'not seeing the wood for the trees.'

On Behalf of Belief: Sermons preached in St. Paul's Cathedral. By H. S. HOLLAND, M.A. (London : Rivingtons, 1889.)

IN these remarkable sermons we have another of Canon Scott Holland's beautiful and suggestive contributions to the Church's apologetic literature. Perhaps there is, in his treatment of this great theme, a certain onesidedness : perhaps the preface to the book betrays a certain distaste for, a certain impatience of, 'the apologetic handling of historical evidence.' It is most true that the divine acts which the Creed recognizes are spiritual in their character, and that faith, as a 'self-surrender to their power, is an affair of the will, of love, of the spirit of dedication.' But, clearly, they are acts which have taken an historical form in that life, death, resurrection, which

are nothing unless historically real ; and while the evidence relating to this point is but ancillary to 'self-surrender,' it is, *in* that character, momentous. And if the reader passes on from the preface to the first or the second sermon in this volume, he finds this practically acknowledged, and may thus correct the impression which the preface is not unlikely to have made. Canon Holland looks on the objective fact of our Lord's Resurrection as the one thing which 'can account for Christian belief in the Lord, or for the creation of the Church.' Without it, His life would have been a failure, a tragic overwhelming defeat ; only when He rose from the dead was that life 'lifted up into its real light.' The 'human career' by itself would have been no basis for, no suggestion of, devoted trust or loyal adhesion on the part of followers ; criticism which tries to 'extract' such an 'impulse' from it 'has slipped out of the scientific track.' Belief in a risen Christ, *that* has got to be explained. Other critics, says Canon Holland, admit this ; only they reduce the Resurrection to a spiritual idea, and try to detach this idea from the 'myth,' so called, of Christ's human life. But if we believe the Resurrection, we secure both the 'spiritual ideal' and the 'gracious Gospel story.' Of course, there is no possibility of believing the Resurrection except as historically true. This is just what is involved in the 'indeed' which occurs five times over in pp. 46, 47. In the third sermon, the objections from 'uncertainty' as to the authorship of the Gospels are met by pointing to a story which preceded the writings, and can be 'tracked back to a warranted, certified, authentic source ;'—only, while 'the facts of which we offer proof are historical,—that is, they are human, they are living,—the probability of their occurring will turn entirely on our personal estimate of human life and of its possibilities ; and what that estimate will be must always depend on our spiritual condition,' so that if we do not, to begin with, believe in a 'spiritual world,' no external evidence can ever win our 'confidence,' for we shall have a fixed preconception against its credibility. Another sermon treats of the 'elemental enigmas,' Can man know God ? is his moral recovery attainable ? and gives the answer 'Yes, but in Christ as risen, and in Him alone.' The second subdivision of the volume deals with the 'necessary and vital correspondence between faith and the Church.' Here, as before in *Creed and Character*, we are warned against the false antithesis which assumes, without warrant, the spirituality of mere individualism, whereas, in fact, faith's true home is in Christ's sacred household,—it is trained and matured by sympathy with the Church's work, and involves that stress of faithful effort which was represented by the long struggle to which we owe our Creeds ; and here, in a few pages (p. 173 ff.), we have an extraordinarily vivid and true picture of the anxieties, the suspense, the scandals, the terrible trials of patient loyalty, which stretch between the first and the fourth General Councils, and contrast so sternly with ideals of easy-going success. The last four sermons aim at showing that Christianity does not contradict, but respects, the facts of human nature. We have not space to dwell upon them ; but we would fain refer our readers to the noble context which exhibits the Incarnation as proving God's

regard for our humanity (p. 252), and again, to the pathetic pages which suggest, not 'universal restitution,' but the prospect of salvation, 'though after many stripes,' of a soul which, 'below all its defilements,' retains 'something of belief in goodness, of appeal to God,' and so passes out of this world 'just snatched out of the jaws of the lion' (p. 233).

The Student's English Church History: a History of the English Church. Third Period : From the Accession of the House of Hanover to the Present Time. By G. G. PERRY, M.A., Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Waddington. (London : John Murray, 1887.)

IN this volume Canon Perry completes his extremely valuable history, which covers the whole ground 'from the planting of the Church in Britain to the present time.' This last volume is worthy of its two predecessors ; it contains a mass of information wonderfully accurate and most pleasantly told, but so condensed that it would be quite impossible within our limits to give anything like an analysis of its contents. It must, therefore, suffice to recommend it generally, and to select two or three salient points which it seems especially desirable to impress upon our readers. One of Canon Perry's chief merits is, that he is not only accurate in his facts, but that, as an experienced historian, he knows how to give the right weight to each ; the features of his portraits, so to speak, are never out of proportion. Not only will the 'students' for whom it is written not be led astray by actual misstatements ; they will also learn to give each event its proper, and not more than its proper, importance. His method, particularly in the early part, is to take subjects rather than to write a chronicle. He thinks—and we thoroughly agree with him—that 'the history of the Church of England during the eighteenth century cannot well be written in the way of chronicle, preserving an exact order in the sequence of events.' It will be remembered that other historians of the eighteenth century, such as Mr. Lecky and Messrs. Abbey and Overton, to the value of whose joint work Canon Perry gives a generous testimony in his preface, have found it necessary to adopt the same course. And, probably because so much has been written of late years respecting the English Church in the eighteenth century, Canon Perry wisely devotes not much more than a fourth of his volume to that period, and reserves the remaining three-fourths for the more exciting and eventful period of the nineteenth century. His treatment of the earlier part of this later period is a notable instance of his true historical instinct. Those who have been accustomed to regard all the early part of the nineteenth century before the autumn of 1833 as a time when the Church was fast asleep will be startled to see that he entitles chap. ix. (1800–1812) 'The Commencement of the Church Revival ;' but he is perfectly right in doing so, and none would have more cordially agreed with him than the great leaders of the Oxford movement themselves. There is, however, one name which should, we think, have been put more prominently forward in connexion with the commencement of the Church revival. It is that of Charles Daubeny,

who was so bold and able an exponent of Church principles that he used humorously to be called 'the Guide to the Church,' in allusion to the title of one of his most popular works.

There is one other point on which Canon Perry's thorough knowledge of history leads him to take a different view from the popular one. From very opposite quarters one hears the whole blame of the unfortunate schism which was made by the Methodists attributed to the mismanagement of the Church, and especially of the clergy. It is so very easy to say, 'If we had been in the days of our fathers we would not have been partakers with them ;' but let those who thus airily settle the whole matter—obviously without having studied the difficulty of the problem, and without any real insight into the mind of the eighteenth century—weigh well the following remarks, which are so important that we cannot better conclude this too short notice of a very valuable work than by quoting them in full :—

'The clergy of the eighteenth century are usually greatly blamed for their attitude towards the Methodists, and it is frequently asserted that the Wesleys and their followers were thrust out of the Church, to her great loss and danger. These accusations are made without due foundation. It was certainly open to the clergy, if not their bounden duty, to preach and write against the Methodist doctrines of sensible and instantaneous conversion, assurance as the test of safety, sinless perfection, and other eccentricities. Upon what principle could it be shown that parish priests were at once to accept views so entirely opposed to the sober doctrines of their Church, and to countenance their being taught to their people, merely because certain clergy, full of zeal indeed, and in the main orthodox, claimed the right of teaching them at all times and in all places? Those who had been zealous to inculcate on their people the requirements of practical religion would not welcome this disturbing element, which, though it did not in theory reject the importance of good living, practically ignored it, and seemed to place the seat of religion in the sensations. That the opposition of the clergy to the Methodists was often attended with coarseness and rudeness is greatly to be lamented, but in itself opposition was justifiable, and indeed ought to have been more systematic and upon more distinct Church principles. As a matter of fact there were not a few, both among the bishops and the clergy, who favoured the Methodists, and to assert that the Wesleys were driven out of the Church by anything but their own acts is inconsistent with the facts of the case' (chap. iv. § 20).

Manuals of Catholic Philosophy. The First Principles of Knowledge.

By JOHN RICKABY, S.J. (London : Longmans, 1888.) *Logic.*

By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. (London : Longmans, 1889.)

Moral Philosophy, or Ethics and Natural Law. By JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. (London : Longmans, 1888.)

THESE three volumes form a part of a series of works intended to present in an easily accessible form the philosophy which the Roman Church delights to honour. They are written by three different members of the Society of Jesus, and though remarkably similar in tone present some few differences of detail. The third—that on Ethics—is rendered additionally interesting by a list of authorities appended to each section. The style of the three is popular and

easily intelligible ; the principles are fully illustrated by concrete examples, and there is plenty of rather blustering criticism of Idealism. The Reformation, of course, is censured as the cause of much error in philosophy, and this is done with vehemence in a tone resembling rather the controversy of two hundred years ago than that of a sober philosophical polemic. Of the three the first named above is perhaps the most interesting, as the foundations are laid in it upon which the others are reared.

The burden of Mr. Rickaby's utterance is that Idealism is wrong and Realism is right ; that Idealism is a mere blind, concealing a general scepticism as to the possibility of truth at all, whereas Realism alone will explain the facts of knowledge, and strengthen a man's conviction of the validity of his rational processes. In a somewhat different form the same contention may be thus expressed. Since philosophers ceased to base their teaching upon St. Thomas Aquinas they have been moving on wrong lines. Descartes especially is responsible for many grievous errors, notably in his adoption of the principle, *Cogito, ergo sum*. The false theories initiated by Descartes have been carried further and further in the direction of ineptitude, Hegel being, perhaps, the climax of all that is absurd. We should be the last to deny the supreme value of the work of St. Thomas in his own age, and the importance of a study of his writings for any one who wishes for a clear understanding of the problems of philosophy ; but we do not regard the questions of philosophy as capable of final settlement in any one age, still less can we join Mr. Rickaby in his contemptuous estimate of the philosophers of the critical school. We have not space to discuss the interpretation given of St. Thomas's philosophical position, or of the relation of St. Thomas to Aristotle.

The Realism of Mr. Rickaby consists chiefly in a dogmatic assumption of all the points at issue. We assume, first, that thoughts are in some sense like the things. 'The likeness which is asserted is quite *sui generis*' (p. 5), and it is not meant 'that knowledge, in order to be true, must exhaust the whole object' (p. 4). This, however, explains so little that we are told that our best course is, 'while admitting that *how* knowledge is possible is inscrutable to us, yet to insist that the fact is manifest to experience' (p. 9). The knowledge thus assumed is expressed in judgment. The mind is capable of attaining certitude, metaphysical, physical, and moral. To justify this certitude in various regions certain primary truths are laid down. There is the first fact of all knowledge, 'the recognition by the subject of self' ; also the 'first condition, the subject's power to know, also recognized as a fact,' and there is further 'a First Principle on the objective side, namely, the Principle of Contradiction' (p. 173). To these must be added a fourth : 'The Principle of Sufficient Reason' (p. 175). All these are asserted at the end of an extremely incomplete analysis of the facts of the mind. With these and the ultimate criterion of all Truth, viz. Evidence, the mind goes to work upon the world. 'Evidence is that character or quality about proposed truths or propositions whereby they make themselves accepted by the intellect or win assent' (p. 221). It is worth while quoting one instance

of the working of this principle: 'Consider the proposition, "Nothing can arise by chance, everything must have a sufficient reason." In viewing the terms here we feel that the relation between them forces itself upon us by way of objective evidence; we as distinctly feel the pressure put upon intelligence by some reality other than itself, as we feel on our bodily organs the pressure of an external weight' (p. 223). Comment upon this is not required. There is, of course, in various parts of the book much criticism of various authors who do not agree with Mr. Rickaby; the most scientific and serious discussion of the questions at issue is in the section, 'Special Treatment of Certitude,' chaps. ii. and iii. In chap. iii. there is a naive admission of the inadequacy of much that has gone before. 'If the argument against idealism should to some appear scarcely to be an argument, the reason lies, not in the weakness of the cause, but in the fact that the case is too elementarily clear to allow of demonstration strictly so called; and in that sense alone "the opposite of idealism cannot be proved"' (p. 313). Is the criticism of idealism to be assumed as well as all the other things above mentioned? We must not omit to mention a note, pp. 129-32, on Tractarianism, in which the orthodox Roman argument is reproduced, that Tractarianism was deficient in Logic. To illustrate this point, passages from T. Mozley's *Reminiscences* and Mark Pattison's *Memoirs* are quoted side by side with one from M. Renan! *Credat Romanus Apella*.

We have left ourselves comparatively little room for the treatment of the other two manuals. That which deals with Logic requires less complete discussion, since in its general outline it follows the order of the Formal Logic which is still required in the Oxford schools, and is familiar to most people who are in any way interested in philosophy. The author has had a wider aim in view than merely providing a manual for Catholics; he would appeal also to perplexed Protestants, and to women who have shared the advantages of higher education (Pref. pp. xiii and xv). The principles laid down in the volume just described are assumed in this; we may, therefore, leave them aside. Two points seem to deserve notice: the Doctrine of Universals and the Syllogism. It is needless to say that Mr. Clarke maintains the scholastic doctrine of Universals. There is an interesting chapter in which this is discussed. The question is made to turn on differences in the conception of Unity. Mr. Clarke urges, and it is an important and valuable distinction, that there is a difference between the Unity of the Individual and the Unity of the Universal. The former is numerical unity, the latter a unity of nature (p. 143). This Universal so characterized exists 'in the Individual object outside of us previously to and independently of any operation of the human intellect by means of which it is arrived at.' It is not 'the same in all the individuals. . . . It is *alike* in all with a most perfect likeness.' 'The Universal nature is represented in the human intellect as one and the same in all.' But this aspect of it is due to the 'inadequacy' of the human mind, and depends 'upon' its 'power to recognize the common nature in the various members of a class' (pp. 161-2). This theory, though clear and intelligible, strikes

us as extremely difficult to accept in its present form. If it be really true that these Universals are attained by a mediate process, and after all inadequately attained, is there not a loophole for the idealistic position in this very incapacity of the mind to realize them as they are?

Next with regard to the Syllogism. On this point Mr. Clarke's views are of the most scholastic kind ; he has contrived to keep himself free from any contaminating influence from the modern schools, and presents us still with the Syllogism as the universal form of Thought. 'All inductive reasoning must be reducible to syllogistic form in order to be valid' (p. 309). Still more, of course, deductive reasoning. As a specimen of an argument, which is hard to persuade into this form, we will cite from Mr. Bradley's *Principles of Logic*, p. 226, the following : A is to the right of B, B is to the right of C, therefore A is to the right of C. A major premiss can be constructed so as to assume the conclusion involved in the above argument ; it is this¹ : 'A body is to the right of that which that, which it is to the right of, is to the right of.' This premiss is never heard in conversation, and probably exists only in the heads of those who have studied Mr. Bradley, and not in those who wish to use the argument. For examples of the Fallacy of *Ignoratio Elenchi* the reader should turn to the Appendix on the Scholastic Methods. The accusation of indifference to scientific discovery on the part of the Schoolmen is met by the contention that Theology is a much better science than Chemistry, &c.

The treatise on Ethics is closely bound up with the philosophy of Aristotle. The definitions of the end of man's existence (p. 7), of the difference between involuntary and non-voluntary actions (p. 27), of the mean in virtue (p. 77), are all purely Aristotelian. They might, we think, have been explained a little more into accordance with modern terms and ideas. But this is a mere detail. And the additions which are made to Aristotelian doctrine are not so attractive as to make us regret that there are not more of them. It is true that the authority of the moral law is asserted admirably as a binding Imperative, and not as a mere utterance of the autonomous reason. And there are many true and valuable statements in most parts of the book. But these lose much of their force by appearing side by side with some astonishing specimens of evasion of the real bearing of the moral law. These, as may be anticipated, occur in connexion with Truthfulness. A lie is defined formally (p. 225) as 'saying what one believes not to be true, or promising what one intends not to perform : briefly, it is speaking against one's mind.' If, however, one is pressed with questions about a matter which is secret 'there is nothing left for it . . . but to lock your secret up, as it were, in a separate compartment of your breast, and answer according to the remainder of your information, which is not secret, private, and confidential. This looks very much like lying ; but it is not lying, it is speaking the truth under a *broad mental reservation*' (p. 233). On the next page Mr.

¹ Bradley, p. 227.

Rickaby naïvely remarks : 'The point to make out is that no lie is told.' And the method he adopts is the following :—

'In the case contemplated the thought of the heart is, *secrets apart*, *nay* ; and though the word on the lips is *nay* simply, yet we must not take that word as the whole locution, but as a mere text, to which the situation of the speaker and the matter spoken of form a commentary, legible to any observant eye. The word is an *annotated text* : *nay* in the body of the page, with *secrets apart* inscribed in the margin. The adequate utterance is the whole page, text and gloss together : that speech answers to the speaker's mind : therefore it is no lie.'

It is rather difficult to conceive a case where the assertion made and the unspoken gloss do not together answer to the speaker's mind. There are, moreover, some very curious utterances on the subject of killing in self-defence (pp. 210-11), which we have not space to quote. All these questions seem to us to be raised at the wrong point. The question for ethical consideration is not whether such and such an act can possibly be held to have escaped the condemnation of the moral law. That may sometimes be a consideration for a priest hearing a confession, but it is not for a moralist. With all these casuistical investigations Green's remarks on the process of moral reform in the Prolegomena, and the right of the individual in time of war¹ contrast most favourably.

We cannot think that these attempts to refurbish Scholasticism for modern use are successful. Scholasticism is a study of very great interest, but we prefer to look for it in the 'inscrutable Latin textbooks,' of which Mr. Clarke complains. In these we have at least the advantage of studying scholastic philosophy in its own form, with its own technical terms, and gathering from these its history and the problems really under investigation. Philosophy, though always changing, is always discussing the same questions, and the philosophy of the past can only claim a right to impose its forms upon the present by showing its superior fitness for dealing with the eternal problems. We do not think that this claim has been made out for Scholasticism, and we cannot imagine any reason for thus resuscitating it, unless, perhaps, the Congregation of the Index, which has decided that 'Reason can establish with certainty the existence of God, the spiritual nature of the soul, and the freedom of man's will,'² has also decided that the scholastic form is the only right form for philosophy.

The Counter-Reformation. (Epochs of Church History.) By ADOLPHUS W. WARD, Professor of History in the Owens College, Victoria University. (London : Longmans, 1889.)

PROFESSOR WARD has had a far more difficult task to perform than any of his predecessors in the able and interesting series of little volumes edited by Canon Creighton. He has had to compress within two hundred small pages the history of the Roman Church, not in our own country, but in every part of Europe, during by far the most active and eventful period of her wonderful career. We

¹ *Works*, vol. ii.

² *First Principles*, p. 133.

are hurried with bewildering rapidity from Italy to Spain, from Spain to Germany, from Germany to France, from France to England, from England to the Netherlands, from the Netherlands to Sweden, from Sweden to Switzerland—all the wearisome but most important proceedings of the Council of Trent, the formal establishment and early work of the Jesuit order, the Inquisition, the Index, the Edict of Restitution, the history of the so-called Mystics in the Church of Rome, including St. Theresa, St. Philip de Neri, St. Charles de Borromeo, St. François de Sales—each in themselves requiring a volume—all this has to be passed in review, together with innumerable other points which fall within the range of his subject. To say that he has succeeded in his gigantic task would be to say that he has achieved an impossibility. What may be said is that he has condensed an enormous amount of information within a very brief space ; but it must be confessed that his volume is a very difficult one to read continuously. The writer takes for his text, as it were, Macaulay's remark in his review of Ranke's *History of the Popes* : 'The Church of Rome, having lost a large part of Europe, not only ceased to lose, but actually regained nearly half of what she had lost ;' and it seems to us that the Professor has regarded his whole subject far too much from the Macaulay point of view. Instead, therefore, of attempting to summarize that which is itself (in the author's words) a 'mere summary,' it will be better to dwell on this point, which is a most important one. We quite agree with the Professor that 'religious partisanship, deplorable as it is in elaborate narratives, would be unbearable in a mere summary' (Pref.) ; but this is the whole gist of our complaint. The volume is written in English, and is presumably intended for English readers, who are not very well acquainted with Church history ; and surely among English-speaking people the great historical Church of England should count for something. Now we contend that the whole phraseology and the whole tendency of this volume are totally at variance with the language and spirit of the Church of England. That Church puts into her children's mouth such expressions as, 'I believe in the Holy Catholick Church ;' 'I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church ;' 'Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith ;' 'More especially we pray for the good estate of the Catholick Church ;' 'Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, who hast purchased to Thyself an Universal Church.' Professor Ward's second chapter, which occupies thirty pages, is entitled, 'The Beginning of the Catholic Revival ;' and all through the volume, Catholic and Roman are identical terms. Now, we have no objection to the volumes of this useful little series being colourless ; by all means let them present bare historical facts without drawing even the most obvious deductions from them ; we desire no more than Professor Ward does that religious partisanship should be introduced ; but what we complain of is that this way of writing *is* putting a colour upon things, that it *is* drawing deductions, that it *is* religious partisanship. 'The Beginning of the Catholic Revival' is just what the English Churchman, if he is true to his Creeds and his Prayers,

should welcome with effusion ; but we know that he did not then, and would not now, welcome any such thing as that which Professor Ward means. Nor is it a mere question of names. The terminology, which would, of course, be accepted by Rome, and would not be objected to by many of her adversaries, points to a cause of, and a source of strength to, the Counter-Reformation which Professor Ward has not noticed. We quite agree with him that the Council of Trent, by solidifying and, as it were, stereotyping Roman doctrine, and by making 'the Church more united, less worldly, and more dependent upon herself ;' that the vast influence of Spain, which threw itself heart and soul into the Roman scale ; that the terrible power of the Inquisition, and the less terrible but no less real power of the Index ; that the astuteness and indomitable energy of the Jesuits, and the saintliness and active efforts of the Mystics, had much to do in bringing about the Counter-Reformation which restored to Rome nearly half of what she had lost. We are also quite in accord with his remark that 'the best ally of the Roman reaction was the incurable disunion among the Protestants.' But though this is coming nearer to the point, we would go a step farther, and say that even if they had been as united as they were disunited there would still have been an inherent weakness in their position, which would have given Rome a fatal advantage whenever she chose to avail herself of it. Mere Protestantism, under which Professor Ward lumps together all that was hostile to Rome, has no *πῶς* *σῶς* : Catholicism has. 'Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,' is an argument which has some little force. And we contend that the English Church, by its marked avoidance of any such term as Protestant, and its marked emphasis of such terms as Catholic, felt this ; and whether it was right or wrong—that is not now the question—its position was at any rate important enough not to be entirely ignored ; and the more so because it offered a refuge, at the very time of which the Professor writes, to some not altogether contemptible thinkers who could find no rest either in 'Catholicism' or 'Protestantism.' May we advise Professor Ward to study the writings and career of one who lived at the very time about which he gives us so much information—Isaac Casaubon ? We can assure him that he will find that Casaubon was not altogether an ignoramus ; that he certainly had some little tincture of scholarship about him ; in fact, we might even go so far as to say that he will find him almost as good an authority as Macaulay. Or, if he prefers an Englishman, there was a man called Francis Bacon, who lived about the same time, also a man not quite unknown to fame, and one who might almost be put upon a level with Macaulay. He wrote a treatise—*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*—which would be well worth Professor Ward's perusal. Nor is Isaac Barrow, who wrote a few years later, very much inferior to Macaulay as an authority ; at any rate, his remarks on the Church are worth a cursory glance. Or, to mention one other name. Whether Richard Hooker was a greater divine than Macaulay, we will not presume to decide ; but he is thought by some to have possessed some little knowledge of

history and theology ; and, at any rate, he had the advantage of being a contemporary, which, with all his merits, Macaulay was not. If Professor Ward would give a little time to the study of Casaubon, Bacon, Barrow, and Hooker—four names which perhaps our insular prejudice inclines us to think great names—we cannot but think that in a second edition he would modify some of his expressions.

John Wesley and Modern Methodism. By FREDERICK HOCKIN, Rector of Phillack, Honorary Canon of Truro, and Proctor in Convocation. Fourth Edition, much enlarged. (London : Livingtons, 1887.)

IN this little volume, which, we are glad to see, has reached a fourth edition, Canon Hockin conclusively proves, not by any arguments of his own, but by quoting Wesley's own words, the fundamental differences between John Wesley and Modern Methodism. He shows, not only that John Wesley was attached to the Church of England generally, but also that on the crucial points on which High Churchmen and Low Churchmen differ, Wesley distinctly and repeatedly expressed sentiments which are in harmony with those of High Churchmen. He explodes utterly the theory, held by Dr. Rigg and others, that Wesley was a High Churchman up to the time of his 'conversion' in 1738, but that after that date he entirely changed his views ; for almost all his extracts are taken from writings of a later date than 1738. In fact he furnishes us with a connected chain of evidence reaching almost to the very time of Wesley's death in 1791, and all tending to the same conclusion. He does not disguise the fact that Wesley, by consecrating Dr. Coke as 'Bishop' or 'Superintendent' for America, and then making two of his preachers, Whatcoat and Vasey, 'Presbyters,' 'outraged the laws of the Church of which he professed himself a devoted member, and was guilty of an amazing inconsistency ;' but he gives good reason for believing that Wesley's mental faculties and moral firmness were impaired when the unfortunate step was taken.

The only difficulty that will occur to an intelligent reader, not acquainted with the whole history, in reading the overwhelming mass of evidence, which in a brief compass Mr. Hockin brings to bear upon his point, will be, we should imagine, 'Does he not prove too much? Surely there must be something to be said on the other side ; for it is inconceivable that a large body of men should be professed followers of Wesley, and still hold his name in profound, almost superstitious, veneration, and yet have drifted so utterly from the most cherished convictions of their founder.' The explanation of this difficulty may be found in various circumstances, some of which Mr. Hockin notices, though he does not touch upon what seems to us the most important of all. He shows beyond a doubt that some of Wesley's utterances have been manipulated, and others entirely suppressed, for the benefit of the faithful. He also hints, though he might have illustrated this more fully, that Wesley was often quite inconsistent with himself, and, indeed, made no secret of his inconsistency ; he thought nothing of throwing to the winds over and over again senti-

ments which he had expressed most emphatically. Hence it is not difficult to prove almost anything from Wesley; and modern Wesleyans are of course careful to prove only that which suits their purpose.

But there is another point not noticed by Mr. Hockin, and which, indeed, we have never seen fully brought out in any account of John Wesley. Flying about, meteor-like, as he did through all parts of the kingdom, how was it possible that he could impress himself upon any one congregation? He founded 'societies,' of which the organization was perfect, but he had no time to insense them with his own views. We might search in vain for any traces of Wesley's Church principles even in his own immediate followers; and of course the farther they are from the fountain-head the less likely they are to be true 'Wesleyans.' But it is not unreasonable to ask, as Mr. Hockin does, that those followers should not abuse, as they do, Churchmen for holding the very views which their founder held. We heartily thank Canon Hockin for this useful volume, which will, we trust, be widely read.

A History of the University of Cambridge. (Epochs of Church History, edited by Professor Mandell Creighton.) By J. BASS MULLINGER, M.A., Lecturer in History at St. John's College. (London: Longmans, 1888.)

In this unpretending volume Mr. Mullinger has made, almost unconsciously, an important contribution to historical literature. He is well known as the author of a most learned and accurate history of the University of Cambridge; but those bulky volumes are somewhat uninviting to the general reader, and in these days of hurry-scurry probably no one except a student would dream of attacking them. He has therefore done wisely to recast the matter so laboriously accumulated into a short and popular treatise. We use the word 'recast' advisedly, because we wish to make clear the important fact that this is no mere abridgment, but an original work, written by a ripe scholar, to bring out clearly in a small compass the results at which he has arrived. It is at the same time a *précis* of the larger work (to which we hope it may lead those who have never read it) and a complete short history. Moreover, while the former terminates with the accession of Charles I., the book before us is brought down to the present day. We believe that no other University history covers so wide a space of ground in so small a number of pages. But, though the events of six centuries are told in 223 pages, there is no sign of undue compression, and nothing of essential importance has been omitted. The author has found space for a history of thought and study as well as for a narrative of events, and has traced with a firm hand the outline of the various steps by which the present educational position of Cambridge has been achieved.

The usefulness of such a rapid sketch as this becomes especially apparent when the present day is reached, for it is always difficult to estimate the importance of contemporary changes, or of those immediately preceding our own time, and to understand their true relation

to the past. Those who are tempted to deplore the various alterations to which the University has been subjected during the last forty years, or, to speak more exactly, since the Commission of 1850, may be comforted when they learn that the University of to-day is approaching the mediæval conception of what such a body ought to be. Mr. Mullinger points out that, during the first half of the present century, 'from being at once national and popular, the University had become oligarchical and exclusive ; from a recognized training school for the professions, and a home for all branches of learning, it had dwindled to little more than a seminary for the Church ; from a munificent endowment for the poor it had been converted into something like a monopoly of the wealthier classes' (preface, p. vi). At that period, no doubt, college influence was paramount. No one cared to remember that the University had existed, as a teaching body, long before colleges were thought of. It used to be spoken of as something extraneous to the place, which ought, as far as possible, to be kept out of sight, and checked if it attempted to assert itself. Under the shadow of seventeen corporations, some powerful, and all jealously tenacious of their prerogatives, any educational attempts that the University made were sure to dwindle. The praiseworthy efforts of Dr. Whewell and others to cajole or to compel the unwilling undergraduate, and the still more unwilling college tutor, to recognize the lectures of University professors only ended in ludicrous failure. We advise all who are interested in education to read carefully Mr. Mullinger's eleventh chapter, where he will find a succinct narrative of the institution of the new Triposes, and the gradual extension of the University curriculum so as to include all branches of knowledge. If we may be allowed to hint a fault in this part of his work, we should say that Mr. Mullinger does scant justice to the Natural Sciences Tripos ; and yet, whether it be approved of or not, it has certainly been one of the great successes of recent times ; and the museums and class-rooms devoted to those subjects, thronged as they are with eager students, constitute one of the chief glories of modern Cambridge. These latter are not so much as mentioned.

Finally, in the last chapter, we come to the relation of the University to National Education. Here the establishment of the Local Examinations, and the University Extension movement are fully related. On the importance of these it is unnecessary to dilate. Those who set them on foot were not merely benefactors ; it is hardly too much to say that they saved the University from the hand of the spoiler. When those who knew nothing and cared less about the past were ready to seize upon University property and distribute it with some vague idea of improving the national education of England, these movements showed that the University was itself ready to take the matter in hand and apply the old methods to new requirements.

We are glad to notice a useful index, but we hope that in a future edition a chronological summary may be added. It need not occupy more than a couple of pages, but it would form a valuable addition to a book which we strongly recommend everybody to buy, and, what is more, to read.

The Fulness of the Nations. By ALDER SMITH, M.B., F.R.C.S.
(London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1889.)

THERE is something very captivating to a certain class of minds in unravelling puzzles and finding solutions for difficult problems. If the problems affect religious questions, and the investigator is a religious man, the interest is necessarily heightened. It is, therefore, only to be expected that in every age there should arise students of prophecy who satisfy themselves, if they satisfy no one else, that they have unravelled the hidden mysteries of prophetic announcements and have mastered the meaning of what has long since been foretold by inspired writers, and are prepared to give an interpretation of their utterances which no reasonable person can dispute. If the facts before them were the only facts which for certain could be known before the fulfilment of the prophecies takes place, there might be much to be said in favour of some of the views for which they contend. But examination of the recorded fulfilment of prophecies warns us not to be confident concerning the future. Clear and plain as were our Lord's prophecies to His disciples concerning Himself, they were not understood by them till after they had been accomplished. His words, 'Now I tell you before it come, that when it is come to pass ye may believe that I am He,' seem to be overlooked, and some students of prophecy seem to be convinced that they can read and understand the hidden meaning before any evidence can be produced which would satisfy dispassionate persons. The writer of the book named at the head of this notice seems to have fallen into this snare. We welcome the evidence of religious interest shown by the writer in such a subject, for members of his profession are not frequently found such careful students of Holy Scripture as he evidently is, but we cannot accept his conclusions. He starts apparently with his mind made up on two points : (1) that these are the last days, and that the Millennium will soon be manifested ; and (2) therefore that, by piecing together all that is foretold concerning the fortunes of the houses of Israel and Judah in the last days, we must have a record of what is now passing before our eyes, and that if we fail to reconcile certain current events with the announcements of prophecy it is because of our preconceived prejudices, which interfere with our seeing things as they really are. The author's argument may be summed up in these words of his :—

'We have just seen that the term "Israel" in Isaiah usually refers to the "house of Israel" in contrast with the "house of Judah," and that the "cast out," "desolate," or "divorced wife of youth" (described in the 54th chapter) refers to the *literal seed of Abraham*, even to "*Ephraim Israel*"—the so-called *lost Ten Tribes*—who are prophesied to multiply as fishes do increase and "as the sand of the sea," to be "redeemed" by Christ, and to be remarried to God in the New Covenant, during the present Christian dispensation, or the "*latter days*." Thus the multiplication promised to the house of Israel must be fulfilled *before* the Millennial reign of Christ ; and therefore *must be fulfilled at the present time*, as we are undoubtedly very near the end of this present dispensation and the second coming of our Lord.'

The English are the only people who seem to answer to the requirements, and therefore he assumes, more confidently than wisely, that they must be the lost tribes. In the concluding chapters he sets forth some reasons which he thinks favour this conclusion ; to us they seem quite inadequate to bear the burden placed upon them. He appears to make the great mistake of supposing that the truth of prophecy is to be upheld by faith constraining us to see in what is passing around us the fulfilment of its predictions, instead of our regarding prophecy as a support to faith by subsequent events manifestly agreeing with what it had foretold. Whilst, therefore, we admire the earnestness and obvious sincerity with which the book is written, we cannot regard it as having accomplished the purpose it was intended to answer. That there will be an unrolling of events in accordance with the prophecies contained in Holy Scripture before the end arrives we cannot doubt, but we are equally persuaded that such an unrolling will be in a manner plain and comprehensible by all who will honestly examine what is happening around them ; at present it seems to us that the required evidence is not forthcoming.

BRIEF NOTES ON NEW BOOKS, NEW EDITIONS, SERMONS,
PERIODICALS, ETC.

It seems but yesterday we were dealing in these pages with *Roman Catholic Claims*, by Charles Gore, M.A. (London : Rivingtons, 1889), and already it has reached a second edition. In the Preface, which contains *inter alia* some valuable remarks on Dr. Salmon's *Infallibility of the Church*, Mr. Gore calls attention to what is too often forgotten, viz. that in the Vincentian Canon 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,' its author 'never meant by "ab omnibus" what is held by all men without exception, or by all who call themselves Christians, but by the Church as a body, as opposed to individual teachers' (p. xi). After turning from the subterfuges and sophistries which must consign Mr. Rivington's book on *Authority* to a speedy and deserved oblivion, it is refreshing to inhale the healthy atmosphere of Mr. Gore's learned and scholarly discussion of the points at issue, which will ensure to *Roman Catholic Claims* a permanent place in the literature of theological controversy.

We are also glad to welcome a second edition of Dr. Paget's thoughtful volume on the *Faculties and Difficulties for Belief and Disbelief* (London : Rivingtons, 1889), which has already been more fully noticed in the pages of this Review. We share the author's regret at his having chosen a somewhat infelicitous title ; but we understand the embarrassment he felt at changing it. As he quaintly puts it : 'It seems even harder to change a bad name than to get a good one ; and so, regretfully, I must bide by my mistake.' But it would indeed be captious and churlish criticism to quarrel with the name on a door which gives us access to the innermost chambers of a mind so highly gifted with spiritual insight and intellectual culture, and which introduces us to pages so richly jewelled with thoughts

which lift men's hearts and hopes beyond this earth and turn them heavenwards.

Canon Mason's beautiful book on *The Faith of the Gospel. A Manual of Christian Doctrine* (London : Rivingtons, 1889) has also reached, in little more than a year, a second edition. The principal additions are to be found in the first chapter, *On the Being and Nature of God*. But a comparison of the two editions shows with what care the revision has been effected. So minute are some of the changes that they might almost escape detection altogether. The new edition contains at the end a 'Table of Patristic Passages referred to.' More important, perhaps, would have been an Index of Texts from Holy Scripture. We are sorry to see that the addition of such an Index, which was an excellent feature of old editions of the Fathers, and of some of our own Divines, such as Andrewes and Jeremy Taylor, has fallen into desuetude. Then, again, an Index of Subjects is a great desideratum which is not fully met by a Table of Contents. We cannot doubt that Canon Mason will have ample opportunity in successive editions—so great will be the demand for this excellent book—for supplying these and other *lacunæ*.

Two new volumes of the *Story of the Nations* Series amply sustain the merits of that publication. They are *Mediæval France*, by Gustave Masson (London : Fisher Unwin, 1888); and *Persia*, by S. G. W. Benjamin (the same). M. Masson gives us a most valuable list of the historical sources for the period under discussion. We think it is to be regretted Mr. Benjamin did not do the same.

It is difficult to keep pace with the activity of *The Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature* (London : Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh, 1889). Five volumes have appeared since our last issue. Two of them will be specially dear to all English Churchmen, viz. : *Ken's Prose Works* and the *Cathedral* by Isaac Williams, which last we hope will be succeeded by the *Baptistery* from the same author. The plates no doubt in the latter work would be a *sine quâ non*, but that need not be a difficulty when so many cheap processes of artistic reproduction are available. We may say, in passing, that those two poems are far too little known by the present generation. The other two volumes are parts 1 and 2 of the *Apostolic Fathers*. They contain *St. Clement of Rome* (including the recent discoveries), *St. Barnabas*, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, *The Epistles of St. Ignatius*, of *St. Polycarp* and of the *Church of Smyrna*, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, and *The Epistle to Diognetus*. All this, it must be remembered, at the exorbitant price of two shillings ! A critic is nothing if he does not find fault, so we may say that we think that the introductions from Professor Burton on the Ecclesiastical History of the First and Second Centuries and the epilogue on the Right Use of the Fathers, by William Reeves (1709), might with advantage have been omitted if nothing more up to date has been available. We hope the publishers will some day include in this admirable series Professor Blunt's volume on the Use of the Fathers. One more volume has to be named, viz. *The Provincial Letters of Blaise Pascal*.

Cold as ice and hard as the nether millstone must the hearts of
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those undergraduates have been who on the last Festival of St. Simon and St. Jude did not feel their pulses quickened into high resolves as they listened to the noble sermon preached before the University of Cambridge in Great St. Mary's Church on *Devotion to the Church of Christ*, by H. P. Liddon, Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's (London: Rivingtons, 1889). That such a sermon should show marks in every line of spiritual elevation is only what we might expect; but it also abounds in shrewd views of things, as in the fine passage (pp. 21, 22) on the excessive 'publicity' of modern life, and on the temptation to act or speak or keep silence 'with a view to shaping a paragraph in a newspaper.' 'Our business,' says the preacher, 'is not to win a name but to do a work' (p. 27). See also the thoroughly practical remarks on celibacy (pp. 18, 19). Very beautiful are the illustrations of a life of retiringness, a life of 'silent preparation,' drawn from the examples of the 'greatest divine Cambridge has ever produced' (p. 25), Lancelot Andrewes, and of the 'long years of silent labour which have at last led to the position of authority, rare indeed in any generation, now occupied by the Bishop of Durham.' Not since the days of Hugh James Rose has such a sermon been heard from the University pulpit. May it bear fruit an hundred fold!

Another sermon from the same author, *The Name of Names. A Short Sermon preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on the Feast of the Circumcision* (London: Rivingtons, 1889), is a much humbler effort, on a much smaller scale. But even here we detect the touch of a master hand in the remarks on the significance of the name Jesus, on the persons by whom it was borne—'once only so far as we know was it ever borne by a Christian' (Col. iv. 11)—and, more generally, on the care which parents ought to take in naming their children.

In view of the judgment, so long delayed, on the reredos of St. Paul's Cathedral, Canon Gregory's wise and weighty words on *The Virgin Mary: the reverence due to her. A Sermon preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on the Third Sunday in Lent, being the Eve of the Feast of the Annunciation* (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh, 1889), will be read with interest and attention, which they will amply repay. We think the monstrous excesses into which the Church of Rome has been betrayed in doing honour to the Blessed Virgin at the expense of the Second Person of the Trinity might with advantage have been denounced in less measured language. Everyone, however, will agree in the sober conclusions at which Canon Gregory himself arrives on the subject. No one but a member of the Church Association, could entertain a suspicion after reading this sermon that the figure of the Theotokos on the reredos at St. Paul's was designed or calculated to cover superstitious uses.

The Relation of Spiritual and Civil Authority: in view of the approaching Trial of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln. A Sermon preached at All Saints' Church, Margaret Street, on Sunday, January 20, 1889. By W. Allen Whitworth, M.A., Vicar (London: Temple and Co., 1889). *The Clergy and the Courts. A Sermon preached in substance at St. Peter's, Eaton Square, in view of the Prosecution of the Bishop*

of *Lincoln*. By the Rev. J. Storrs (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh, 1889). Such are the titles of two sermons to which the unfortunate trial of Bishop King has given rise. Of the two, Mr. Whitworth's is the most original, but neither he nor Mr. Storrs meets the difficulty or solves the knot which the Dean of Windsor has exposed in his very able and temperate letter in the *Times* of March 27, where he practically says to the Ritualists (so called): 'You do not like the existing Courts. Can you tell us what Courts you *do* like? You are not agreed among yourselves.' To this taunt, if we may be pardoned the expression, no feeble rejoinder has been made in the columns of the same paper by Dr. Paget and Lord Halifax. This, however, is too big a question for a 'brief note.' Our object is served by putting these sermons and letters on record, as *pièces pour servir*.

Those who may have been induced, by the authority which not unjustly attaches to the name of Professor Driver, to give credence to the existence of a Deutero-Isaiah, will do well to turn to *Isaiah and the Unity of his Prophecy. Two Advent Lectures (with Notes and Appendix) delivered at the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford*. By the Rev. Michael Rosenthal (London: Skeffington, 1889). It is a most powerful refutation of the so-called higher criticism, and comes with all the greater weight from 'one born a Jew, who has studied Hebrew from his childhood, and to whom the language is familiar as a mother-tongue' (p. 62).

The author of *The Daily Round* has placed the religious public under still further obligations by *The Morning Psalms: Meditations for Every Day in the Year* (London: Whitaker and Sons, 1888). The scheme of the book is best explained in the author's own words. 'A verse from the Morning Psalms of the day of the month is taken as the subject of each Meditation, and is treated in the light of the whole passage in which it stands' (Preface). The author would have done well to adopt the Prayer-Book version of the Psalter, which must obviously be the most familiar to those who habitually use what has been called the Prayer-Book of the world.

The Prayer-Book Interleaved (London: Rivingtons, 1888), we are glad to see, holds its ground. It has recently reached the eleventh edition, of which the distinguishing features are (1) a much fuller account of the use of the Psalms in Jewish Rituals, furnished by Dr. Schiller-Sziness, (2) some notes on the Acts of Uniformity, and (3) an English translation of the definitions concerning the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility published by Pope Pius IX.

The *Classical Review* (London: David Nutt, 1889) has reached the fourth number of its third volume. It has now secured the co-operation of American scholars, and its size has in consequence been materially increased. We call special attention to the review of 'Swete's Edition of the LXX,' by Professor Hatch, in No. I.; to Dr. Abbott's article on 'The Athos Codex of Hermas;' to Mr. F. H. Chase's review of 'Harnack's *De Aleatoribus*;' and to Professor Ryle's notice of the first instalment of Niese's *Josephus*.

The *Archæological Review* (London: David Nutt, 1889) has

also entered on its third volume. We do not think it will add to its reputation by its treatment of Biblical subjects.

The *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* has appeared since January in a new shape—monthly instead of quarterly—and under a new designation, *The Theological Monthly* (London : J. Nisbet and Co., 1889). The four numbers now before us contain some very interesting articles. We would call special attention to the opening article of the April number on 'Partial Exegesis,' by C. H. Waller. This periodical does not look at matters from quite the same standpoint as ourselves, but we wish it all success, and trust it may render as good service in the cause of Christian truth as its predecessor did in a quarterly issue for thirty-five years.

The new number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (London : David Nutt) contains the sequel of Dr. Neubauer's article, 'Where are the Ten Tribes?' and a very interesting, not to say profound, article on 'Mystic Passages in the Psalms,' by C. G. Montefiore.

The *Indian Church Quarterly Review* for January 1889 (Calcutta : Oxford Mission Press. London : Fisher Unwin) contains more than usually interesting articles. Chief among these we would place a short but singularly powerful article by the Bishop of Bombay, entitled 'Recent Attacks on Marriage.' The object of it is to show that all measures which facilitate divorce tend ultimately towards abolishing marriage as an institution. In support of this contention the Bishop submits two simple propositions. 'First, if marriage is to be retained as an institution, it must have some fixed basis of principle with which it is impossible to tamper; and, second, that basis of principle must be its practical indissolubility, as laid down by our Lord Jesus Christ' (p. 99). These two propositions are supported, not only with great eloquence, but with cogent reasoning. Denunciations of the evils of divorce are never, thank Heaven, wanting. But perhaps it is not less important to point out the actual blessings which indissolubility is calculated to confer on the married state. And this side of the argument is brought out with great force by the Bishop of Bombay in the article before us, which we would like to see reprinted and circulated by the thousand.

Among other articles of interest we may mention one by the Rev. F. R. Michell, archdeacon (offg.) of Calcutta, entitled 'Are Christian Missions a Failure?' and intended as a reply to Canon Isaac Taylor's rude and crude attacks on Christian Missions and Missionaries, attacks founded, as Mr. Michell says (in words borrowed from the author of the *New Republic*), 'on little more than a few principles imperfectly understood, obscured by a few facts imperfectly remembered.'

A CORRECTION.

In the review of the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, &c., in the January number of the *Church Quarterly Review* (vol. xxvii. p. 303) the article on 'St. Athanasius' was inadvertently attributed to the Bishop of Durham instead of Canon Bright.

THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

N^o LVI. JULY 1889.

ART. I.—THE HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF
LUXURY.

Histoire du Luxe, privé et public, depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos Jours. Par H. BAUDRILLART, Membre de l'Institut. Tom. i. ii. iii. iv. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française. (Paris, 1878–80.)

ONE of the world's masters in speculative thought has signalized a principle which is at once the greatest convenience, and perhaps the chief danger, in the use of human language. An important consequence of the representation of concepts by language is that the *sign* is necessarily substituted for the thing *signified*. We do not, and cannot, mentally advert simultaneously to the whole nature and to all the coexistent elements of the notion;¹ we substitute the sign for them. Convenience, indolence, sheer necessity, cause us to omit anything like full explanation, at least for the present. Indeed, life might seem to be hardly worth living, or language hardly worth speaking, if we were under obligation to pull up every moment, and explain clearly as a whole, and distinctly by articulation into its parts, all that we mean by the compendious abbreviations which we possess in such exuberant profusion.

¹ 'Thus, when I think of a chiliogon (polygon of a thousand equal sides), I do not always consider the nature of a *side*, of *equality*, of a *thousand*, or cube of *ten*. But I mentally use those words (whose signification is present to my mind, at least obscurely and imperfectly) in place of the ideas which I have concerning them. For I remember that I possess the meaning of those words, but judge that a full-blown complete explanation is not necessary now.' (Leibnitz, *Meditationes de Cognitione, Veritate, et Ideis* (Leibnitii Opera, tom. ii. p. 14. Geneva, 1768); cf. Mansel, *Proleg. Log.* p. 29 (2nd ed. Oxford, 1860). Aristotle reminds us of the extraordinary *mental bulk* (so to speak) which words often assume in our imagination when thus decomposed into their constituents: διαπούμενα δὲ εἰς τὰ μέρη τὰ αὐτὰ μείζω φαίνεσθαι (Arist. *Rhet.* I. cvii. 31).

Most of us, however, are confident that this process of disintegration, to be succeeded by refusion, is in our power, and that we need only wait for that convenient season of analysis which so seldom comes. The thought thus latent in a word Leibnitz proposes to call a 'cogitatio cæca' or 'symbolica.'

Any word, originally thus associated with a 'complex cluster' of ideas, has a tendency to let certain of them drop off or drop out, some at one time, some at another. We use the word without realising all its contents. We run on in conversation, and even in more public utterances, merely by *verbal* not *rational* association.¹ Terms thus used no longer suggest any but the most obvious and superficial associations of the day, of a particular school or social corner. Hence it is that traditional maxims, however worthy or noble—principles of religion, canons of ethics, political generalizations—become sterile dogmas. A portion of the thought covered by the word fades away at a particular time or under certain dominant influences. It becomes comatose, and falls asleep for the mass of mankind, it may be for centuries. But the *conservative* function of language as the custodian of ancient and long-continued observation is never to be forgotten. While the term remains, the meaning may revive. Hence what has been well called the 'perpetual oscillation' in ethical and spiritual truths. Their meaning as concentrated in words is constantly being lost, and as constantly recovered. The proposition is verbally the same; but it is greater or less in meaning at different times—to one generation 'full of sap and fierce with life,' to another an effete and feeble truism. To ordinary minds only a fraction of the full meaning is suggested, and that fraction and that alone is natural and available for general use, and capable of general recognition. But so long as the words remain, the remainder of their meaning, or part of it, may be called into activity. The thought, like the enchanted lady, only waits for the breath of the fairy prince. The remedies for this tendency of words and formulas are supplied by a fancy lively enough to fill in all details, or by an industry of thought acute enough to rediscover them—by the passionate intuition of genius, or by the patient re-predication of science.²

¹ The first of these elements is expressed by *λαλιά*, the second by *λόγος*, in a divine saying which may be thus paraphrased: 'Why know ye not that verbal and rhetorical *form* of speech, which is so peculiarly Mine (τὴν λαλιὰν τὴν ἐμήν)? Because ye are morally incapable of hearing that *substance of thought* conveyed by it, which is also so emphatically Mine (τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐμόν).' (John viii. 43.)

² Young students of philosophy may read with profit, and make available for theology, a few difficult but valuable pages on the 'evil

It may be doubted whether the vast field of human language outside the sacred ground of theology presents many more instructive instances of the truth of these remarks than the word *luxury*. What is the concept represented by the word, the thing signified by the sign? What underlies this 'cogitatio cæca?' The meanings are various, and at first sight contradictory. Sometimes, indeed most frequently, we use it with the severest *censure*. We read of Rome under the empire, or of France under Louis XV., and exclaim that luxury had come in with its train of vices. We regret the moral decadence of one who has been spoiled by an accession of fortune, and remark that a character once noble and engaging is being gradually deteriorated by luxury. Sometimes, again, we use the term indifferently. We bathe an aching forehead with eau-de-Cologne, or sip an ice in a heated assembly, and say with a pleasant sigh, which has little or no self-reproach in it—'an innocent luxury in the dog-days.' Or, again, as we turn over mouldering volumes of controversy we are reminded that Mandeville was brought before the Court of King's Bench by a Middlesex grand jury for maintaining in his *Fable of the Bees* that 'private vices are public benefits.' The whole strength of his argument lies in the social and economical benefits with which luxury bribes human society. Mandeville's argument seems to fall in with the results of modern economical science, and we begin to think luxury a little misrepresented. But then we reach down our Bibles, and turn to some of the masterpieces of theology. The great prophet, whose language is so ample and so royal—who can, when ornament is appropriate, embroider his pages with such a delicate border of flowers¹—has terrible words about female luxury.² If Isaiah's style is wet with the dews and impregnated with the odours of the coming years; if he is an idealist for whom the future projects itself like a lovelier and more magnificent past, he can be a realist of the present. He has the keen observation for which nothing morally significant is too mean. He has the passionate rapidity, the contemptuous fulness of the masters of sarcasm. He withers up the luxury of women by condescending to waste some observation upon it, and buries it under the catalogue of its own inanities. We see the deceiving eyes and hear the tinkling of the feet. The poor little multitudinous arts of the toilette pale before that fierce invective. One chief department of luxury has nowhere

consequences of casting off any of the existing connotations of words.' (*System of Logic*, by John Stuart Mill, vol. ii. bk. iv. chap. iv. pp. 259-68.)

¹ Isaiah xxxv. 1, 2.

² *Ib.* iv. 16-25.

else found a censor with such an immortal voice. The rustic prophet of Tekoa is scarcely less severe upon the luxury of epicures and *bons vivants* of the sterner sex. He describes them by a word which (we venture to think) almost expresses the central idea of luxury, according to the analysis of modern science.¹ The greatest preachers of all Christian ages have, more or less, set their admonitions upon the same key. St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, Bossuet, Savonarola, Pusey, are the successors of the prophets of old.

We must now endeavour to frame for ourselves an adequate definition of luxury.

I. Luxury, in the bad sense, is the wrong enjoyment of material objects. The wrongness lies sometimes in the *objects themselves*, when they are *immoral*, or condemned by *right feeling*. Sometimes the wrong is not absolute, but relatively to the individual, when the object is out of proportion with the income of him who indulges in the luxury, or with other claims of an unselfish character. Few people comparatively consider tobacco an illegitimate vegetable product. But a young married man with 200*l.* a year who should spend 30*l.* annually upon cigars would be considered with reason as culpably luxurious. A still more detestable luxury is enjoyed by thousands of our labourers and mechanics in the form of alcoholic drinks. Alas! *six* shillings a week spent in beer and stimulants, out of wages of about *thirty* shillings, is not uncommon even among men who pass for being sober. We need scarcely say that, in regard to this matter, Christianity goes beyond the definition of luxury which we have so far given. The object of our luxury may be one perfectly licit in itself, entirely within the proportion

¹ כְּרַחֵם עַל-עֲרֻשָׁתָם (Amos vi. 4: 'Stretch themselves upon their couches,' A. V.; 'abound with superfluities,' marg. A. V. This margin-rendering disappears from the R. V., yet there is much to be said for it. The verb כָּרַח (of which כְּרַחֵם is perf. pass. plur.) means 'to be extended on the ground.' This sense of *porrection* is applied to things that flow over and are diffused; to the luxuriance of the gadding vine, of the trailing robe or curtain (Exod. xxvi. 12; Ezek. xxiii. 15); to a delicate, diffuse, and luxurious life. *Redundance*, *superfluity*, seem parts of the conception. Fuerst considers that there is a root כִּרַּח in כִּדְחָ, אֶדְחָ, כִּדְחָ. Concord. 777. We regret the disappearance of the old marginal reading in Amos vi. 4. If our view be correct, this would afford a remarkable analogy to the use of the words *luxury*, *luxurious* in English. It is applied to redundant growth of trees by Bacon (*Natural History*, No. 479), to anything exuberant by Milton ('The work under our labor grows *luxurious*' (P. L. ix.). In moral subjects, *luxury*, *luxurious*, are applied by Shakespeare (as it is in the Latin of the Vulgate) to voluptuous sins: 'the heat of a *luxurious* bed.' So the old French *luxure*. (See M. Littré, *Dictionnaire*, s. v.)

of our means. We may be able to enjoy it without immorality, without selfish extravagance. No sane man may be justified in saying to us—‘you enjoy such and such a luxury; you are a libertine, you are a spendthrift.’ Yet we may enjoy the thing in a degree which exceeds the lines of Christian moderation. Or, it may be an element, and an important one, in the whole contexture of circumstances which are attaching us to the world and to the flesh, detaching us from God; and we may absolutely require to be detached from it before we can be attached to the Cross. Thus, for the Christian, luxury, in its best estate, may become one of the roots of selfishness, of complete absorption in appearances and in worldly enjoyment. There is in us a sentiment of *emptiness* from the enormous disproportion between our desires and their satisfaction. The unsatisfied seek something to fill up this chasm.

‘The soul,’ cries Bossuet, ‘*lives upon loans* ; it borrows from without. All which glitters, which laughs before our eyes, which appears grand or magnificent, becomes the object of its desires and of its curiosity. Hence absolute *idolatry*. Human heart, infinite abyss ! if thou wouldst know what thou really dost *worship*, consider this only. Where do thy *desires* tend ; to which side do they incline ? Thou knowest ; I dare not say. But of this rest assured. On whichever side lies the object to which they incline, there is the God whom thou worshippest.

This principle must be taken into account in framing a Christian definition of luxury.

Luxury, then, may be defined as superfluity, bad in itself, or bad relatively to those who indulge in it—whether by its disproportion to the claims upon their means ; or by its proud, yet grovelling, ostentation ; or by reason of the low, sensual, unspiritual standard of life with which it leads them to be content.¹ We have no doubt that luxury may be used

¹ No *single* word in the New Testament, of course, corresponds to luxury, as thus defined—certainly not ἀσώτως, ἀσωτία, which the V. always renders by ‘luxurious,’ ‘luxuria’ (‘implying in mediæval Latin much more of loose and profligate living than our *luxury* and *luxuriously* now do,’ Archbishop Trench). Still less is ἀσέλγεια (by the V. rendered sometimes ‘impudicitia,’ sometimes ‘luxuria’) the counterpart of the ‘luxury’ of modern moral and economical science. (It should be remembered that the word ἀσέλγεια does not *necessarily* imply ‘impudicitia’ at all.) But several New Testament terms give us very completely the different parts of the conception. Luxury as leading to extravagant *expense* is ἀσωτία, as leading to insolent caprice is ἀσέλγεια. Luxury gives man an unduly *strong* conviction of his independence, and thus is στρήνος and its kindred verb. (Sybaritism is soft effeminacy, *i.e.* *weakness* ; but στρήνος is just the opposite abuse of luxury by some natures—*cf.* ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ στρήνου αὐτῆς, ‘by the *power* of her *luxury*,’ marg. R. V., Apoc. xviii. 3 ; *cf. ibid.* 7, 9, 1 Tim. v. 11). Luxury, as tending in another class of natures

in a good or an indifferent sense ; as a legitimate enjoyment of the results of the progress of human society, which tend to soften the lot of men, to equalize in some little degree human conditions, to save time, to diminish pain, to enable more work and better work to be done for God and men.

In the long history of human thought, two contending schools have ever taken opposite views upon luxury.

The extreme *rigourists* have branded the progress of human society as a continuous malady, a slow decadence. They have taught the morality of a convent *minus* its religion. So in different ages.

‘Two forks of trees conveniently driven into the ground, with branches and leaves for a roof ! Our fathers breathed without fear under such rustic houses. They covered free men ; under marble and gold dwells slavery. Nature provides for all our necessities. Well ; but the cold is unendurable when the body is naked. Are not the skins of beasts more than enough to protect you from cold ? Are not many

to the weakness which undermines some characters subjected to its enervation, is *τρυφή, τρυφάν* (Luke vii. 25, James v. 5, 2 Pet. ii. 13). Luxury as at once this and weakly prodigal is stigmatized by *σπαταλάν* (1 Tim. v. 6, James v. 5—‘*τρυφάν* deliciarum est et exquisitæ voluptatis ; *σπαταλάν* luxuriæ atque prodigalitatis.’—Hottinger). Luxury as *ostentation* feeding itself with an *arrogant* selfishness upon objects which belong to this lower life is *ἡ ἀλαζονία τοῦ βίου* (almost = *swagger*, 1 John ii. 16). This is set outwardly in a vast and magnificent framework (Apoc. xviii. 11–17), including seven kinds of the articles summed up under luxury, classified with marvellous amplitude and precision : precious materials in metal and stone, materials of exquisite dress, materials for noble furniture, scents and spices, articles of food, things for ample agriculture and establishment, slaves and domestics. (F. J. Züllig, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*.) The very splendour and fulness show that St. John’s mind is not without a certain admiration—an impression further confirmed by his ardent love for and knowledge of precious stones, witnessed to by tradition, and to be traced in Apoc. iv. 3, 6, xxi. 11–18, 22. A friend, eminent in comparative philology, has favoured the writer with the following remarks on the derivation of ‘luxus’ : ‘With regard to *luxus*, I draw a complete distinction between “luxus” = dislocated, and “luxus” = luxury. On my principles they are totally different elements of thought represented by totally distinct elements of utterance. The ground-meaning of the latter is *relaxation*—the relaxation of enjoyment or self-indulgence, as when we speak of being dissolved in pleasure. I class *στρήνως* in vi. 71 as akin to “strenuus” and the other words you mention, with the ground-meaning of pressure, and signifying *strength* or *strong desire*. This is outside the idea of luxury. It is the straining after an object *prior to attainment*, whereas “luxus” is the quiescent enjoyment *after attainment*. But a life of wilful pleasure no doubt fosters unbridled passion, and I suppose this is what the revisers mean when in Apoc. xviii. 3 they translate *στρήνους* “wantonness.” The ground-meaning of *τρυφή* is of course that of *θρίπτω*, which certainly is “broken in pieces,” internal cohesion lost, so as to be soft and pulpy. We melt in *luxus*, and are broken up in *τρυφή*.’

tribes covered with bark? Is it so hard to make dresses with the feathers of birds?'¹

This is a specimen of *rigouristic* teaching upon luxury in Latin philosophy. And Juvenal is an exasperated and exaggerated Seneca, who exchanges rhetoric for hexameters. Pass on for more than a thousand years; the complaints of Christian preachers, moralists, legislators, are set upon the same key. The substitution of oak for willow in making chimney-pieces inspires a writer in the fourteenth century with pessimist reflections. The exchange of forks for fingers is a proof of the fall of humanity. The wife of a Venetian Doge uses a golden fork. A pious Dandolo shivers as he records the atrocity. 'The unfortunate lady,' he adds, 'by Heaven's just punishment, long before her death, exhaled a corpse-like odour.' When mattresses were exchanged for palliasses, when beds were provided with silk coverlets and falling curtains, when torches were substituted for tallow candles, the rigourists cried out that morality was lost. An old Italian writer adds as the climax of iniquity—'finally, people begin to make great provision of confectionery.' 'After this,' adds M. Baudrillard, 'the world had evidently nothing to do but come to an end.'² Charron, a disciple of Montaigne, grows furious at the very suspicion of luxury. To dress oneself at all is a sort of luxury, an artificiality invented by man alone of all creatures. Modesty and the necessity of protecting oneself against cold are only excuses. We know that in the same air, under the same sky, we go at once naked and clothed. Indeed the most delicate part of our bodies is completely uncovered, so that a Pyrenean beggar when asked how he could go naked in winter answered that '*he was all face*.'³ In the most luxurious court and country of Europe the introduction of ice and snow for cooling liquids was assailed with frantic invectives. For centuries water and wine were carefully placed in cool cellars, wrapped in various ways, no moralist complaining. The first mention of ice in France is made by the physician Champier, who accompanied Francis I. to the interview which he held at Nice with Pope Paul III. and Charles V. The weather was furiously hot. Champier saw with amazement and indignation the Italians and Spaniards sending for snow into the mountains to cool their drinks. Henry III. was exposed to the most odious imputations for introducing this practice at his

¹ Seneca, *Ep. ad Lucil.* 90.

² *Histoire du Luxe*, tom. ii. 35-37.

³ 'Que luy estoit toute face.'—Charron, *De la Sagesse*, lib. iii. ch. xi.

court. Now in these and a host of other instances the criticisms of the rigourists are mischievous as well as petty. They forget on one side that societies without wants are stationary and sterile; on the other, that luxury tends to grow more moderate and less selfish by being diffused. Indeed, to preach against it absolutely is to calumniate human nature, in which there is an inevitable tendency to luxury. The elements of that tendency are, no doubt, not the loftiest which we possess. The love of *distinction* in bearing about us indications of riches is the root of the luxury of ostentation. The love of pleasurable sensations is the root of the luxury of sensuality. But mingled with this there are higher motives and nobler aspirations. Love of ornament is one of the constitutive parts of luxury. But this is not only for personal adornment. The desire of fair homes, elegant furniture and surroundings, is inseparable from the love of Beauty. Further, man is as truly a *social* as he is a *selfish* being. A recognition of this essential principle at once legitimatizes a whole department of luxury. When some benefactor or deliverer of his country is claimed by death, the spontaneous gratitude of a great people demands that he shall be accompanied to the tomb by a magnificent ceremonial. His ashes might be contained in a little copper urn, or his remains in a few feet of ground. But something tells man that a great memory claims more than this from the living. Architecture, sculpture, and painting multiply marvels which are of no direct utilitarian worth to the dead or to the living. Poetry chants its useless lines, and oratory rounds its unavailing panegyrics—useless and unavailing, except to the moral sentiments of which they are the most useful and availing incentives. Funeral splendour is the luxury of patriotic grief. Parks and public grounds stand for much in the growth of every human society. A people has a continuity of existence, a collective life. If we take the individuals who form a crowd in any large city, those individuals are but atoms; and those atoms, so far as rational calculation goes, lead—and must always lead—a life with mean and sordid surroundings. All the more necessary is it that there should be spots where the people collectively may feel that they are partakers in a national life which is powerful and splendid. The noble or the capitalist has his park and terraces, his flowers and trees. The people have theirs. There are Sunday and holiday hours when the poorest man, with his children, under the shadow of immemorial trees, feels for a moment that they are his. About the museum and the picture-gallery there is an analogous

influence. Something greater and higher must be added. Every soul which believes in a Personal God naturally desires to consecrate to Him the highest and best of His gifts. There should be a little world which is, as far as may be, a bit of heaven upon earth. In that little world every object should be harmonious, ordered, beautiful. The higher heathen mind was no stranger to this sentiment. 'The just man,' says Plato, 'while he approaches to the altars, while he communicates with the gods by prayers, offerings, and all the hallowed pomp of religious worship, performs an action which is noble, holy, useful for his happiness, and conformable in every respect to his nature.'¹ The sceptical Montaigne writes with exquisite emotion, 'There is no soul so hard as not to feel touched with some reverence in considering the sombre vastness of our churches, the diversity of ornaments and order of our ceremonies : in hearing the devout sound of our organs and the composed religious harmony of our voices.'² More remarkably still, the irreligious and revolutionary Diderot has left this witness :—

'Absurd rigourists in religion do not know the effect of external ceremonies upon the people. They have never seen the adoration of the Cross on Good Friday ; the enthusiasm of the multitude at the procession of the Fête-Dieu—an enthusiasm which sometimes gains even upon me. I have never seen that long file of priests in sacerdotal dress ; those young acolytes clad in white robes, flinging flowers before the blessed Sacrament ; the throng which goes before and follows after in religious silence ; so many strong men with their brows bent low. I have never heard that grave and pathetic chant, intoned by the priests and affectionately responded to by an infinity of voices—of men, women, girls, and boys—without my heart throbbing and tears coming to my eyes.'³

As we read such passages the question comes to us whether our own English Church may not yet gain more of this without sacrifice of her severe purity of doctrine ; whether richer colouring and softer adjuncts may not yet tint and sweeten the somewhat frigid severity of her great processions. And we speculate whether, while preserving intact the line of ceremonial beyond which English people do not generally care to go, exceptional occasions may not be permitted an exceptional ritual ; and whether ultimately this much may be gained partly by the sufferings of the pure and gentle prelate for whom so many prayers are now being offered. At all events splendid architecture is a public luxury of a Christian people.

¹ *De Legg.* lib. iv.² *Essais*, liv. ii. ch. xii.³ *Essai sur la Peinture.*

Of all arts, architecture has owed the most to Christianity, which perfected the old architecture and invented a new. It has been said that Gothic by its profound distances, and by a splendour made more dazzling through the obscurity wherewith all was circled, was in the universal medieval conspiracy to elevate the priesthood. At all events this has now passed away. In our great churches 'God enters into His own.' The vastness typifies to us infinitude. The form and arrangement constitute a creed in stone. On the reredos and the window we have Christ portrayed in all His history up to the Cross and down to the grave, up again to the Judgment-Throne and the heaven of heavens. Outside are hosts of sweet angels, and in servile and vanquished attitudes grinning devils—for evil is ridiculous as well as ugly in presence of the calm splendour of the eternal peace. So, if we turn back to the Psalter, in the great psalm of the storm,¹ we have not only the outside glory, the sevenfold thunder, the short threefold zigzag of the forked lightning. 'In His temple every part of it sayeth Glory'—glory to Christ in the cruciform structure; in the message tracked out by the sunlight upon the pane; in every service at desk or altar; in every utterance from the pulpit—Christ in history, in doctrine, in Presence. Calvin had his merits. He was, in many respects, a wonderful commentator upon Scripture. He was almost the first among Christian theologians to see that the very life of all progressive human society is involved in freely permitting moderate interest upon money. But his teaching upon religious ceremonial was, in the deepest sense, retrograde. It deprived the Church of a potent weapon, Christians of the very joy and flower of their privileges, art of its highest inspiration. Calvinism divorces truth from beauty. It is the worst of rigourism which excludes the *public luxury* of religion from the Christian Church.

But in estimating this great and complicated question as a whole, it is useless to disguise from ourselves that *relaxed* views upon luxury have been, and are, more popular and more dangerous. Indeed, the full evil of modern luxury (in the bad sense) cannot be at all sufficiently gauged by the old and terrible truism of its effect upon character. No doubt it softens, enervates, unstrings the very fibres of strenuous manhood. It destroys not only simplicity, but patriotism, chivalry, faith. We do not, however, see the full measure of its peril until we enter upon our research aided by the penetrating light of modern observation, gathered from enormous inductions of facts and statistics. The best nation, the most excellent form

¹ Psalm xxix.

of human society, is where the home, the family, is, on the whole, purest and happiest. But that is the case exactly where the home is most serious on the part of its heads ; where the parents insist upon order, and preserve it by sacrifice and self-denial upon their own part. Now a selfishly luxurious society—a society which practically boycotts those who are not luxurious—is, and must be, an extravagant society. And every society includes multitudes of families who are anything but opulent, while their whole position and antecedents compel them to consort with the higher classes to whom they belong by birth, education, and life-long habit. From this source—from a compulsorily and indiscriminately luxurious atmosphere—follows the wretchedness, the worse than selfish degradation of parents hopelessly in debt, with children unfitted for roughing it in life. Nor is this the only evil. Luxury made universal leads to compulsory celibacy. Numbers of young men will not marry because they cannot afford so costly a luxury ; because, in many cases, they shrink, with a manly affection, from making one whom they love unhappy by a host of petty vexations of which she has so far known nothing. They cannot believe that ‘two live so much cheaper than one.’ Something worse yet remains, which it is useless to evade and wrong to ignore. Families are curtailed scientifically by a refinement of vice, which agonizes tender consciences, ruins constitutions, and debilitates those who come into the world. Such is the moral pestilence, walking in darkness, which has destroyed the splendid manhood of France, and, it is feared, is spreading in America—alas ! that we must add, in England. Let us add one consideration of another kind. Ordered society reposes upon the recognition of property—a recognition broken down in Ireland alone among civilized nations. But a luxurious society is one which flaunts its rights, in their most extreme and offensive development, upon masses of men, many of whom must be in positive want. And even the plausible argument of Mandeville from the free circulation of money by extravagant capitalists is dissipated by reflection. The mass of money is made to circulate with real profit by the mass of small, equable, uncapricious, permanent wants. The capricious and fitful demand for extravagant luxuries is liable to be suddenly suspended. We read of prices paid for diamonds in England ; of horses in an American stable which are shod with silver, and eat out of racks and mangers of costly wood. A few hundred or thousand diamond cutters are employed in Europe ; one or two extra silversmiths and wood polishers in America. But, after

all, man lives his lower life not by diamonds but by bread; and the silver which shoes a few teams will not go far in enriching blacksmiths.

It will be seen from this most imperfect sketch that luxury is a subject which touches the circle of human interest as well as of economical, philosophical, and religious speculation at more points than most others which can be named. The political economist is bound to ascertain the effects of luxury upon the production of wealth. The historian (if he possesses the genius and encyclopædic reading of M. Baudrillart) may unfold some of the vastest and most dazzling scenes in the drama of human affairs. He may follow the footsteps of progress from age to age, from country to country—from the age of stone (which had a luxury of its own) to the Victorian era. He must, in fact, write the history of civilization at once with the severity of a moralist, and with the indulgence of a rational being. The moralist will be taxed to the utmost in drawing the line between abusive luxury, with its superficial glitter and intrinsic rottenness, and that beneficent luxury which comes to soften human suffering, to lighten and reward human labour, to chase away some vices by its quiet magic, and to make the intercourse of human beings more and more worthy of creatures whose origin is so noble. The theologian will have no unworthy or unimportant task in striking the balance between the severity and the indulgence of the Gospel; in reverently making allowance for the noble exaggerations of genius and sanctity when they denounce selfishness and sensuality; in reconciling the genuine meaning of revelation with the necessary and providentially appointed path of human development and progress.

II. From the vast and varied story, traced through these four massive volumes by their eminent author with a patience that never fails and an interest that never flags, we propose to select a few heads of reflection which appear to us especially suitable to readers of this *Review*—those parts of this monument of genius and erudition which have most to do with Churchmen and Christians.

I. We ask, in the first place, how luxury stood, under the theocracy, among the Jewish people.

Both the fundamental principles of the religion of the Hebrews, and the social conditions under which they worked out their destiny, imposed considerable restrictions upon many developments of luxury.

Thus, both public edifices and private houses must have wanted much of the luxury of artistic ornament. Man must

pay a certain price for every blessing which he enjoys. We seem to be told that our salvation may, in some cases, demand the sacrifice of certain graceful capacities of human nature. The 'eye' of artistic taste, the educated 'hand' which executes the inspirations of genius, may require to be 'plucked out' or 'cut off.' The great nations, by whom the Jews were surrounded, displayed their opulent luxury. Kings, satraps, heroes, gods, are painted or graven on the gates and columns, where they remain like the record of a gorgeous dream. Egypt, from which the people came out, was peopled with its statues, glorious or awful with its pictured walls. But the temporary suppression of one splendid side of human genius, of one department of refined civilization, was the price paid by the Hebrews for their simple, sublime, spiritual Monotheism. Figures and images were prohibited, or reluctantly admitted by an exceptional permission: statuary and portrait-painting were, broadly speaking, illicit.¹ The emancipated people carried with them from the house of bondage none of the beautiful secrets of the art which covered chambers and monuments with colours which have not faded after so many thousand years, and still surprise us by their persistence and vivacity when exposed to the sunlight.

This, however, after all, is but one important detail of luxury. There was one leading constituent element of their whole condition and polity, defined by the will of God. The mode of life of the chosen people was to be mainly agricultural, severe and simple in its general character. The ideal of a happy and contented existence was life 'under the vine and fig-tree.'² The country, upon the whole, was naturally arid, with the exception of Galilee, which had glorious trees and yielded rich wines and the finest olive-oil. 'La petite propriété' was the rule, with a few marked exceptions.

'The Hebrew lawgiver,' says an eloquent writer, 'founds a people of peasant proprietors, among whom the land is equally divided. Such seemed the surest way of producing a moral, religious, and patriotic nation. And the paramount object of the property law is to preserve these peasant proprietors, and prevent their homesteads from being engrossed, as the homesteads of the peasant proprietors in Italy

¹ We may draw one illustration of the tendency of this restriction from an anecdote told by some traveller of a grand picture of the battle of Algiers, executed by a Mohammedan painter for a Mohammedan public. The sea, the ships, the batteries, were delineated not without skill. But behind or upon the fortifications lined with guns and wreathed with smoke, no artillerymen appeared, and the vessels showed no human figures on the decks or in the rigging!

² 1 Kings iv. 25; 2 Kings xviii. 31; Micah iv. 4; Zech. iii. 1.

were engrossed, by the rich capitalists, "who join house to house, and lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth." "The land is Mine" warns off the cupidity of the capitalist, and places each little inheritance under the guardianship of God.¹

A great proprietor, no doubt, occasionally appears;² but the general sentiment at first, in later times the prophetic spirit,³ looked with displeasure upon conspicuous infringements of the general equality. The course of the history incidentally shows the correctness of this general view. The wealthy farmer is apt to be hard and churlish. His luxury, if limited, is selfish. He has not the princely liberality, the frank eye, the open hand, of the feudal noble or of the magnificent pasha. Thus, however luxury may have made way in the capital, it never seems to have attained any considerable development in Judæa generally. The general condition of things described in the history of Israel brought with it two consequences which necessarily circumscribed the usual amplitude of Oriental luxury. In the first place, a nation of farmers would not have a retinue of slaves. Whatever scandals and troubles fell upon the chosen race (and they were not few), those which arose from slavery are nearly non-existent.⁴ In the second place, an agricultural society, like the Hebrew, has no tendency to favour the worst abuses of polygamy. In the farmer's household woman will be assigned a worthier place;⁵ she will be the companion and helper of man, not the tool of his caprices, the idol whom he loads with gems, then despises and breaks. Among the causes which restricted luxury, the interdict against *usury* must not be forgotten.

Thus, on the one hand, luxury was very restricted in the original draft and in the historical inception of the fortunes of Israel. Let it be remarked that the old covenant was a dispensation of temporal blessings. Still the promised blessings are of nature and agricultural prosperity—the rain and dew, the bread and fruit, the wine and oil—not showers of

¹ *Does the Bible sanction American Slavery?* by Goldwin Smith, pp. 78, 79.

² E. g. Boaz, Ruth ii. 1; Nabal, 1 Sam. xxv. 2; Ziba, 2 Sam. xvi. 1; Shobi, Machir, Barzillai, 2 Sam. xvii. 27, xix. 32.

³ Isaiah v. 8.

⁴ 1 Kings i. 39, where two of Shimei's slaves run away. 'This, it is believed, is the sum-total of slave disturbance recorded in the annals of the Hebrew race.' Cf., however, Nabal's saying, 1 Sam. xxv. 11, with 1 Sam. xxii. 2. The slaves, male and female, of the 42,360 who returned to Jerusalem, were 7337. Nehem. vii. 67. See Goldwin Smith, *ut sup.* p. 90.

⁵ See Prov. xxxi. 10 sqq.

gold and gems ; the fruitful wife, the exuberant family, peace, security, not pomp and wealth.¹ Yet, on the other hand, objects of luxury are not absolutely unknown at any period of Jewish history,² and the Hebrews at all times were more or less influenced by the example of neighbouring nations.³

There was, then, something of the sternness of republican parity in the original conception of the Jewish polity. Evidently there were *moral* dangers dreaded from the superfluity of Oriental royal luxury. A boundless lust, degrading the nation as well as the monarch, might cover itself with the specious veil of patriotic splendour. The arrogance engendered by a degree of wealth unusual in an austere community might fill a monarch with ruinous caprices.⁴ The old prophet's voice has in it the democratic ring, the half-satirical freedom which stirs the fibres of a proud nation :—

‘This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you : He will take your sons . . . he will take your daughters . . . and he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards . . . and he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your goodliest young men . . . and put them to his work ; he will take the tenth of your sheep, and ye shall be his servants.’⁵

Such, put with the strong rhetoric of passionate common sense, are the arguments which a free people worthy of its freedom finds irresistible in times of peace. But days come to such a race when a war-storm of many confederate clouds gathers over their boundaries. Everything then yields to the sense of security which is afforded by feeling that the reins are gathered in one strong hand. Most Oriental people are intensely capable of worshipping ‘Nothing in a gold coat,’ and of falling prostrate before the outward signs of a strength which does not exist. The Hebrews asked for a strong man at least. Let it only be evident that he *was* strong, and he should have the most absolute power. They might dislike a court, its splendours, guards, imitations of foreign ideas, in short its luxury ; but they must have absolute power, even if it involved all this.

The progress of royal luxury was suspended during the rough days of the first king. Saul at first seems to have changed little or nothing of his old mode of life. ‘Behold ! Saul came after the herd out of the field.’ As we read the words we think of the splendid language in which Pliny

¹ Levit. xxvi. 3 *sqq.*

² Gen. xxiv. 22, 30, 53, xxxviii. 18 ; Exod. xxx. 2, 4.

³ E. g. Judges vii. 27. ⁴ Deut. xvii. 15, 18. ⁵ 1 Sam. viii. 10-19.

describes the ploughing of the patriot Consul.¹ Luxury in Israel really begins with David.² The prestige of his unparalleled achievements, his poetry, music, personal endowments, prepared for him unbounded allowance, and made him the darling of the songs of Israel. His beginning as a king was quiet and unostentatious; but we may note with pain the sad increase of the most fatal form of luxury, flaunting itself publicly at last within Jerusalem³ immediately after the memorable act which made that city the capital of the dynasty of David.⁴ To trace the history of Solomon in reference to our present subject would require more space than is occupied by this article. The luxury of Solomon was developed in his royal residence, in his personal splendour and equipments, in the sculpture and decorative moulding, including animal forms, which he employed.

This branch of our subject would indeed be imperfectly discussed if we did not remark that Hebrew public luxury—for so many ages poor and unprogressive as regards man—was always profuse, and even splendid, in all that concerns the worship of God. First, in the wilderness when God made known to His people that He would no longer commune with them from the awful mountain peaks circled with clouds, but in the quiet of a visible place; a reverent liberality sought to give to the Tent of Meeting such beauty and splendour as was possible. Metals were applied in profusion—gold, silver, and brass. The gold was pure, such as loses nothing by the action of fire. It was used both in masses and also for plating the cover of fine acacia wood. The silver was also used both in bulk and to plate the capitals of the pillars. When it is remembered that the talent of silver was worth about 400*l.*, and the talent of gold from 4000*l.* to 6000*l.*, we shall see that the amount of precious metal carried out of Egypt and offered for the service of God was vast indeed.⁵ Colours have ever been enjoyed in the land of the sun. Philosophers have found reason for supposing that even among the Greeks the perception of those secondary qualities of bodies which are called *colours* was slowly developed. Among the Hebrews it was not so.

¹ 'Gaudente terrâ vomere laureato et triumphali aratore.'

² Yet, as M. Baudrillart remarks, there is an interesting note of Saul's influence upon public and female luxury in 2 Sam. i. 24.

³ 'David went up thither' (unto Hebron) 'and his two wives' (2 Sam. ii. 2). 'And David took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem, after he was come from Hebron.' (*Ib.* v. 13.)

⁴ 2 Sam. v. 4-10.

⁵ Baehr, *Symbolik*, i. 259, 260.

Violet, blue, purple, and crimson were employed with linen and wool-stuffs, goats' hair, ram-skins, and badger-skins.¹

It is sometimes asked whether that structure to which the Christian imagination almost instinctively turns as the type of all that is magnificent in earthly wealth—

‘That dim bright place, where faintest odours flow
From cedar-flowers eternally in blow,’

the Temple of Solomon—had really any of that character of beauty and vastness with which we invest it. An eminent Orientalist² (quoted by M. Baudrillart) writes:—

‘The inexperience of the Hebrews in architectural matters made them consider the work of Solomon as a *unique* model. The truth is that, as compared with the vast and grandiose edifices of Egypt and of Chaldea, it was just what their empire itself was as compared with the other empires of antiquity. It was a petty temple for a petty people.’³

But if the Temple differed from the enormous pagodas which were big rather than great, at least its proportions were fine. It was beautiful as well as enormously rich. The grandeur of the colouring, the choirs and music, the vast display of vessels of gold and silver, the religious solemnity and magnificence of the ceremonial, must have invested the place with an austere pomp of its own.

It only remains for us to add under this division of our subject that luxury is contagious, and that in Judæa private followed close upon royal luxury. Many passages lead us to conclude that the houses of wealthy individuals expanded into colossal proportions; that they were ceiled and wainscoted with odoriferous woods, provided with expensive furniture inlaid with ivory, glittering with gold or silver,⁴ gorgeous with the richest colours. Women wore dresses of fine materials, and displayed exquisite jewelry.⁵ The passion for scents asserted its sway no less than in other eastern countries. The bridegroom and spouse in the Canticles are steeped and saturated with perfumes; they wander under a

¹ Kalisch, *Exodus*, 499.

² M. Maspero.

³ *Histoire du Luxe*, tom. i. 447.

⁴ Prov. vii. 16, 17; Amos vi. 4; Jerem. xxii. 13, 14.

⁵ Cant. i. 9, 10. ‘These two verses speak for themselves. They show, incidentally but explicitly, that, at the time of Solomon, women arranged along their cheeks rows of pearls or fine stones, which, passing under the chin, encircled the face. As for collars, one of the verses shows that the most elegant were composed of pearls of gold sewed and intermingled with studs of silver’ (M. de Saulcy, *Histoire de l’Art Judaïque*, 328).

cloud of scents,¹ and inhale the breath of delicate flowers.² The later history and the prophets alike tell us, in forms which cannot be mistaken, of the fascination which luxury added to Jewesses. We see that even the good and pure Esther is capable of calculating upon her attractions. As she turns fiercely round upon the enemies of her faith and of her race, we can understand what such a nature would have been if it had been inflamed by the fires of earthly passion, and not by those which are kindled from the purer altar of patriotism and religion. The later story of Judith in the Apocrypha shows us how deeply the beauty and the daring of the women of Judæa were recognized by those who came in contact with the Jews. There are sadder and darker texts which prove that this beauty, so full of dangerous fire and still more dangerous languor, was capable of a depth of degradation (when it yielded to the contagion of an impure and pagan worship)—capable of excesses wherein the proselytes outstripped the original votaries of Milcom and Ashtaroth.³

Among the Jews there has at all times been a sound moral basis, a manly and lofty standard by which to estimate luxury. Minds pervaded from childhood by the severe sententious morality of the Book of Proverbs would be apt to scorn the indolent softness which unnerves the fibres of manhood in the atmosphere of luxury. The luxurious man does not like to be referred to the ant, or to be told sarcastically

¹ Cant. iii. 6, iv. 3, II, 16, v. 5.

² 'I read the "Song of Songs"—I thought it pure,
The very flame of the full love of God;
And over it there hung the clear obscure
Of Syrian night, and scents were blown abroad
Whose very names breathe on us mystic breath—
Myrrh, and the violet-striped habatseleth.

'Strange words of beauty hung upon mine ear—
Semadar, that is scent and flower in one
Of the young vine-blooms in the prime of the year;
Senir, Amana, Carmel, Lebanon,
Eloquent of rivers and of mountain-trees,
Dim in the oriental distances;—

'And purple paradise of pomegranate flowers,
Kopher, kinnámon, balsam, wealth of nard,
And things that thickets fill in summer hours,
Blue as a sky white-clouded, golden-starr'd,
Whereby we may surmise not far from thence
Mountains of myrrh and hills of frankincense.'

(*St. Augustine's Holiday and other Poems*, by the Bishop of Derry, p. 27.

³ For the prostitution on the high places, with its strange abominations, see 2 Kings xxiii. 7; Ezek. xvi. 15, 17.

about 'a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep.'¹ He who was nurtured upon the sublime poetry of Job had heard at least a magnificent catalogue of the most precious objects of luxury; but onyx or sapphire, pearl or topaz, coral or crystal, sink into worthlessness when compared with wisdom.² The influence of this sane and manly tone of thought could not but be some preservative against the perils of a dissolvent and materialized luxury. The last days of Judaism brought some temptation in that direction. Under the Roman domination Herod's magnificent construction was reared. The arches of the gates of the restored Temple were garnished with brilliant hangings ornamented with exquisite shapes of flowers. A golden vine ran round the cornices. The capitals of the Corinthian pillars and the roofs were finely sculptured. The gigantic golden eagle placed over the principal gate was broken in an irresistible burst of popular indignation. All this gave impetus to a movement which covered Judæa with fine buildings. The remains of Cæsarea attest the splendour of that city of marble. Jerusalem itself had a sumptuous theatre and a circus outside the walls. These were the last moments of luxury for Judaism in decadence. The spirit of soft and captivating superfluity felt that it had no congenial home upon that sacred soil, and expired with the denunciations of prophets ringing in its ears.

2. We pass to another investigation of peculiar interest to Christians and Churchmen. What was the condition of luxury in the Roman Empire during the first eventful years of its contact with the kingdom of God? How was luxury regarded by the immortal masters of Christian theology and oratory?

Everyone knows that a prodigal and insensate luxury grew with the growth of Roman royalty.³ Not only did villas of marble rise with a vast magnificence: flowers were cultivated of a costliness beyond that of our most extravagant orchids. Under Otho and Nero an Oriental passion for

¹ Prov. vi. 6, xxiv. 30 *sqq.*

² Job xxviii. 12, 20.

³ St. Augustine, disputing the position of Sallust, that the period between the second and third Punic war was the golden era of Roman virtue and manners, writes thus: 'Tunc primum per Cn. Manlium de Gallogræcis triumphantem, Asiatica luxuria Romam, omni hoste pejor, irrepsit. Tunc enim primum lecti ærati et pretiosa stragula visa perhibentur; tunc inductæ in convivia psaltriæ, et alia licentiosa nequitia.' (*De Civ. Dei*, iii. 21.) The passage is important, both as marking an historical epoch, and as an indication of the severity of St. Augustine's view.

perfumes was widely spread among the rich. Pliny writes of precious odours as being among 'the least satisfactory of expensive luxuries.' Pearls and gems are a locked-up form of capital, and infructuous for the present; but at least they pass on to our heirs. Silks and stuffs are frightfully dear; but they have in their best form a considerable duration. Perfumes, after a fleeting moment, pass away. They do little practical good, unless it may be to direct attention to some coquette as she passes by, and are sold at many guineas a pound.¹ A frivolous art, not without delicate ingenuity, saturated artificial flowers with appropriate perfumes. The roses of Pæstum and the violets of Parma filled the table with sweetness; scent and colour combined to make the illusion perfect. Extravagance in plate and personal jewelry accompanied the more conspicuous part played by women in society. Diamonds were comparatively unknown or unappreciated; but rubies, sapphires, and amethysts commanded enormous prices. An immense emerald was used as an eye-glass by the short-sighted Nero. Banquets were followed by exhibitions of unutterable obscenity. The *vomitorium* is the odious witness to a more than brutal gluttony. Dishes acquired a savour from odious cruelty or insensate extravagance. The udder of the sow acquired a relish when the animal had been kicked to death. The tongues of parroquets and nightingales exhausted a small fortune with little gratification of the palate; and pearls were said to be melted down that wicked fools might boast of swallowing thousands of pounds in some liquid of no peculiar delicacy.

This odious kind of luxury did not fail to bring down upon itself the censure of Roman philosophy. The censure, if a little theatric and conventional, was not entirely dishonest. In truth, neither Stoicism nor Epicureanism had any sympathy with this sort of thing. The orthodox Epicureanism of Epicurus himself aimed at a tranquil happiness. Intemperance leaves consequences which far outweigh any momentary sensation of pleasure. Privation is the salt of life, the austere secret of rational enjoyment. The feast has a twofold zest when it is preceded by a fast. To depend upon a luxury of which a man may be deprived by an unlucky investment or by ill-health is not the part of wisdom. It is much nearer the point to say that Epicureanism is 'the morality of a convent *minus* its religion' than to brand it as the system of a human hog. The Stoic outdid the most luxurious in that

¹ *Hist. Nat.* lib. xiii.

species of ostentation which is one of the chief ingredients in the luxury of some natures. He wore tattered clothes, and was said not to avoid offending the nostrils of delicate companions; but he met pride in silk and essences with an intenser pride in rags and stench. To the Stoic luxury was an unmitigated humiliation; to the Epicurean it was an unmitigated bore.

Ancient philosophy spoke a language at least which was pitilessly rigouristic. Under the Roman Emperors it had ample justification. Ancient luxury was evil to the very root, poisoned at the springs, vile in essence, unredeemed by elegance, or pity, or patriotism, or aspiration after general improvement. It was immoral in the forms which it assumed, in the objects which it desired, in the monotonousness of its extravagance, in the fierceness of its self-concentration. It fed the sanguinary fascination of conquest by calling for the spoils of wealthy provinces, for the creations of foreign art, for hordes of slaves, the tools of lust and of caprice. If the hand of Tacitus underscores the wicked luxury of Tiberius and of Roman society generally with his darkest lines, there is no literary exaggeration for effect. There is the power of a deeply felt moral condemnation behind the master's pencil. But Sallust's invective against luxury is the insincere performance of a master of style. If Juvenal's verse occasionally swells into the loftiness of unfeigned indignation; if the turpitude of the vice at which humanity shudders,¹ or the gluttony *in excelsis* which brings the majesty of state to bear upon the dressing of

‘Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi,’²

is blasted by the prolonged fierceness of that unrivalled contempt, we can yet detect something of the convenient and calculating morality which allowed the satirist, who struck off his lines at white heat, to wait for the death of the Emperor before publishing them to the world. Juvenal and the elder Pliny sometimes are affected rather than real rigourists. Seneca still more frequently allows himself to condemn refinements which are not only innocent but laudable—architecture, cookery, dresses, industry, riches, the activities without which human society becomes a sordid and fetid pool.³

In these exaggerations there may have been, and there was, something that was not wanting in nobility and in practical good. Lofty abstract ideas on this and on other subjects are no doubt dangerous for creatures like ourselves, and

¹ *Satir.* vi.

² *Ibid.* iv.

³ *Ad Lucil.* 5; *De Benef.* vii. 9.

dangerous in proportion to their grandeur. Hypocrisy delights in being virtuous vicariously in the imagination and in literature, because hypocrisy never intends that these sublime speculations shall cost it an effort. There are abject creatures who never fail to air their ideal maxims. Pecksniff, shaking his fist at a beggar just whilst he exclaims that 'sympathy is the holiest principle of our common nature,' is of a piece with Sallust enlarging his gardens and bringing together the marbles for his villa from a plundered province, with magnificent utterances upon his lips of Roman faith and frugality, which captivate us still by their perfect finish. Yet the expression of these high conceptions, if perilous for the inconsistent writer, tends to keep up loftier ideals before humanity.

But something more was wanted for the restoration of mankind, degraded in its most powerful representatives by luxury in its basest form. Literary declamation, even literary genius sincerely directed to the reformation of an inveterate evil, cannot do much. A new *life* is wanted—a new power animating that life. Men must be born again before they can have even eyes 'to see the kingdom of God,' much less feet 'to enter into' it.¹ The Gospel alone can deal effectually with *luxury*.

The Stoics, we have seen, attack luxury as a *degradation*, the Epicureans as a *nuisance*. The Gospel establishes constructively two principles which kill out all that is deadly in it, and leave all that is useful and wholesome free development. Its answer to luxury is contained in two propositions. First, suffering, the antithesis of luxury, is made divine by the Man of sorrows. Secondly, 'a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.'² It is said (upon the strength of a few isolated and superficially understood texts) that our Lord and the Apostles condemn riches, even the various forms of property in themselves. Three eternal principles stand out clearly and distinctly as the refutation of this wild rant: (1) One of the duties most constantly inculcated is *almsgiving*—not capriciously, but permanently, and upon principle. But it is simply absurd to command almsgiving, unless the person to whom the injunction is addressed possesses *property*. (2) Nearly half of our Lord's whole

¹ John iii. 3, 5.

² 'Not in the fact of superfluity existing to a man' (οὐκ ἐν τῷ περισσεύειν τινι) is his true and higher life, as though it were a product which springs out of the things which he possesses' (ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ).—Luke xii. 15.

teaching is unmeaning, except upon the assumption that the Church will continue, and be a final and permanent condition of human society. Much of the Saviour's language contains principles and commands which are unintelligible without the assumption of a state of society not existing when He spoke, but certainly to be realized in the sequel, even upon the earth. Yet, with the fortunes of humanity and of the Church full before Him, He tells us of the persistence of the great division of mankind into rich and poor—those who have property and those who have not.¹ (3) The assertion of the possessor's absolute right, in the last analysis, to private property is made in the most unqualified way, both by Christ and by one of His Apostles.²

Yet it is not to be denied that, when we pass from Scripture to antiquity, several teachers of the highest name threw out a loose and inaccurate doctrine about *property*. They appeared to look upon it as a fact, barricaded by conventional institutions, barely justifiable by prescription or by necessity. St. Ambrose has said that 'all goods should be in common, and all men equal;' and again that 'usurpation has created private property.' St. Basil takes up the idea of Cicero, and compares the earth, which is ever growing more strictly and completely appropriated, to a crammed theatre, which will not allow the late arrivals to find places.³ Indeed it may be said that some eminent fathers appear to accept the position that property is a usurpation at root, but one which has been consecrated by usage, by practical convenience, and by the terrible evils which would result from its overthrow. *Alms*, then, they do not hesitate to say, is not strictly and precisely a *gift*; it is a restitution of that which has been in a sense usurped—a holy and acceptable restitution, which hallows the whole lump. St. Augustine's doctrine generally appears to be that private property comes entirely from the State or from its representatives.⁴ St. Jerome may have gone further and

¹ Not only in the first two synoptics (Matt. xxvi. 6; Mark xiv. 7), but in the fourth Gospel (John xii. 8).

² Matt. xx. 15; Acts v. 4.

³ *De Offic.* lib. i. 28. At a gathering about the time of the Queen's Jubilee, Mr. Holyoake used a still stronger illustration in the same spirit. Fifty years ago 'the outlook of the industrial classes of England was very Siberian.' 'Of sixteen millions of the people who were entitled to sit down and be fed at Nature's ample board, one million usurped all the good places, and the waiters very seldom and very scantily attended to the other fifteen.'

⁴ 'Ecce sunt villæ: quo jure defendis villas? divino an humano? Respondeant: Divinum jus in Scripturis habemus, humanum jus in legibus regum. . . . Pauperes et divites una terra supportat. Jure tamen humano

said in his strong way that 'every rich man is a rogue or the heir of a rogue.'¹ But the lesson which these fathers draw, even in their most excited moods—even when they are thrilled by the presence of the wronged or neglected poor—is never communism or revolution. Again and again the lesson is—for the rich *charity*, for the poor *resignation*. No doubt the orator was sometimes swept along by a storm of indignation or of pathos. Let us be bold enough to fling our glove at the long-vaunted 'dignity of the pulpit' as practised by Georgian Anglicanism. A pronounced (sometimes *very* pronounced) element of satire is not wanting in the great preachers of Catholic antiquity. Indeed, of any preacher who has not some elements of satire, even of a certain grave and subdued humour, it will probably be felt—'behold, he was honourable among the thirty, but attained not to the first three.' And with this it was sometimes more than implied that there was really a sort of original sin about private property—a red letter branded upon it which required to be washed out. But, if this were assumed to be the case with landed property, capital was considered to occupy even a worse position. It had no intrinsic right to be prolific, like the beast or the fruit-tree. A fortune made by interest was rudely handled. Interest, at any rate, however moderate, was stigmatized as usury. The truth is that saints are not political economists any more than they are mathematicians by the grace of God. In respect to this question, Calvin scored a point for Protestantism. With an acuteness which should tell with Geneva and Edinburgh, he has proved the *legitimacy* of interest, and even exhibited something like a prophetic insight into its marvellous *fecundity*.

But, if landed property is a quasi-usurpation, and if interest is scarcely legitimate, the whole position of the man of property lies in a false atmosphere and is seen in a deceptive light. We cannot go even with St. Augustine when he says rhetorically that 'to possess superfluity is to possess something of another's,' or that 'superfluity for the rich means necessity for the poor. The rich steals from the poor what he does not give.' On a question of economical science we are no more dicit, *Hæc villa mea est, hæc domus mea, hic servus meus est. Jure ergo humano, jure imperatorum.* Quare? Quia ipsa jura humana per imperatores et reges sæculi Deus distribuit generi humano. Noli dicere possessiones tuas: *quia ad ipsa jura humana renunciasti, quibus possidentur possessiones.*' (*In Johann. Evang. Tract. vii. 25-6, tom. iii. 1456-57, edit. Migne.*)

¹ 'Omnis dives aut iniquus, aut hæres iniqui.'

bound by an utterance even of the greatest of the Fathers than by the *obiter dicta* of his scanty physiology. The experience of more than a thousand years, the slowly collected wisdom of civilized humanity, proves that as property in general augments the gifts of humanity, so interest helps and elevates the masses of the people. Industry employs and moralizes, and industry can scarcely exist without superfluity. The triple divine cord which binds together rich and poor, which interlaces Christian society, has three threads—charity, alms, *labour*. Let it always be remembered that the dignity of labour owes its first recognition to the New Testament.¹ The Christian Fathers have, in some instances, used angry language, and drawn inflamed pictures of the luxurious rich. This, however, was generally for the benefit of such people themselves, and always in the interest of Christ's poor. And the action of Christian thought slowly but surely tended to correct any excess of vituperative doctrine; while the utilitarianism, at once judicious and pious, of Aquinas² used the strong good sense of Aristotle to qualify the lofty but perilous idealism of Plato, which perhaps misled the speculative genius of the African Bishop, of whom it was so profoundly said, 'quicquid dicitur in Platone, vivit in Augustino.'³

There are two objects against which certain of the Fathers direct their artillery—the first as a source, the second as a manifestation, of luxury. In Tertullian, in Jerome, the style becomes for the time worldly to paint the woman of the world. On this subject we have sometimes the fiercest swell of invective, sometimes the tenderest touch of pity. In Jerome especially there is a minute acuteness of observation which a comic

¹ This, it is noteworthy, occurs in the *earliest* of the Apostolic Epistles, 1 Thessal. iv. 11, 12; 2 Thessal. iii. 7-12. See *The Speaker's Commentary*, *in loc.*, for the force of this.

² The moderation and good sense of the Angelic Doctor are far from any fierce denunciation of private possessions. 'Those seeking after negation of all property to such an extent that they will not have superfluity to the extent of a day's food or a single penny, and so on, we see clearly to be often so utterly deceived that they cannot bring their purpose to any seemly end.' (*Summa T.* 2^a 2^m, q. clxxxviii. art. 7.) On the foundations of property he is clear and strong. 'Private property is necessary to human life for three reasons: (1) With common property the wholesome stimulus to labour would be extinct, and society would fester in idleness. (2) Every one would be busy with the whole indistinctly, and the family and home would perish. (3) The general peace would be broken up by interminable quarrels about an undivided possession.' (*S. T.* 2^a 2^m, q. lxvi. art. 1.)

³ Socratic communism, as delineated by Plato in the *Republic* (v. 437, 462), is criticized by Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 1, 2).

dramatist might envy. He paints the rich mundane devotee,¹ airing her ecclesiastical notions, rich, stately, epicurean, well made-up, too probably not without vices. He has, for a saint, a curious knowledge of the intricacies of the toilette. Jewels have apparently a kind of fascination for him. The dandy ecclesiastic, especially the 'masher' or gallant deacon, is the object of a contemptuous dislike, in the expression of which he contrives to amass a very dictionary of explosives. But through all, with the instinct of a saint and with the science of a sage, he holds with a grasp of iron two principles which lie at the root of all that is best in Christian society—luxury can only be reformed by woman; woman can only be reformed by Church education.

3. We turn to the subject of religious luxury.

An impartial study of antiquity will show that the principle of magnificence, the ritual instinct inseparable from faith in worship, was, in early ages, imperfectly developed. This, of course, arose partly from the repression of persecution. Clearly also, while paganism was dominant, there was a jealousy of the admission of anything which might be abused by heathen superstition. Slowly, as if half reluctantly, the choir was permitted to swell the harmonies which affect the senses as well as the intelligence. More slowly still, the organ conquered a certain jealousy of instrumental music. The Cross expanded into the more palpable agony, into the deeper pathos, of the crucifix.² A religion which sprang from Judaism, which had

¹ 'He paints her going abroad in a rich litter, escorted by footmen, her colour rosy, her cheek soft and rounded, flattered even by some of the clergy. After a sumptuous dinner she is not always so clear as before, and yet "she will speak of religion and maunder about Apostles." She is wretchedly affected. "Avoid," cries the saint, "avoid the pride of humility." One is tempted to think of Molière in presence of this false devotee of the fourth century—all renouncement and earnestness in public, all softness and pleasure in private. She takes the lowest stool in the assemblies. She speaks in a weak and languishing voice, to let it be known that she is worn with fasting. She leans upon the shoulders of ladies near her, as if going to faint. She wears a dress of a dirty brown, a cincture of leather. To these hypocritical women we shall take up the warning of the prophet—"God shall scatter the bones of those who trust in lying."—*Histoire du Luxe*, ii. 434, 435.

² We give this thought in the shape in which it has been presented by a writer quoted once before. He is speaking of Augustine and his company at Cassiciacum:—

'And oft I meditate what round they made
Of solemn usage and of stately form,
On what fair frame of visible things they stay'd;
What music fell in tears or rose in storm,
What soft imaginative rites they had,
With what investiture their faith they clad.

two sets of sacred books, whereof the first contains a space equal to eighty chapters upon the externals of religion, while the second describes the worship of the hereafter (possibly under an imagery derived from worship already existing, where it could be used with some freedom)—*must* sooner or later clothe itself in a sublime ritual.

Has that ritual never been extravagant, excessive, injurious to the simplicity of religion, degrading to its majesty? Assuredly it has been so, and is so now. Let us invite attention to M. Baudrillart's interesting pages upon 'The Influence of Luxury on Art and Worship in Byzantium.'

'Not then the church rose visibly encrown'd,
No mighty minster tower'd majestic yet,
No organ gave its plenitude of sound,
And on the Alpine pinnacle was set
No carven King whose crown is of the thorn,
No Calvary crimson in the southern morn.

'No miracle of beauty and of woe
Look'd from the wall, or for the rood was hewn,
No colour'd sunlight fell on the floor below.
Under the silver of the Italian moon,
No visible throng of angels made their home
On the white wonder of the Gothic dome.

'Yet, fed with inward beauty through the years,
Much did the Church's mind anticipate
Of more majestic fanes, more tuneful tears,
Simplicity more touching, nobler state.
—So the pale bud, where quietly it grows,
Dreams itself on superbly to the rose.

'Questions by meditative wisdom ask'd
Must wait for answer till the hour beseems;
Souls were as yet unborn severely task'd
To give interpretation to such dreams;
Shapes by the master-hands as yet unfreed
Slept in the massive marble of the Creed.

'The picture slept within the Gospel story;
The music slept on psalms as on a sea;
In a dim dawn before its dawn of glory
The poem slept, a thought that was to be.
The schoolmen's syllogisms, a countless train,
Were folded in the strong and subtle brain.

'Christ said, "I need them." Out the colour sprang;
The music wail'd and triumph'd down the aisles;
With voices like the forest's poets sang;
Invisible thoughts grew visible in smiles—
In smiles, and tears, and songs, and the exact
Majestic speech by centuries compact.

(*St. Augustine's Holiday and other Poems.* By the Bishop of Derry.
Pp. 9, 10.)

'In the present day we like to discover faults in works which have held long admiration, and qualities in those which have been looked down on with the contempt of centuries. If this application of the evangelical maxim, which "abases the mighty and exalts the humble," to the critic of arts and letters is not quite happy, yet it has its true side.

'It would be wrong to think ourselves authorized to rehabilitate Byzantine art, though it has certain relative merits, which do not however in the least take away from its character of corrupt art and of decadence. The best critics who lived at that epoch and the most competent judges of our own time are unanimous in referring this corruption—to a certain point brilliant—of Byzantine art, to the immoderate taste for pomp.

'This is apparent in the most serious of arts—the strong art *par excellence*—architecture. It is heavy, laboured, complicated to a degree. It aims less at attaining harmonious proportions than at covering immense sites with vast edifices. The first type of this ambitious architecture, magnificent without purity and without sobriety of form, is to be found in the superb porphyry palace raised by Constantine to lodge imperial majesty for centuries, and which sheltered the sombre dramas of the Greek empire. It is indeed less a palace than a heap of palaces and churches doubled by a fortress. In this colossal palace all styles are confounded, as it aims at all. One can see from afar the golden domes and the glittering cupolas of its numerous sanctuaries. It has an incredible abundance of accessories, of gardens and of parks ornamented with foreign richness, peopled with statues, filled with fountains of water splashing into marble basins. In the interior of the apartments is a profusion of gold lavished under every form, inlaid floors, images of saints or ancestors in enamel on a gold ground, and all that can arrest and dazzle the sight.

'The palaces of the great are only reproductions of this model of magnificence.

'No doubt the object was to make converted Gentiles forget in the pomp of these religious edifices that which surrounded their idols. The excessive custom of covering the whole interior of churches with paintings or mosaics standing out effectively in bright colours on a gilded background, received encouragement from the fathers of the Greek Church, which they justified by their wish to represent a great number of sacred subjects for the use of edifying. How would it be possible not to be struck in the churches by the abuse of gilded wainscots, of marble, of coloured images, of the superb shrine and the rich *ex-voto*? The sacerdotal vestments covered with gold and the illumination of the wax tapers complete this picture with a magnificence which has its place in worship with the arts, but which after that period threatened more than once to miss its object by passing beyond it.

'Taking pomp for beauty, the State only aggravated the evil. It is curious to see a Procopius, in speaking of the numerous edifices raised by Justinian, assigning to him as a merit all the ornaments which only appeared defects to a small number of judges still faithful to the principles of Plato and Aristotle, of Phidias and Apelles.

‘Procopius goes into ecstasies before the idolatry of precious material preferred to form ; he admires in painting the multiplicity, the shock of colours, the glitter of gold intermingled without method, and the glaring contrast of red and white.

‘The panegyrists put their contemporaneous painters, who could not draw and were utterly without taste, before the masters of Greece. They do not even praise the seductive aspects of Byzantine art, the style of the draperies, the truth, the expression of certain heads ; but the profusion of gold to be seen everywhere is the principal object of their admiration.

‘Thus, civil architecture and religious architecture, the decoration of houses and temples show the same corruption. Let the historians of art criticize these walls covered over with mosaics, with pictures imprinted in plaster or stucco ; that accumulation of unheard-of articles in gold and silver, rich with engravings, with niello, with enamels, with bas-reliefs ; these vases rising like pyramids in all the corners of the saloons, beside cups of emerald and jasper worked in the East, and graceful pottery, almost as precious, wrought at Athens, at Rhodes, and at Syracuse. If the doors of the apartments, the chairs, the beds, the coffers, were not ivory, ebony, bronze, solid silver, or plated silver, a painter was commissioned to decorate them. The opulent houses, not only in Constantinople but in the principal towns of the Greek Empire, showed in their furnishing this overloaded and excessive richness.

‘Eye and thought alike grow weary in following the incrustations of gold and precious stones on chairs, thrones, beds, and tables of that period. The pen is tired of enumerating all these forms of precious material worked in, and tormented into a hundred shapes—the very style which has always excited the enthusiasm of men in the debased times of morality and art.

‘Luxury, which invaded the monuments of worship, also invaded the ceremonies.

‘It was not possible that the ceremonies should retain their primitive simplicity. Nay, they were allowed to fall into another extreme.

‘The Christian worship, heir of the splendours of paganism under certain relations, notwithstanding the infinitely superior ideas symbolized by its own magnificence, seemed to take an emulative pride in grasping at all opportunities of striking the imagination of the people by the excessive pomp of its representations. Baptisms of great personages, dedications of new churches, all furnished pretexts for imposing solemnities, and (as Fléchier himself remarks in his *Vie de Théodose*) “for a too profane luxury.”

Constantine had set an example by the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and his son Ruffinus had imitated it in the consecration of the golden temple at Antioch.

“Ruffinus,” says Fléchier, “had these great examples before him, and mixing a little religion with a great deal of pomp and ostentation,

he convoked the bishops from all parts of the East, especially those who sat in the highest seats. He even implored the most famous solitaries of Egypt, in repeated letters, to leave their solitude in order to come and assist at this celebrated ceremony. The rank which he held in the empire, of which he had the chief direction under the Prince Arcadius, made many of the bishops start when they received the first notice, and take with them the most saintly personages of their provinces. The assembly was very numerous. There were three patriarchs : Nectarius of Constantinople, Theophilus of Alexandria, and Flavian of Antioch ; Gregory Bishop of Nyssa, Amphilocheus of Iconium, Paul of Hierapolis, Dioscorus of Helenope, and several other celebrated prelates, were among the first to arrive. The heads of the nobility and clergy, and an infinite multitude of people, flocked to it, some to do honour to the festival, others to pay their court to the favourite, and many to satisfy their curiosity. It was in the month of September that the ceremony took place. The church was hung with rich tapestries, the altar gleamed with gold and precious stones. The consecration took place with all the order and magnificence that could be wished. When the offices were ended they proceeded with the same pomp to the baptism of Ruffinus. The patriarch, Nectarius, administered the sacrament, and the famous Evagrius of Pontus received on his coming up from the laver this regenerated being—who did not long preserve his innocence. So ended the solemnity, which would have been one of the holiest and most imposing of the Eastern Church if it had not been accompanied with a profane luxury ; and if this minister had not wished to recover from the people by unjust exactions the vast sums which he appeared to have devoted to God upon this occasion.”¹ The celebrated basilica of Constantinople has been compared to the stable of Bethlehem ; and, unquestionably, in spite of its riches, recalls something of the simplicity of Christianity by its general plan and by a grandeur mixed with grace. We can also justly praise in several of these sanctuaries the majesty of the Roman wealth, the general elegance of the accessory constructions, and (from the time of Theodosius) the many-tinted windows, which promote pious recollection in the sanctuary. But an exaggerated magnificence penetrates into the interior, as it overloads the exterior, of these religious edifices. We find a mixture of profane and sacred ideas, justly calculated to wound an exacting sentiment, and even taste itself, in its conception of suitability. There is some notion of encouraging art in the Imperial edicts. The greatest of artists are even designated in the Theodosian code. Yet into what contempt had the idea of Beauty fallen ! The fine arts and the mechanical arts are put on the same level. The painter and the sculptor are *artisans*, precisely on the same line with the workers of stucco and lead, and all others employed in the mechanical construction of edifices.’²

¹ Fléchier, *Vie de Théodose*. Quoted by M. Baudrillart, *ut sup.*

² ‘Influence of Luxury on Art and Worship in Byzantium.’ *Histoire du Luxe*, tom. iii.

Or, if Byzantium is too distant and too ancient, let us consider the churches of Spain. We read of a curious luxury within these sanctuaries—parterres of grass and flowers; fountains whose spouted waters fell back into troughs; marble or porphyry columns with orange-trees ranged round them, in gilded or porcelain vessels. The jasmine ran in odorous lines along the inner wall of the church. Birds of bright feather and sweet song flew from twig to twig. The walls and columns were incrustated with marble. The tabernacle was so heavy with metal and ornament that it required to be carried by thirty strong men. If the altar-plate was magnificent with oriental gems and large diamonds, Christian feeling could not be dissatisfied. But what of the robe and crown, the millinery and jewellery, of the image of the Madonna? Hear the Comtesse d'Aulnoy, wife of the French ambassador to Spain in the reign of Charles II., describe the Escorial; that 'translation into stone of religion linked with force.'

'I seemed,' wrote the observant lady,¹ 'to be entering one of those enchanted places spoken of in romance. The tabernacle, the architecture of the altar table, the steps by which one ascends it, the ciborium made of a single piece of silver, are so many miracles. The richness in jewellery and gold is something past belief. One armoury of relics alone (there are *four* in four chapels of the church) far surpasses the treasures of St. Mark's at Venice. The ornaments of the church are embroidered with pearls and gems. The chalices and the vases are of precious stones; the candlesticks and lamps of pure gold. There are forty chapels and as many altars, which are covered with forty different cloths every day. The front of the high altar is composed of four rows of columns of jasper; the ascent to the altar is by seventeen steps of porphyry. The tabernacle is enriched with columns of agate, and fine figures of metal and rock-crystal. In the tabernacle are gold, lapis-lazuli, and transparent stones across the Blessed Sacrament placed in a vessel of agate worth a million crowns. Then there are seven choir-organs; and for each a chapel open on four sides, whose vault is supported by porphyry columns, between which are niches where are the four evangelists, each with the angel and symbolic animals in white marble, larger than nature, whose mouths spout torrents of water into marble basins.'²

¹ Quoted by M. Baudrillart, *Histoire du Luxe*, tom. iii.

² M. Renan's attack upon the æsthetic principles of the Apocalypse is as cynically tasteless and profane as it is ingenious. The following sentences contain a curious mixture of truth and error, which it would take many pages to disentangle: 'The error which has sometimes impelled Christian art too strongly towards mere rich decoration finds its root in the Apocalypse. A Jesuit sanctuary in gold and lapis-lazuli is more beautiful than the Parthenon, from the moment we admit the idea that the bare liturgical employment of precious material honours God.'

No doubt the spirit of true religion is not inconsistent with a grave and solemn magnificence. There are few lives and characters more touching than that of St. Eloi, the goldsmith Bishop of Limoges, the contemporary of Dagobert, who ruled a wide diocese, and was the trusty counsellor of a mighty kingdom, while he wrought with his own hand crosses, vases, candelabra, altars, and even embroidered for himself vestments—such as, if Bishop of Lincoln in 1889, he might have run the chance of being suspended for wearing.

On the whole, the ruling principle surely is that religious luxury should be solemn, beautiful, not incapable of bright-

(*L'Antéchrist*, pp. 473-4.) The lover of historical research will find a most interesting task in studying the correspondence of St. Bernard and of Suger. (See St. Bernard, *Vita*, auctore Ernaldo, esp. Lib. ii. ap. Opp. St. Bernard, tom. iv.; Suger, *Vita Lois.* xxvii.; *Vie de Suger*, par M. Vétauld.) St. Bernard, like many of the school of St. Francis of Assisi, of the Carthusians and Dominicans, anticipated the spirit of the foreign Reformation in anti-ritualistic feeling: 'Every kind of rich carpet-covering, of painted or ornamented windows,' was actually forbidden for the Chartreuse. Ernald's account of the visit of Pope Innocent to St. Bernard at Clairvaux (in 1131) is not without humour, and sly hits at the æsthetic Roman clergy, fond of personal and religious luxury: 'A pauperibus Christi, non purpurâ et bysso ornatis, nec cum deauratis illius gravitatem. Nihil in ecclesiâ illâ videbat Romanus quod cuperet. Nihil in oratorio nisi nudos viderunt parietes. Solennitas non cibus, sed virtutibus agebatur. Panis ibi autopyrus pro simila, pro careno sapa, pro rhombis olera, pro quibuslibet deliciis legumina ponebantur. Si forte piscis inventus est, domino Papæ appositus est, et aspectu, non usu, in commune profecit.' (St. Bernard, *Vita*, lib. ii., auctore Ernaldo, ap. Opp. S. Bernard, iv. 272.) The building of the Abbey of St. Denis between 1140 and 1144 was the crowning-point of the triumph of the principle of Suger. The magnificence of the offerings of Pepin and Charles the Bald was almost equalled by the donations of Suger himself. Among the rest was a golden crucifix weighing eighty marks, whereof the feet and hands were attached with magnificent rubies representing nails—and which enshrined a ruby of enormous size and inestimable value, representing the wound made by the iron point of the lance in the Saviour's side. To this subject, and to the triumph of a rational religious luxury over the pious but extreme austerity on this side of the sweetest and most attractive of mediæval saints, we hope to return upon another occasion. It is curious and instructive to study nascent ultra-Protestantism in religious art four centuries before Calvin; to trace the contrast between two parties in the Church—one (with the Benedictines) *illustrating* the idea of worship, and preaching the Gospel through art; the other, with a sterner and more spiritual tendency, trusting to reason, propelled by moral and religious emotion, without assistance from external objects. (Read the interesting chapters headed 'Une Renaissance au Moyen Age,' *Histoire du Luxe*, Baudrillart, tom. iii., liv. ii., ch. i. v. 90-138.)

ness, yet predominantly grave—above all, *spiritually transparent*. In exceptional circumstances, exceptional splendour may be admissible, and the appeal to all influences that can entrance or elevate a vast assemblage. On the one hand, the mystery should not be repressed by too many negative definitions and prohibitive rubrics. But, on the other hand, the mystery should not overwhelm in darkness the sweet reasonableness, the profound intellectual thought, the reverent criticism, which are the proper heritage of Christian manhood.

III. We now, in closing, gather up the moral of the vast and various story which we have traced in the merest outline. We pass from ecclesiastical to private luxury.

I. Is private luxury excessive at present? There can, we suppose, be little doubt that it is. The facile gains of Stock Exchange gambling awaken an unwholesome impatience to enjoy them. The diamond or nitrate 'king' will be apt to spend recklessly. We have no statistics by which to measure feminine dress. But some details are significant. It is a little startling to hear that, one way or another, 130 tons of false hair is made up annually in France, nine-tenths of which goes to England and the United States, and which represents 75,000*l.*! This is the luxury of *ostentation*. But the luxury of *sensuality* is immeasurably worse. An average workman, by no means a drunkard, out of 30*s.* a week wages, will spend a sixth or perhaps a fifth part upon alcoholic drinks. Outside London every 163 inhabitants of England are said to support one public-house. To return to the luxury of ostentation. The American descendants of the austere Puritans of England are said to be more feverish than the English in the pursuit of luxury. The nation which in Assembly General at Boston in 1624 laid down rigid rules against laced ruffles and silver girdles, which forbade beaver hats as a criminal luxury, dresses more extravagantly than any other under the sun.

How is private luxury to be reformed? It is idle at this time of day to dream of sumptuary laws (even as regards intoxicating liquor), or sumptuary taxation specially laid upon expensive luxuries—and this brings us to the last moral which we shall attempt to draw from this gigantic monument of historical learning and ethical subtlety. We venture to commend it to some of our preachers.

The new light in which different aspects of the Faith are seen by earnest thinkers in successive ages is a proof, not of its mutability, but of ours. Its vastness is revealed to us, fragment after fragment. We may find instances of this in every field of religious speculation. No thoughtful preacher or writer at the

present date would handle the narrative of the Creation or of the Flood precisely in the same way as South or Bishop Hall; probably not as he himself explained it, say in 1850, if he is 'jam senior.' No expositor of ordinary information would seek to mitigate the chief difficulty in the history of Balaam by asserting a physiological resemblance between the formation of the tongue of the ass and that of the parrot, as Bishop Newton did with evident honesty some 150 years since. No student of prophecy to-day would treat those great and divine pages as merely meagre and fitful outlines of history by anticipation. No apologetic of the morality of the Old Testament would revert to Calvin or Waterland, and do battle for the defence upon the lines along which it was conducted before Mozley. No competent thinker, with the facts of the formation of the canon of the New Testament before him, can treat the collection as if it were thrown at once by a Divine hand into the Church from the clouds, syllabically complete and mechanically inspired. Yet no jot or fragment of the truth, integrally behind these misrepresentations or partial representations, has passed away. Rather we may see it with nobler proportions in a larger light. Creation broadens into a diviner fullness, worked out by a more sustained purpose. The miracle is not a sacred caprice, a random act of power or of benevolence, but the orbing into touch and light of the cycle of a higher law than that which we call natural. Prophecy is the enunciation by peculiarly endowed men of everlasting principles, illustrated by divinely selected examples. Truth does not cease to be written down in human words for our learning; but the truth is not, after the Mohammedan conception, *impaginated, impapyrated*. The collected volume was not floated in an ark over a starlit sea, preceded by a column of light, and received with unquestioning awe, as in Bacon's beautiful ideal. Yet it is taken to the Church's heart with a finer loyalty, after long experiment, after ages of critical research, and gives forth answers with a deeper meaning than in any previous age.

To us it seems that the case is exactly analogous with social and economical truth; that the preacher at this date who throws out lumps of crude socialism because the Fathers used certain expressions of the kind, is irrational precisely in the same degree as if he threw out lumps of crude physiology upon the same plea. Those who wrote 1,400 years ago were excusable; he is inexcusable. The preacher (however genuine his emotion, however much he is personally to be respected if he works among the poor) should not explode

Sunday epigrams against the rich just because they are rich. He should not treat social subjects invidiously, representing the rich as always getting richer, the poor as always getting poorer, and a great gulf fixed between them. The mud splashed by the aristocrat's carriage wheels upon the workman's coat is an effective enough picture. But if such an orator as he to whom we refer had lived in the day of the Picts, he would probably have declaimed against the rich man's shoes. He should fairly reflect upon the whole tendency of luxury in pagan as compared with Christian societies. That of the former was entirely extravagant, sensual, ostentatious, self-centred, anti-social, in the bad sense aristocratic. That of the latter may have—and has—certain abnormal and most reprehensible manifestations; but it is mitigated—in some considerable measure redeemed—by the tendency of luxury to find a thousand unselfish egresses, to diffuse itself into humble homes, to equalize in some degree the fortunes of humanity. The kitchen of the club or mansion pays its tribute to the dinner of the outcast; the garden has its exquisite tithe for the adornment of the altar of God, for affording delicate associations and refreshing thoughts to the inmates of the hospital. It is not wise or well to flaunt out of the pulpit in the audience of the poor the prices paid for certain refinements. At all events the fact should be recognized that luxury is a relative term; that it has a good side as well as one that is evil. An instructor should make himself prepared to take into account that sweetness and beauty in life and its surroundings are being increased, year after year, by social advancement, and in course of time may approach to being equalized; that homes are being made a little better, labour a little less tyrannical, rest a little softer, sickness a little less distressing. The true remedy against the unquestionable evils of luxury is not an angry—and sometimes a little insincere—declamation against luxury. The good which a preacher can really effect in this matter lies in another direction. Let him show that while the spirit of the *age* may improve, the spirit of the *world* is ever hostile to Christ. The four great evils which engender luxury, and which in their turn are pampered and bloated by it, are selfishness, ostentation, sensualism, and materialism. Now the preacher can do little against these by inflammatory harangues against the refinements, the elegancies, the embellishments of life. But he may destroy or mitigate *selfishness* by bringing home to hearts the law of a new life, 'that they which live should not henceforth live unto *themselves*.'¹

¹ 2 Cor. v. 15.

He may shame pride out of its poor *ostentation* by inducing the favourites of fortune to visit those homes of suffering where our poor shivering humanity is seen in its original misery without the trappings by which it is hidden. *Sensuality* may be wisely treated in a school like the Church; people may be reminded again and again of the frequent abstinence—of which one instance is advised every Friday in every week by the English Church—that starting from this humble but necessary point, ‘the flesh may be subdued to the spirit.’ *Materialism* may be removed by appealing to affections which have God for their object, and to desires which have heaven for their home. In all ages and countries sumptuary laws have failed to win one inch of ground from luxury. Sumptuary declamations will be equally impotent. To alter the framework of society is impossible; if possible, it would be tremendously mischievous. The appeal, therefore, must be made to the responsibility of the individual conscience. He who would effectively strive with Christian people against evil luxury must do more than scold and point to bills for dress, dinners, furniture. Three ideas must fill his soul, which may be expressed by three words, loved by the mystics, yet instinct with a practical power beyond every other—detachment, attachment, elevation. He must persuade his flock that earth is not all, and point them to the Cross and to Heaven—to the symbol of sacrifice and to the home of souls.

Let us sum up our meaning in the words of a religious and most thoughtful, but forgotten writer, of the last century: ‘It is neither superfluities, nor their number, which constitute luxury. *It is the attachment which a man has to these superfluities. It is the influence which they exercise upon his happiness.*’¹

¹ *Traité philosophique et politique sur le Luxe*, par l'Abbé Pluquet (Paris, 1786). To judge by M. Baudrillard's extracts, Ferguson's *Essay upon the History of Civil Society* seems to evince a masterly grasp of the philosophy of the subject.

ART. II.—MYSTICISM IN THEOLOGY.

The Divine Unity and Trinity: Essays on God and on His Relation to the Universe and to Man. By HERBERT H. JEAFFRESON, M.A. (London, 1888.)

THE supreme mystery of the Catholic Faith—the doctrine of the Holy Trinity—has always presented irresistible attractions to speculative minds. The very fact that it transcends the capacities of the human intellect to formulate and to explain has only made theologians of a certain type more anxious to grapple with it, more resolute in the attempt to ascertain at least the lines of demarcation within which the reason can still feel at home in discussing it. We do not wish to maintain that this is an unfortunate direction for thought to take. The Catholic Faith is more than a creed to be blindly accepted; it is also a philosophy. In it the various questions which have tried the philosophic intellect find, or we believe will find, their ultimate solution. Man's own life here, its origin, its laws, its ultimate destiny, and its relation with God, are perpetually in discussion. Theories of various kinds are constantly being suggested to bring into connexion with the facts which we do know those remoter facts and events of which we have no immediate experience. We know life always in the midst of its course, never see it begin, can only conjecture, by hints and suggestions derived from our observation of it, what its end will be. And the problem of philosophy is constantly to develop these hints and suggestions into such a system that the life may be seen as a whole, explicable in its origin, intelligible in its end. This we say is the object of Philosophy strictly so called: to eliminate chance and surprise and suddenness, and show the whole life and experience of man as governed by order and law and reason. It is obvious that such a problem must be seriously affected by the limits of our knowledge. The fact that we have no direct experience, nor even a capacity to conceive of an absolute beginning, cannot but make a conjectural origin of things difficult and unsatisfactory. We analyse things as they are into what seem to us their simpler elements, but too often only to find that our analysis of the present is not the same as a history of the past, and that the theory which we have put forth does not, after all, explain the facts from which it was derived.

It is this perpetual breakdown of philosophic method which causes, in a large degree, the peculiar phenomena of the history of philosophy—the constant assertions of progress made, and the equally constant returns upon a point of view supposed to be long since discredited. Everyone is familiar with the complaints of the inoperative and unproductive character of metaphysical speculation, and everyone knows how hard they are to meet. Perhaps the best way of meeting them is to admit them, and trace them to their cause in the nature of the case. Metaphysical speculation must of necessity be constantly failing and as constantly renewing its efforts, because the problem to be solved is ever present and appealing to the mind, and the facts which are required to solve it satisfactorily are no less invariably absent.

The Catholic Faith is, on one side at any rate, a solution of these questions which does not labour under the same difficulties. Its utterances as to man and his place in the world are not vitiated at their source by ignorance of the real state of the case. The Creed does not present us with a conclusion wrung by mere human reason out of the facts of nature and life. It starts from a position of actual knowledge. This, surely, is the very least that is meant by saying that it is a revelation. But, though it is a revelation, it does not fall altogether out of relation to human knowledge and speculation. It is not so separated from the limited knowledge of man that it cannot be described, at any rate in some degree, in human language. It must have definiteness, sufficient to make it capable of guiding man's thought and life. Everyone is familiar with the Divine economy by which God's revelation keeps pace with the progress of the human kind; by which it restricted itself within narrower limits while man's range was narrower, and in the fulness of time came forth with a body of truth about God and man which eighteen centuries have not sufficed fully to grasp. And naturally so, for in this revelation, as we believe, all truth will be found to be contained.

But it may be asked, If all truth is to be found in this revelation, as it is called, why investigate further? Why spend time and valuable effort in doing again what has been done already? The answer is simply this: each age has its own views of life, each makes its own contribution to knowledge, each has its own difficulties; and the problem for the religious philosopher is to show how the body of truth contained in the revelation bears on the questions of the day. He has to realize what the difficulties are, and bring the Faith

into connexion with them. If the difficulty be as to the nature of Truth, he has to show how the Christian Faith provides a way out of difficulties, how it marks where man's knowledge must be limited and fail, and how the solution of the problems which Christianity suggests is a real one. The Christian philosopher does not, we think, if he is wise, attempt to deduce or induce the truths of Christianity, as if they were so many natural laws; he places them in relation to life and thought.

This function of the religious philosopher—to trace the connexion between the particular stage of intellectual development reached at any time and the changeless body of dogmatic truth—is an important but also a dangerous one. It is important, because, if only it were well done, it might save much of the bitter feeling which constantly arises between science and religion; but it is dangerous, because it is extremely difficult for a man who has once embarked upon a quest of this kind to restrain himself within its proper limits. The philosophic instinct is strong and overmastering. It is hard not to try and push just one step further, as it seems, and leave a completely rounded system in which religion should be fully included. It is hard for the philosophic impulse to acknowledge its own limits. But it must be done; for philosophy, however lofty its attainments, is always earth-born. However remote from the coarseness of everyday life its phrases and ideas may seem, it is from reflection upon this ordinary experience that it is derived. And it never loses the taint of its earthy origin. We no longer attempt, as in the old days of anthropomorphism, to apply the rough facts of human life straight to the Divine; but we weave out of the categories of our philosophy theories as to the Divine Nature which are just as mythical as the wildest tale which the savage intellect ever devised. There is a truth in this, no doubt, as there was a truth in anthropomorphism. Such knowledge as we can attain of God must be expressed in human language, or it will be unintelligible to us. But we must not make our philosophic terms and methods the absolute rulers of our theology, or we shall inevitably degrade our belief in God to the level of a mere philosophic theory.

The book named at the head of this article seems to have fallen into this peril. The motive with which the author set out upon his work is exactly that which should influence the religious philosopher. It is to mark 'the coherence and reasonableness of the Catholic religion.' He starts from the point of the general indifference to dogmatic truth among people who are professedly Christian, and

his aim is to show the very close relation which exists between the great dogmas of the Catholic Church and the lives of Catholics. The method which he has adopted of connecting these two is a kind of mystical philosophy, closely akin to Platonism. Mysticism he defines (p. 49) as 'intuition exercised in Divine things.' The mystical principle of intuition is the mode in which faith exercises itself, and faith or intuition is the instrument of theology. There are two faculties by which knowledge is obtained, Sense and Faith. Sense deals with the world around us, the external world, as we call it; and Faith with the inner and spiritual, of which the external and sensuous are the veil and the vehicle. 'The understanding sits like a sovereign, receiving treasures of tribute from all parts of the world, some borne by tardy caravans of sense and some by speedy argosies of intuition. The provinces with which these faculties traffic are usually as distinct as the treasures they bring home. Sense deals with the external aspect of things; intuition with their internal truth' (p. 75). Faith, of the two, has a more immediate bearing upon the 'moral life, because it involves a quasi-moral aspect of the understanding' (p. 16). This is afterwards explained (p. 17) to mean that 'faith tends to unselfishness, because it views self in relation to the universe; whereas sense views the universe in relation to self.' It is this faith which is rudimentary in all men, is made clear and potent in the Creed, and so, by some process not very easily intelligible, justifies. 'Knowing this' (*i.e.* that God is our Father) men 'set their wills intelligently and progressively upon Divine perfection; faith works by love, and by faith men are justified' (p. 21). So again: 'If we did not know Him to be the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, we should lose the chief assurance that He is our Father; if we did not know Him to be our Father, it would be impertinence to aim at being perfect as He is perfect. And thus the Creed, telling of Divine relations, gives a justification to men aiming at Divine goodness' (p. 21). In what sense justification is used here it is, indeed, most difficult to say. The author disclaims (p. 14) any intention of resuscitating sixteenth-century controversies, so we may suppose that his language is intended to bear a different meaning. In the passage quoted the word seems to mean a sufficient reason or ground. If this is so, the phrase is clearly inadequate to the fact of justification. But we must pass on. The idea here suggested is expanded in the succeeding chapters of the first essay. The weakness of various non-Trinitarian systems of theology is pointed out, especially as regards their incapacity

to deal with morality and afford a real basis for practice ; and then the author enters upon the central question of his essay, the relation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity to morality. It is at this point that the Platonism is most strongly marked. Plato's Theory of Ideas is asserted as giving an answer to the difficulty which the variety of creation suggests. Creation, it is said, is manifold ; how is this consistent with the unity of God ? Polytheism had given an answer to the question by its myths of separate divinities for sky and sea and air. The 'helpful element' in this was transformed by Plato into his Theory of Ideas. 'The various phenomena of the world were to be traced not to the disposition of Ares, or Here, or Artemis, but to ideas or archetypes after which the visible things were made' (p. 54). Yet this theory failed after all. The exact part played by the ideas in the moulding of the world remained uncertain. St. John being, as Mr. Jeaffreson is delighted to think, 'born a Plato,' satisfied the need by his doctrine of the Word ; and Origen discerned in the Eternal Word 'an Archetype in whom all the ideas were focussed, or rather from whom they all proceeded' (p. 55). The Power which translated these ideas, resident in the Son, into phenomena is the Holy Spirit (p. 59). Thus in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity we have a full account of the mystery of creation.

The principle involved in this view of creation is briefly this : that there is nothing, so to speak, external to God. The idea that God made a world 'as a thing entirely outside Himself, as a man might rear a building and leave it to see it no more,' is repellent both to the thoughtful and to the devout (p. 46). It is intolerable to the former because the whole idea of a world which is 'not continually upheld by the one original Substance' is impossible, and to the latter 'because they cannot bear the thought of an universe abandoned by its Maker' (*ibid.*). Therefore some archetype, at any rate, must be found within the Divine Being, according to which the world was formed. We have just seen how it is proposed to effect this. In coming to deal with virtue our author adopts exactly the same principle, and applies it to the theological virtues. These, he argues, must be in God, if they are to be in man. Starting from the assumption that the moral law must have its ultimate source in the nature of God—a perfectly legitimate and true assumption—he proceeds to trace inferences from this principle in detail. And here, we think, he is on less sure ground. At the end of a long process of argument the following result is reached :—

‘And thus we discern that, as Faith, which belongs to the entire Godhead, nevertheless has its special place in the Father, who by Faith regards His Son and the worlds in Him ; as Hope, likewise belonging to the entire Godhead, nevertheless belongs specially to the Son, who ever looks to the Father for the gift which He ever receives : so Love, the common possession of the entire Godhead, has its special place in the Holy Ghost, who binds together the Father and the Son, and in the Son binds together God and His creatures’ (pp. 92-3).

We propose to reserve our general criticism upon this position for a later stage in this essay, but we cannot but pause here, in order to call attention to a remarkable piece of exegesis, which occurs in the chapter we are considering. Three passages of Scripture are cited as supporting the author's theory that faith is the prominent characteristic of God the Father. The first is Heb. xi. 1 : ‘Thus Faith as it is in God the Father fulfils the definition of it given in Heb. xi. 1. Faith is the personality of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. . . . Faith is the Personality (*ὑπόστασις*) of the Son, in which the Father ever hopes to find, and ever finds, the knowledge of Himself ; it is the exploration of an abyss of action (*πραγμάτων*), inexhaustible, yet ever searched and known’ (pp. 50-1). So lower down he writes, ‘When our Saviour is promising to His disciples a power like that by which He cursed the barren fig-tree—a power by which the mountains which God has set for a perpetual monument might be rooted up—He rests the promise on the injunction, “Have God's faith”’ (p. 81). On the following page we read : ‘That faith is the operation by which God thinks the world into existence is expressly stated in Heb. xi. 3. By faith [we perceive] the ages were founded by the speech of God, so that the seen was made not of things that appear’ (p. 82). This interpretation is sufficiently curious, and Mr. Jeaffreson himself feels that it needs some defence. Accordingly he observes that ‘it would be irrelevant if a passage which begins with a definition of faith which we have seen fulfilled in God's contemplation of His Son, and then proceeds to say, “By this [faith] the elders obtained witness,” were to commence its list of examples of strong faith by referring to *our* faith’ (*ibid.*). Of course, if we deny that verse 1 refers to the faith of God the Father, the irrelevance of which Mr. Jeaffreson complains vanishes altogether. And we are prepared to deny this. The passage is a continuation of chapter x., which in its concluding verses deals with faith under persecution. Chapter xi. follows on quite naturally with a

definition of faith and a series of examples of it. There is no suggestion that such an idea as Mr. Jeaffreson's was anywhere within the horizon of the writer. John Locke warned us long ago against the errors which arise from reading the Epistles in 'incoherent parcels.' This piece of exegesis looks as if our author were in the habit of studying them in this way. It is not the only instance in the book of arbitrary and unnatural interpretation.

The remaining contention of this essay is that the coinherence of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, of God Triune with man, and of individual men one with another, makes sanctification intelligible to us. This point seems really to rest on a special meaning given to coinherence—viz. transmission of personality (cf. p. 92). We cannot regard this as an adequate account of coinherence. However true it may be 'that the Divine Persons dwell one in another, because the nature which is common to them is no logical conception, no figment of the theological imagination, but a real thing' (p. 97), yet this is not all. It must be admitted that the fact of coinherence cannot be made to depend on these quasi-logical arguments; it is greater and deeper than such language can possibly express. The unity of man, however necessary and certain, is not in any sense upon a level with it. However real the unity of men, their difference in history, in will, in personality, is no less necessary and real.

The second essay deals with the doctrine of the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit. The same type of reasoning is continued in this essay. The principle having been laid down that the Double Procession represents a double relation 'of generation and of priesthood' within the Godhead, it is argued that the Holy Spirit works in the creation of man according to His Double Procession, making us sons and priests, in Christ, of God the Father. The operation of the Holy Spirit in man is sevenfold, as in His other works. Man, 'as earthly, has (1) existence . . . (2) natural life . . . (3) intelligence.' 'As he is in God's image he has, like God, (1) an endless substance, so that he can never fall out of existence: God may, perhaps, annihilate matter; He will never annihilate man. Then (2) man has a life or energy like God's, by which that endless existence is actuated and formed; and (3) he has conscience . . .' (p. 123). 'And these triplets, earthly and heavenly, are bound into one by the will, which is the direct inspiration, or rather the habitation of the Holy Spirit' (p. 124). 'And this will is itself twofold, as is the Procession of the Holy Ghost. For, in the first

place, the holy will requires of God both guidance and power. . . . And then, having thus received life and guidance, the devout will sets itself to serve and offer sacrifice' (*ibid.*). This ideal condition, in which the Holy Spirit rules the whole human nature, has been broken through by sin. Mr. Jeaffreson regards sin as a 'lie,' of which no logical account is possible (cf. p. 127). The appearance of this principle causes the spread of disorganization throughout humanity—the symptom of man's disunion with God.¹ Yet, though disunited, and at variance with his Creator, man is not wholly lost. It is still possible for the ideal man to be manifested; and this takes place in the Incarnation. In the Word of God 'the idea of humanity is eternally immanent; and in Him likewise it becomes concrete and phenomenal when, of Mary, He is made Man' (p. 137). This phenomenal manifestation of the ideal man depends, of course, on the operation of the Holy Spirit, and the two characteristic features of the Double Procession are repeated. 'His Incarnation, accomplished by the Holy Ghost, represents the Spirit proceeding from the Father as the Spirit of Sonship; not till He is thirty years old is the corresponding procession from the Son exhibited, as the Spirit of Priesthood' (p. 140). Through the Incarnation and its sacramental extensions the same twofold operation is exhibited in man in his restoration to his lost righteousness (Essay II. chap. vii.).

We next come, in the third essay, to an account of the Idea of Priesthood in its relation to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. In some respects this seems to us the best part of the book. The devotional temper, which characterizes the whole work in some measure, is at its best in the treatment of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in this essay. But it is disfigured by another astounding piece of exegesis in chapter i. The author is led by the exigencies of his theory to identify Melchisedec, in his mystical significance in the Epistle to the Hebrews, with God the Father. There could be no possible reason for this interpretation, were not the author firmly determined to find the special character of the Church on earth paralleled, apparently in all its details, in the Godhead. His aim is 'to trace the evolution of the doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement from the primary truth of the Divine Trinity' (p. 158); and he seems persuaded that unless the priesthood of God the Father, and possibly also the exegesis of Heb. vii.,

¹ The existence of the female is a sign of this disintegration. The division of the sexes is an indication of the Fall! (p. 128). Yet a different view seems to be set forth in Genesis.

be established, misconception and even rejection of the doctrine of Atonement may be anticipated. It is not necessary to discuss the interpretation given of the passage in question. We do not think that the two objections, which Mr. Jeaffreson acknowledges to exist against his explanation, have been met. It is impossible to understand how 'the mystical Melchisedec' can be called 'priest of the Most High God,' and 'made like unto the Son of God,' if he is indeed God the Father. This interpretation tends to set one against the whole theory of which it is the basis; but, as we have already said, the impression made by the remainder of the essay is distinctly good. The author has a clear grasp of the necessity of unity with Christ as a condition of a share in His atonement. Also he uses clear language on the subject of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. In one respect his treatment of this point deserves especial gratitude. He shows (pp. 207-212) that the Eucharist sums up our Lord's sacrificial life—His ascension and perpetual intercession—no less than His incarnation. And there is a danger that this may be forgotten by those who are quite ready to speak of the Eucharist as an 'extension of the Incarnation.' The last chapter in which the necessity of a priesthood is discussed is perhaps less convincing. The admission that our need of 'carnal lips to speak the Word to us, carnal signs to minister grace to us,' is a sign 'that we are far from God' (p. 236) is surely curious in an author to whom everything—even the written Word (p. 146)—is a sacrament.

In the last essay we come again into less pleasing ground. The object of the essay is to place the Divine Trinity in relation to man's corporeal nature. This aim, it need scarcely be remarked, is one of great difficulty, and likely to lead into eccentric speculations. Our author finds in man's constitution of spirit, soul, and body an analogy to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The spirit he regards as representing the Father, the soul the Son, and the body the Holy Spirit. By the body we are not to understand the flesh: that is subject to perpetual change, and therefore loses its unity. 'The body is not matter, but power: the flesh is the matter which is assumed and moulded by that power' (p. 253). Death means the 'latency of the body,' its failure to grasp external matter and mould it so as to sustain life. The subjection to a changing material flesh Mr. Jeaffreson regards as a possible consequence of the Fall, and sees a hint of this in the 'coat of skins' made for Adam and Eve. At any rate through the flesh the desires of the lower world make their way into the soul, and hence the special moral significance of the flesh.

When this theory is applied to the doctrine of the Incarnation, it follows that our Lord's Body was power, not matter, and worked through flesh like ours. Hence in the Eucharistic bread we are partakers of the Flesh of Christ—*i.e.* the matter which the power constituting His Body assumes to itself. This view, Mr. Jeaffreson thinks, is the truth at which those who held Impanation were grasping. In the resurrection the body, which is power and indestructible, is clothed with the matter of the world to come; there is no 'resurrection of relics,' no restoration of the chemical atoms of the flesh which were worn during the earthly pilgrimage. Having reached this point the author indulges in speculations as to what the resurrection body will be like. He gravely discusses and rejects Origen's theory that the resurrection bodies will be spherical (p. 305); he decides upon the future of the alimentary and excrementary system (p. 306); and prophesies the abolition of the distinction of sex, the existence of which he attributes, as we saw above, to the Fall (pp. 128, 306). This last point he establishes with the aid of another outrageous piece of exegesis. He writes (p. 307), 'Of this' (abolition of distinction) 'our Lord's own glorified Body is a pledge: for St. John sees Him Man indeed, but with that which is most characteristic of a woman's form—girt about the woman's breasts with a golden girdle.' The word used by St. John is *πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς*. It were irreverent to discuss this further.¹

We have now made an attempt to give in brief form an outline of the argument of the whole book. It is by no means easy to succeed in this. The intricacy of the subject, and the wide range which it covers, have made compression an unusually difficult task. We must now turn to the general criticism of the whole, which we reserved at an earlier stage. It would be possible to mark inconsistencies of treatment here and there. It is difficult, for instance, to understand how a writer, for whom the body is a thing distinct from the flesh, can be so clear as to the shape and character of the resurrection body. The whole account given of it is only intelligible on the assumption of matter; and not only that—so much Mr. Jeaffreson allows—but matter which is extremely similar to the matter of ordinary experience. Again, there is an inconsistency as to the implications of Personality. On p. 99 we read, 'Is it not possible that the falsity of our fallen life

¹ Cf. Liddell and Scott, 7th ed., *sub voce* *μαστός*. 'All usage contradicts the statement of the Grammarians, that *μαστός* is the man's breast, *μαστός* the woman's.'

foists into our true conception of Personality as to the conscious concentration of Nature the false notion that Personality is a barrier between man and man? On p. 137 this 'false notion' is asserted as a fact. But these are details which, perhaps, it is unkind to press; a change of expression might possibly remedy the defect. And it is not in details only that we find ourselves at variance with Mr. Jeaffreson.

The first accusation we have to bring against Mr. Jeaffreson is that which Kant brought against the dogmatic metaphysicians of his day. We think that Mr. Jeaffreson has fallen into the snare of applying empirical categories beyond their proper scope. This is not, as we observed at the outset, a very remote peril. It belongs to the very conditions of a philosophy of the Christian Creed that terms and analogies should be drawn from the field of experience, and from experience as interpreted by philosophy. Occasionally Mr. Jeaffreson seems to be conscious of the difficulty and danger of his speculations (cf. pp. 103, 198); and on p. 92 he says, 'It will be understood that these remarks are not by way of proof of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity. . . . But remarks which do not aim at proving truth may do something to illustrate it.' We do not, therefore, accuse Mr. Jeaffreson of the speculative self-indulgence which characterizes Gnosticism; we only record our conviction that he has not succeeded throughout in acting on the principle which the above passages prove beyond doubt to have been in his mind. So, for instance, Mr. Jeaffreson assumes in chap. ii. of Essay I. that there are two modes of knowledge—sense and intuition. Now, granting this assumption, it does not follow that the knowledge of God *must* be conveyed in one or other of these ways. To argue thus would be simply to repeat in choicer and more modern phraseology the old process of anthropomorphism. Because we have no experience of other methods of knowledge than sense and intuition it does not in the least follow that there are no others. And more than this, the probability is that there are, because both alike are limited with the limitation which belongs to creaturely existence. Why is it that sense gives us no direct report of duty and the like, while faith and intuition does? Simply because both alike are conditioned; both depend ultimately upon the fact that between each soul (to use ordinary language) and the object of its knowledge there is a sensuous veil. Sense reports the existence of this, aided by the understanding; and intuition, if that be the name to be employed, grasps the unity which is revealed in the apparent chaos of sense. The two

faculties, so far as they are two, are inseparable ; they belong to beings whose knowledge is mediate, from beginning to end. We have made these remarks upon the assumption of Mr. Jeaffreson's twofold division of the faculties of knowledge. The matter becomes still clearer if we call to mind the fact that all knowledge implies a unification of sense-reports ; that knowledge derived from mere sense, without some intellectual activity to make it intelligible, is impossible. Then we see that from the beginning to the end of rational knowledge there is an operation akin to this which Mr. Jeaffreson has called faith or intuition, and that the method by which we attain the higher truths of intuition—by which we reason from Nature to God, for instance—does not imply the appearance of a new faculty, dormant before. And the more clearly it is seen that all our *natural* knowledge is attained by one process, which varies in intensity and complexity at different stages, the more it will be impossible to apply the specific details of it to the processes of the Divine Mind.

One very common sign of the dominance of the philosophic interest in questions of this sort is the effort to reduce the whole scheme of things to some one principle at all costs. There must be nothing which is not accounted for out of the first principle, whatever it be, which is adopted. In most philosophic systems the dualism of matter and mind is a perpetual trouble ; yet the difficulty of solving their dualism by referring both to some higher category is hardly less. A difficulty of a similar kind besets the theologian in the matter of evil. Ever the hardest question, perhaps, of the religious philosopher is this of the origin of evil. Mr. Jeaffreson is tried with it, like everyone else who deals with these questions. In his second essay, as already remarked, he avoids the difficulty by saying that sin is a lie, and is incapable of logical expression. It may be fairly questioned whether this helps much, but at least it is better than a suggestion which meets us in the first essay (pp. 104-5) : 'Possibly some clue to the nature of evil as the non-existent (τὸ μὴ ὂν) may be found by a deeper thinker in the limitations of God in the Holy Trinity.' The exact meaning of this is not clear, but it would seem that we might fairly cite this passage in illustration of our present contention.

Once more : The question of the analogies to be found in nature and humanity to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is one which has received elaborate treatment at the hands of St. Augustine. By far the greatest part of his elaborate treatise *De Trinitate* is devoted to the establishment and

analysis of these analogies. One of the many which appear in that treatise has become more or less permanently established in the language of the Church. It is the analogy of Love. Mr. Jeaffreson refers to St. Augustine's language on this point. The form in which the argument is usually urged is this: that the idea of love involves a trinity—the lover, the beloved, and the love which unites them. Hence when we say that God is Love we are understood to convey the Trinitarian idea by implication. To the ordinary mind, not fully acquainted with St. Augustine's treatment of this idea, the analogy, though valid enough for the Person of the Eternal Father and the Son, seems to break down in the case of the Third Person. Mr. Jeaffreson is fully aware of this difficulty (cf. p. 88), and he makes an effort to meet it. Put briefly, his answer is that the gift conveyed through the instrumentality of the Holy Spirit includes Personality, and therefore that the Holy Ghost is personal. Mr. Jeaffreson owns, and we agree with him, 'that the fullest and most careful words are inadequate' (p. 89) to express this truth; but we cannot help feeling that in this case again he has endeavoured to force empirical analogies further than they will go. We feel the more justified in making this criticism because Mr. Jeaffreson himself remarks (on p. 88) that though the Personality of the Holy Spirit is clearly asserted by Church and Creed, yet 'it is well for us sometimes to close our eyes for a while to some distinct expression of the Creed or the Bible, and to endeavour to trace in one doctrine the elements which necessarily develop into another.' He is clearly urging his solution as an answer to an intellectual difficulty. In a certain measure the difficulty to the modern mind comes, we think, from a changed psychology. To us it is perhaps more natural to think of love and thought as a relation of two—between a subject and an object. The third element in the process is by no means so clear to us as the other two. This, again, is partly due to our language; we have no three expressions like *νοῦς*, *νόησις*, *νοητόν*; 'thought' may stand both for *νόησις* and *νοητόν*. But in St. Augustine's time this threefold analysis of thought was the natural thing. This was the addition which later reflection had made upon the Aristotelian duality of *νοῦς* and *νοητόν*.¹ Plotinus holds the three elements in thought; a very similar view was held by Victorinus Afer, with whom St. Augustine had connexions:² so that to St. Augustine's

¹ Cf. *De An.* iii. 8.

² Cf. for Plotinus Zeller, *Gesch. d. Griech. Phil.* Th. iii. Abth. ii. p. VOL. XXVIII.—NO. LVI.

readers the analogy would not have seemed strange. Must we, then, resign all idea of following St. Augustine in this manner? Must we say that his argument is interesting as a piece of history, but has no further value? There is no need for this. Let us go back to St. Augustine's work, and see what he meant his argument to do, if we possibly can, and in what context it stands. In the first place it does not stand, as here, by itself. It falls in with a complete series of other analogies, from which a more or less connected view of St. Augustine's psychology may be drawn. Not only the character of *amor*, but the whole constitution of the mind are cited by this author to illustrate his point; and secondly, the whole is used by St. Augustine with certain reservations and within certain limits. The analogies fall very far short of the truth.

'Verum hæc quando in una sunt persona, sicut est homo, potest nobis quispiam dicere, Tria ista, memoria, intellectus, et amor, mea sunt, non sua: nec sibi, sed mihi agunt quod agunt, immo ego per illa. . . . Quod breviter dici potest, Ego per omnia illa tria memini, ego intelligo, ego diligo, qui nec memoria sum, nec intelligentia, nec dilectio, sed hæc habeo. Ista ergo dici possunt ab una persona, quæ habet hæc tria, non ipsa est hæc tria. In illius vero summa simplicitate naturæ quæ Deus est, quamvis unus sit Deus, tres tamen personæ sunt, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus. . . . Quod sane mirabiliter ineffabile est, vel ineffabiliter mirabile, cum sit una persona hæc imago Trinitatis, ipsa vero summa Trinitas tres personæ sint, inseparabilior est illa Trinitas personarum trium, quam hæc unius.'¹

Here there is no forcing of terms beyond their proper scope. The failure of the analogy is freely acknowledged. There is no talk of an unknown and unknowable substance behind the Three, such as we find in Mr. Jeaffreson's treatment of the question (p. 104). 'Trinitas illa nihil aliud est tota quam Deus, nihil est aliud tota quam Trinitas. Non aliquid ad naturam Dei pertinet, quod ad illam non pertineat Trinitatem.'² Such ideas belong to the philosophical tendency to completeness and have no place in a philosophy of the Faith.

One other thing we have against our author, and this too is a common fault of those who use his method. It is that he is unhistorical in his treatment of things. The extreme reliance placed by mysticism upon theoretical considerations—underlying unities, beautiful correspondences, and so forth—seems at times to produce a positive indifference to historic

488 n., where passages are collected; Vict. Af. *Hymn. in Trin.* iii.; St. Aug. *Conf.* viii. 5.

¹ *De Trin.* xv. xxii. 42, 43.

² *Ibid.* xv. vii. 11.

concrete fact. So a passage is quoted (p. 139) from a letter of Charles Kingsley, urging that the Incarnation is so necessary an idea for the solution of doubts and fears that, 'even if Strauss were right,' we may still boldly say it must have happened. This is simply playing into the hands of Rationalism. The argument of the Rationalist always is: Here is an idea, prevalent, apparently necessary; and here is a story, full of the miraculous and chimerical, yet illustrating the idea: can we doubt that the story is the poetical setting of the idea? Once grant that the historical evidence for the story is secondary to the *a priori* necessity of the idea, and this inference is almost sure to follow. In matters like this, where our knowledge is limited, we can only illustrate the *a priori* necessity by a consideration of the historical facts. These may reveal much of the eternal counsels of God, and after they have occurred we may be able from them to gather how the previous history led up to them, was designed to produce them. But our foothold is firm so long, and so long only, as we adhere to the facts; apart from them we wander vaguely among intangible, unconvincing, and unreal speculations. The adoption of this unhistorical point of view has led Mr. Jeaffreson to see much more in Polytheism and Neo-Platonism than can be possibly justified historically. In Polytheism Mr. Jeaffreson sees adumbrated 'the truth of movement and relativity within the Godhead' (p. 43). It was perverted, and existed of course in an intolerable form; but still 'there was at the bottom of the perversions a precious truth which was needed to save Hebraism from stagnating into Mahomedanism or dispersing in Pantheism' (*ibid.*). In the same passage it is said that the truth contained in these religions was specially displayed in the theogonics, the stories of gods 'related to each other by community of nature, by generation, by intercourse, by co-operation.' If this be taken in its obvious sense it is very carelessly stated. It is not historically true that Polytheism kept Judaism from stagnating into anything. On the return from the Captivity the Jews had learnt the lesson of adhesion to Jehovah. Never once do we hear of a relapse into idolatry from that time forward. Monotheism is the final form of the Jewish religion. And it is in no way true that the doctrine of the Incarnation was ever placed by the Church in any connexion with heathen worships. The early Church had not arrived at that state of mind, so prevalent at the present time, which ignores real differences in view of similarity which is supposed to underlie them. And not only did the Church never dream of

connecting its theology with the fancies of Polytheism ; the Jews also never accused the Apostles of a covert introduction of Polytheism. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity was no thinning down of Polytheism ; it arose out of the very heart of the most rigorous of all monotheistic systems. This contention is borne out by the historical investigation of myths. So Mr. Andrew Lang in his *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (vol. i. p. 329) distinguishes carefully between the rational or religious element in early beliefs and the irrational or mythical. The latter is the product of the rudimentary scientific imagination, coolly exercised upon the facts of nature. It aims at explaining nature in terms drawn from the immediate experience of the savage as he conceives it to be. The other, the religious element, is the yearning after God which man feels when he is in danger or trouble. The mythical element may or may not accompany this ; it neither arises out of it nor depends upon it. On all grounds, then, we must reject Mr. Jeaffreson's account of Polytheism in its relation to Christianity. He has grasped a truth—that Polytheism represents a real yearning after God—but he has in some measure concealed it by his endeavour to press a general truth into specific details.

Again, we cannot share Mr. Jeaffreson's view of Platonism. It is certainly too much to say that 'the Church annexed as her own the philosophy of Plato' (p. 47). What is truer is this : that certain Alexandrian theologians—notably Clement and Origen—made much use of a philosophy prevalent in their day, which was traceable ultimately to Plato, and that much of the philosophical language of the Church dates from Alexandria. It is important to say this, because the name Platonism suggests a false idea of the philosophy. No one doubts or denies that Plato started the movement which ended in Alexandrian Platonism ; it is often forgotten that the philosophy passed through a series of changes, which produced a result very different from anything which Plato ever conceived. The criticism of Aristotle, Stoicism, the resuscitated Pythagoreanism, had all had their influence. Plotinus, the most important of the philosophers of this period, has welded into his system every important thought which Greek philosophy had developed in all its history. He might be called a Neo-Aristotelian almost as truly as a Neo-Platonist, so strong is the influence of Aristotle upon his thought ;¹ and Plotinus is, after all, a better source for our knowledge of Neo-Platonism than Clement or Origen. They used the eclectic

¹ Richter, *Neu-Platonische Studien*, i. pp. 23-24.

philosophy of their day to enforce their Christianity, and, so far as they were true to their creed, they were theologians first and philosophers afterwards. In Plotinus (A.D. 204-270) the popular philosophy of Alexandria and Rome can be studied in itself without the complications necessarily involved in its connexion with Christianity. By studying it in this way we shall best be able to understand its value and tendency.

Neo-Platonism was not merely a philosophy: it was also a religion. And it arose out of the very same historical conditions which made Christianity welcome. It came into being under the heavy rule of the Roman Empire, which, while uniting all men under one government, crushed out all lesser nationalities and interests. The unification of the various nations under the dominion of Rome, as so many have pointed out, produced the conditions which made the spread of the Gospel speedy and natural. Moreover the misery and cruelty of the times, which made men seek for some haven of rest, was a part of the producing cause of Neo-Platonism.

'There was a generally prevalent desire to withdraw from the hateful present into one's own spirit, and seek in it what could no longer be found outside. . . . These philosophies are moments not merely in the development of Reason, but in that of Humanity generally; they are forms in which the whole condition of the world found expression by means of thought. The godless, lawless, immoral world drove the spirit back into itself.'¹

The philosophy was an answer to the same need to which Christianity appealed; it was the answer which the Greek philosophic spirit could make; it is, as it were, a pagan scheme of redemption. Relief from the present world and its perplexities is to be found in intellectual ecstasy, in which all transient sense and thought are merged, *i.e.* in ecstatic union with the Divine. Philosophy is the instrument by which this solution of the finite self in the Infinite is to be attained. By rising higher and higher in philosophy, by leaving finite and sensuous things ever further and further behind, we shall in time, if we are rarely fortunate, obtain as our reward one momentary glimpse of that which is beyond existence (*ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*). By a sort of irony of philosophical history this system, which aims so steadily at an escape from the world, is on all sides beset with the fault of which we accused Mr. Jeaffreson some time back. At the crucial moments of the philosophy there appears an empirical principle forced

¹ Hegel, *Werke*, xv. 6.

beyond its sphere. We can give but one instance of this in the space at our disposal. Plotinus has placed at the head of his scheme of things a first principle of which only negative statements can be made : so far does it transcend all known orders of existence. But it is still the cause of the world as we know it ; and the question is, How ? To answer this question Plotinus points to the fact that everything desires to propagate its species—a mere fact of experience—and applies it without hesitation to the supreme unity of which only negative propositions can be asserted. It generates, then, in obedience to this law, but not, like the animals, another specimen of its own type ; it is unique, and must remain so ; it generates, therefore, an *εἰκὼν*, or image, of itself. This done, the ball of creation is set rolling, and a series of things result which, as the process goes on, preserve less and less of the characteristics of the original.

For these reasons, then, among others, we are of opinion that the views of Platonism expressed in this work require some modification. First, the Platonism which Mr. Jeaffreson has set forth in his book is much more like the Platonism of Plato than anything which was going under that name in the early days of the Church. This is, perhaps, not very important. Next, the Platonist philosophy in the form which it took in the third century is not a very desirable system to resuscitate. Both on its religious and philosophical side it was a failure. It failed on its religious side, because it had no founder from whom a Church might spring, because it provided only for an occasional ecstatic moment of escape from the world, and because it had no message for the uneducated and ignorant. It existed for a time as a philosophy attracting a limited number of followers, but in the end this also became out of date and passed away. Further, we think the real relations between the Church and the Platonist philosophy still require treatment. That there was contact no one would doubt. What exactly the nature of the contact was is not quite so clear. The use of *εἰκὼν* by Plotinus, mentioned above, where it is clearly used to mark difference and not similarity, is sufficiently different from the Catholic use of the word to raise the question whether the attitude of the Church towards Alexandrian philosophy is quite so easily described as is often supposed.

We cannot think that the book we have now discussed is calculated to succeed in its high aim of displaying the coherence and reasonableness of Christian faith. Indeed, it may be doubted whether Mysticism could ever attain this

end. We cannot dissociate from the arguments and conclusions of Mysticism a sense of insecurity and arbitrariness, fatal to the possibility of regarding them as a coherent and reasoned whole. It seems adapted rather for the production of a subjective impression on particular minds than for any wider appeal; and on dogmatic questions Mysticism seems to be somewhat hazy and indefinite on points where, as we believe, the Catholic Church is clear—to be ready, for instance, to find in non-Christian systems an amount of agreement with the Articles of the Creed which wholly leaves out of sight and ignores the differences. And at the same time it is definite on matters where definiteness is neither possible nor necessary—for instance, on such a point as the prospects of the alimentary system in the other world. And yet again, the close connexion of Mysticism as here set forth with a particular form of Idealism seems to us disastrous. We cannot think it well to bind up Church doctrine with the fortunes of any one philosophy. Such schemes have too precarious and transient an existence to be identified with the Faith once delivered. Probably it is true that to fall in heartily with Mysticism one must have been ‘born a Plato’; and if that is so it must remain unintelligible to those who have come otherwise into the world.

ART. III.—ANCIENT ROME.

1. *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries.* By RODOLFO LANCIANI, LL.D., Professor of Archæology in the University of Rome, Director of Excavations for the National Government and the Municipality of Rome, &c. (London, 1888.)
2. *Ancient Rome in 1888.* By J. HENRY MIDDLETON, Fellow of King's College and Slade Professor of Fine Art in the University of Cambridge. (Edinburgh, 1888.)
3. *Roman Mosaics; or, Studies in Rome and its Neighbourhood.* By HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., &c. (London, 1888.)

THE study of Roman archæology is already five hundred years old. In the outburst of enthusiasm for classical learning which marked the beginning of the fifteenth century the

remains of ancient Rome naturally became the object of the deepest interest in the eyes of scholars and artists. Florentine sculptors and architects spent their time in measuring and excavating ancient buildings, and Donatello and Brunellesco were nicknamed *quelli del tesoro*, the searchers after treasure, because of their zeal in exploring the ruins of old Rome. The greatest of all Renaissance masters, Raphael, took drawings of pagan temples and imitated the stucco reliefs and arabesques of the recently-discovered halls of Nero's Golden House in the decoration of papal palaces and villas. At the same time he took active measures for the better preservation of these classical antiquities, and pleaded eloquently on their behalf in the famous letter which he addressed to Pope Leo X. According to Professor Lanciani, the present Director of Excavations for the Italian Government, the revival of interest in the ruins of ancient Rome dates further back still, and may be said to begin with the Roman tribune of the fourteenth century, Cola di Rienzi, in whom he recognizes the true founder of the modern archæological school. 'Every day,' says his biographer, 'he would walk among the ruins, examining every piece of sculptured marble, and there was none who could read and decipher inscriptions better.'

In the later days of the Renaissance the study of ancient buildings became a necessary part of every architect's professional training, a fact which, happily for us, has preserved a great number of drawings of old Rome by the hands of such distinguished men as Bramante, Leo Alberti, and Raphael. Many, for the most part in the original manuscript, are to be seen in the Uffizi Gallery or in the libraries of the Vatican, of Siena and the Ambrosiana at Milan; one valuable manuscript by Pirro Ligorio is mentioned by Professor Middleton as preserved in the Bodleian at Oxford. The immense value of these sketches by sixteenth-century architects can easily be understood.

'In spite of more than twenty years of uninterrupted research, both in the active and the speculative field,' writes Signor Lanciani, 'many of our Roman ruins were still an enigma to me, their origin, their design, their history being absolutely unknown. How many years have I spent before and around such antique buildings as those transformed into the church of S. Adriano, of SS. Cosmo e Damiano, of S. Stefano delle Carrozze and others, trying, like Œdipus, to solve the mystery of the Sphinx, to snatch the secret which seemed to have been buried under these ruins with the fall of the Empire. After giving up all hope of success, having in fact classified these buildings as "nameless," I happened one day to enter the department

of drawings and engravings in the Gallery degli Uffizi at Florence, under the kind guidance of their keeper, Signor Nerino Verri. The original and unpublished architectural sketches of Florentine cinquecento artists were shown to me as a simple matter of curiosity. I could not possibly describe what I felt at that moment, when I saw at once the solution of nearly every topographical problem pass slowly before my eyes, in the shape of sketches taken on the spot when those monuments were first excavated, three or four centuries ago, and taken by such men, artists and archæologists, as the eight Sangallos, Baldassare and Sallustio Peruzzi, Raphael Sanzio, the two Albertis, Bramante, Sansovino, Giovanni Antonio Dosio, De Marchis, and so on' (p. 247).

Nor was the Renaissance without its antiquarian writers. The exhaustive list of archæological works on Rome, which is one of the most valuable portions of Professor Middleton's recent volume, begins with Biondo's *Roma Ristaurata* of 1430 and the Florentine Poggio's *De Fortunæ Varietate*, a work written about ten years later. Du Perac's precious series of etchings from drawings taken in the middle of the sixteenth century shows an immense quantity of architectural remains that have now perished, and in the same way Piranesi's beautiful plates, executed two hundred years later, are of great value as records of monuments which have since then been either partly or entirely destroyed.

When we come to the nineteenth century the pile of literature on Roman archæology increases to an almost bewildering extent. Professor Middleton enumerates upwards of thirty works on the subject in English, French, German, and Italian, and refers his readers for further information to the different Roman periodicals which supply information respecting the progress of the excavations up to the present date. To this formidable list we can now add three fresh names. All three books bear the date 1888, and have been published in their present form within the last few months. The first is from the pen of Signor Lanciani, under whose personal superintendence the principal excavations of late years have been conducted, and who is therefore in a position to speak with authority on the subject. The second will command universal attention in this country as the work of the accomplished Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge; while we owe the third to a Scottish divine whose writings in other branches of literature are already familiar to our readers. Both the Roman and the English professors begin by explaining the *raison d'être* of their books, which certainly need no apology for their appearance at the present time. For, in Professor Middleton's

words, the last twelve or fourteen years 'have been extraordinarily fertile in the discoveries of hitherto unknown remains and in the new light that has been thrown on many of those that have for long been visible' (p. xi).

Persons who have not visited Rome since the revolution of 1870, or indeed during the last ten or twelve years, hardly realize the immense extent of the changes which have taken place in the present capital of Italy. According to official reports, between 1872 and 1886, eighty-two miles of new streets have been paved, drained, and built; whole new quarters have sprung up on every side of the Seven Hills; and the population, which fourteen years ago numbered 240,000, now exceeds 379,000 souls, and is still increasing at a rapid rate. During this period an enormous number of works of art have been discovered both by official excavators and by private individuals engaged in digging the foundations of new houses. Hundreds of marble columns and statues, busts and works of art in bronze, terra-cotta lamps, amphoræ, sarcophagi and bas-reliefs, thousands of ancient inscriptions engraved on marble and stone have been dug up and safely deposited in the museum of its Capitol; and it may safely be said that more light has been thrown on Roman archæology by this means in the last sixteen years than during the whole previous century. Signor Lanciani briefly sums up the result of these excavations in the following passage, which we quote at length from his preface:—

'We have discovered a new archæological stratum, totally unknown before, the stratum of prehistoric or traditional antiquities; we have discovered a necropolis older than the walls of Servius Tullius, containing more than five thousand archaic specimens in bronze, amber, stone, and clay; we have brought to light more than five thousand feet of the great *agger* or embankment of Servius, and ascertained the site of fourteen gates; we have unearthed the remains of numberless houses and palaces, temples and shrines, roads and drains, parks and gardens, fora and porticoes, fountains and aqueducts, tombs and mausolea to such an extent that whereas before 1872 science possessed only approximate attempts at an archæological map of Rome, we have put at the disposal of students magnificent ones, covering an area of 3,967,200 square metres of the ancient city. . . . When, at the end of 1870, the Italian Government turned its attention towards the archæological interest of the city, the valley of the Forum was still the Campo Vaccino of past ages. With the exception of the Column of Phocas, excavated by the Duchess of Devonshire, of a narrow ledge of the Basilica Julia and a portion of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, excavated by Tournon, all that classic group lay buried under an embankment thirty-three feet high:

If in 1870 anyone had spoken to us of the probability of an imminent and complete excavation of the Forum, from end to end, we should have denied the possibility of such an enterprise being accomplished by a single generation. But now the golden dream has become a reality. To-day, for the first time since the fall of the empire, we are able to walk over the bare pavement of the Sacra Via, from its beginning near the Colosseum to its end near the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, admiring on either side of the wonderful road the most glorious monuments of the republic and of the empire. To the discovery and excavation of this group we must add the excavation of the Baths of Caracalla, of the Stadium of Domitian, of the greater portion of the Palace of the Cæsars ; the isolation of Agrippa's Pantheon and of the so-called Nymphæum of Minerva Medica ; and the transfer from private to public domain of the whole Palatine Hill, the lands covering the Baths of Titus and Caracalla, the necropolis on the Via Latina, the tombs of the Scipios, Ostia, and the villa of Hadrian. As regards the art treasures collected since 1870, it is enough to name the two bronze athletes lately discovered on the slope of the Quirinal, the bronze Bacchus of the Tiber, the Juno of the Palatine, the bas-reliefs of the Forum, and the four hundred and seventy-nine statues and busts brought together by the municipality. To obtain these results the state and the municipality have spent about one million dollars, and excavated and removed miles away in all two hundred and eighty-six million cubic feet of earth' (p. xxiii).

All this, it is needless to say, has not been effected without a corresponding degree of loss and sacrifice. The mantle of exquisite verdure which decked the arches of the Colosseum and the Baths of Caracalla, the flowers which carpeted the stones of the Cæsars' palace and the Villa of Hadrian have been rudely torn away. The groves of the Forum and the avenues of the Lateran have been cut down ; the oaks of Villa Corsini and the shady gardens of the Lungara are all gone. The narrow winding streets and steep irregular roofs have been pulled down to make room for formal boulevards and glaring huge blocks of five-storied houses. An ugly embankment defaces the shores of yellow Tiber. Last spring saw the destruction of that most picturesque quarter of the town, the ancient Ghetto, which had been since mediæval days the home of the Jews, and where black-eyed children of Abraham might be seen selling costly stuffs and Oriental textures, or bartering fish and fruit under the Portico of Octavia and the remains of the Theatre of Marcellus. Worse than all, the greater part of those beautiful villa gardens which were the pride and boast of the old Roman princes, and the joy of successive generations of visitors have within the past few years been sold and cut up into building lots. Last year, even the Borghese gardens, so long the favourite resort of the

population of Rome, were threatened with the same fate and only saved for the moment by a decree forbidding the sale. And in their stead we see new quarters of barrack-like houses springing up on every side of us, in the meadows behind the Castle of S. Angelo, on the plains between Monte Testaccio and the Tiber, on the banks of the river itself. Rome in fact, as Mr. Middleton says, 'is rapidly assuming the aspect of a third-rate Parisian suburb,' and the present scheme of the *Piano regolatore*, which has for its avowed object the levelling of the Seven Hills and filling up of the intermediate valleys, will ere long succeed in destroying the most famous and characteristic of her natural features.

No doubt a great deal of this, as Signor Lanciani reminds us, was inevitable. While we share to the full the disgust which every lover of Rome must feel at the sight of so much wanton and needless destruction, we must not forget the altered circumstances which have rendered many of these changes necessary. The sudden and extraordinary increase of her population since the revolution of 1870, the rise in the value of land, the requirements of public health, have all helped to produce these results, and the few men who in the interest of art and archæology have struggled to resist the indifference of the public and the cupidity of private speculators have had a difficult, not to say impossible, task. Professor Lanciani, as his letters to the *Athenæum* bear witness, has done his utmost to stem the tide, and there is no one who more deeply regrets the irreparable injury which the once beautiful city has suffered. The subject is a painful one, and all we can do is to follow his advice and seek consolation in the study of what he calls, with good reason, the magnificent archæological harvest which the soil of Rome has yielded during the last few years.

In an interesting chapter on the Foundation and Pre-historic Life of Rome, Signor Lanciani begins by refuting a theory supported by Professor Middleton and other eminent writers as to the existence of an Etruscan settlement 'of great size and importance' on the Esquiline hill, before the legendary regal period. The fact, if ultimately proved, would undoubtedly give 'a serious blow to the long established tradition of the early supremacy of the Latin race in the city of the seven hills.' But, according to Signor Lanciani, nothing has been found within the last sixteen years either in the new or old quarters of Rome which in any way affords foundation for this theory. On the contrary all the discoveries of recent years, in his opinion, only serve to con-

firm the old traditions of the origin of Rome and the details supplied by early writers respecting the kingly period. At one time people scorned the idea that a real Romulus had ever existed and that he was the founder of Rome. Now, it appears, monumental remains have brought forth a 'crushing mass of evidence' in support of the old legendary tradition that the leader of the shepherds who settled on the banks of the Tiber and founded infant Rome was a prince of royal lineage from Alba Longa.

'The pasture grounds on the Alban hills having become inadequate to support the increased number of flocks, or having become insecure in consequence of violent volcanic interruptions, which followed a long period of calm, a certain number of owners of cattle assembled and decided to migrate into a richer, larger and more secure district. The migration began by exceedingly slow stages; the shepherds advanced through the green fields until a mighty river stopped their journey and obliged them to settle on its banks. There they found a hill surrounded by almost inaccessible perpendicular cliffs, and protected besides by a circuit of deep marshes; here they found springs of pure water in a grotto which they dedicated at once to Faun, the god of the shepherds; here, accordingly, they settled and built a village, or rather a huge sheepfold. . . . The hill on the banks of the Tiber which harboured the Alban emigrants and their flocks, was named the Palatium or Palatinus Mons. The root of this name is Pales, the goddess of the shepherds, the *pastorum dea*, whose feast, called Palilia, fell on April the 21st. Such was the importance of Pales for the primitive inhabitants of the Palatine that the date of the festival, the 21st of April, has been universally recognized for the last twenty-five centuries as the date of the foundation of Rome itself, and we modern Romans are proud to keep it as a great national day, since very few celebrations are, like ours, two thousand six hundred and forty years old. . . . The mighty river which washed the foot of the Palatine had, at that remote period, no special name; it was called *Rumon*, which means simply "a stream, a river." The inhabitants of the surrounding villages, which were mostly perched on high hills and mountains, Tusculum, Aricia, Alba, Tibur, Præneste, having entered into communications with the new settlement, began to name it from its most prominent topographical feature, from its connexion with the Rumon or river; they called it *Roma*, which means the town of the river, the "Stromstadt," as Professor Corssen has literally translated the word; they called the leader of the settlement *Romulus*, which means "the man from the town of the river." . . . If another argument is required to prove that the names Roma and Romulus are derived from the aboriginal word Rumon or stream, here it is at hand. The gates of a town are not denominated from the town to which they belong, but from the place to which they lead. Thus some of the gates of Rome were named Tiburtina, Prænestina and Ostiensis, because the roads

issuing from them led respectively to Tibur, to Præneste, and to Ostia. One of the gates of the early Alban settlement on the Palatine hill was called *Romana*. It is evident that the name was given to the gate, not from the settlement itself, but because it led to the Rumon or river. And when the walls of the city were enlarged by Servius Tullius, the new gate leading to the river was likewise named Flumentana. As to the epoch in which the foundation of Rome, the greatest event in the history of mankind took place, it was, chronologically speaking, the seven hundred and fifty-fourth year before Christ : pre-historically speaking, it was the age of bronze' (p. 38).

In the chapters which follow his dissertation on the origin of Rome, Signor Lanciani does not profess to give a full and detailed account of the discoveries which have rewarded his labours during the last sixteen years. His book is by no means a complete or scientific guide to Ancient Rome, such, for instance, as the work of Professor Middleton. He has already given the world the result of these explorations on different occasions in separate pamphlets and contributions to the periodical press both in England and Italy, and has treated of various questions suggested by the discoveries, with a learning and ability which have made his name widely known. His writings on the Curia, the Vestals and Aqueducts are of the greatest value to the student, and a small treatise which he published long ago under the title of *Guida del Palatino* has been for years past in the hands of every intelligent visitor to Rome. In the present volume he deals with some of the larger aspects of the subject and points out a few of the most important and striking features among the mass of antiquities recently brought to light. The popular form into which his vast stores of learning have been thrown, and the valuable addition of several plans as well as of more than thirty full-page plates and a large number of smaller illustrations are certain to attract a wide circle of readers, especially among travellers who are familiar with the scenes which he describes.

He devotes separate chapters to the sanitary condition of Ancient Rome, to its police and fire department organised by Augustus, and to the public libraries which the imperial city contained. Under each of these heads he gives us a multitude of interesting facts concerning the habits and customs of the old Romans. He tells us of their passion for horse-racing, of the famous African jockey to whom a pedestal was dedicated, and of the children's toys inscribed with the names of winning horses, and of pocket knives, which he has himself picked up,

ornamented with heads and names of favourite horses and jockeys. And he describes in graphic language the frequency of fires, the obstructions which made traffic impossible at certain times, the impudence of the beggars who swarmed about the bridges and gates, the darkness and insecurity of the streets, and the ingenious devices adopted to fasten the house-doors. The elaborate system of police (*vigiles*) established by Augustus with especial regard to the suppression of fires, and the splendour of the barracks they occupied with their marble halls and colonnades, and frescoed walls and mosaic pavements, are minutely detailed. His sketch of the water-supply of the city gives even a grander idea of Roman magnificence. Eighteen springs were collected at distances varying from seven to forty-four miles, and brought into Rome by means of fourteen aqueducts, the length of which varies from eleven to fifty-nine miles. The ruins of the triumphal arcades along which some of these channels were borne, sometimes at heights of more than a hundred feet, are, as we all know, to this day one of the fairest objects in the landscape of the Roman Campagna. Again, the Cloaca Maxima, it is well known, deserves to rank among the greatest triumphs of engineering. That this immense sewer, constructed twenty-five centuries ago on unstable ground, under enormous practical difficulties, should still answer its purpose is a marvellous thing in itself. But Signor Lanciani tells us of another cloaca, still larger and higher, which was discovered six years ago in the valley dividing the Cœlian from the Palatine, three-quarters of a mile from its opening into the Tiber, and which for beauty and perfection of its masonry, for excellent condition of preservation, and length and extent of the district which it drains, is altogether superior to the Maxima.

It should be remembered that Signor Lanciani was the first to realize the importance of inscriptions on the lead pipes which carried water through the baths and fountains of private houses. Since water in Rome was imperial property, the names of private owners to whom its use was allowed had to be engraved on the pipes, in order to distinguish the separate pipes among the many thousand running under every street. By the careful examination of the inscriptions on these water-pipes, a vast number of which Signor Lanciani has collected and saved from destruction, this indefatigable antiquarian has been able to identify the site of eighty-one houses in Rome, and of eighty-eight villas in the surrounding Campagna, besides obtaining a variety of other valuable historical information. One discovery on which he dwells with justifiable

pride is that of an ancient library, which he discovered in December 1883 in a private house near the church of S. Martino ai Monti between the Esquiline and Subura. While surveying some of the apartments, which were in a wonderful state of preservation, the fortunate excavator was struck by the appearance of a spacious hall with walls plain up to a certain height, but elaborately decorated with fluted pilasters in stucco above. Between these pilasters were medallions containing a few fragments evidently representations of human faces, and on one of the frames enclosing these medallion-portraits the name of *Apollonius Thyan* . . . was still to be seen painted in bright red. This name, Signor Lanciani adds, told him the purpose of the room more plainly than if he had discovered the actual bookshelves and books. For it was the habit of the ancient Romans to divide their libraries into separate bookcases or *armaria*, on the frieze of which medallion-portraits of the most famous authors were painted—historians above the shelf containing histories, jurisconsults on that containing law-books, and doctors on that which held books of medicine. Medallions of *repoussé* work in brass and silver adorned the walls of the famous library of Apollo in the palace of Augustus. In early Christian libraries images of the Fathers were painted on the bookcases which held their works; and to this day the same arrangement may be seen in the library of the Vatican.

With regard to sanitary questions Signor Lanciani observes that in sickness the Romans trusted more to supernatural help than to human aid, and remained faithful to the precepts of Numa, who taught that the peace and goodwill of the gods were the only remedies by which lost health was to be recovered. Of late years the temple which Apollo, as the god of health, had near the Theatre of Marcellus, has been discovered in the cellar of an inn close to the Ghetto, and is likely to be further excavated now the whole of that quarter has been demolished. The chief Roman shrine of health was the great Temple of *Æsculapius*, on the island in the Tiber now known as S. Bartolommeo, where patients were put to sleep by narcotics until the god himself revealed to them in dreams the cure for their pains. Those who were restored to health showed their gratitude by hanging an *ex-voto* in the sanctuary, and it seems that at the entrance of the Fabrician bridge, now the Ponte Quattro Capi, leading to the island, there was a row of shops for the sale of *ex-votos*, just as we see to-day at the doors of the great Catholic sanctuaries in France or Italy. Three years ago one of these very shops

was excavated in laying the foundation of the embankment along the Tiber, and was found to contain a number of heads, ears, eyes, arms, hands, legs, feet, &c., beautifully modelled in painted terra-cotta, and evidently intended for sale as *ex-votos*.

One great advantage which the old Romans had over the population of most crowded cities was the large extent of open spaces where they might enjoy fresh air and free movement at all hours of the day and night. Signor Lanciani calculates that in the end of the third century there were in Rome eight *campi* or green spaces set apart for races and athletic sports, eighteen *fora* or public squares, and about thirty gardens, which, originally laid out by rich citizens, had become imperial property by purchase, bequest, or confiscation. Julius Cæsar had been the first to court popular favour by adding a new forum to the old one; Augustus had built a still more magnificent one, of which the remains known as the Arco de' Pantani and the temple of Mars Ultor still adorn a busy Roman thoroughfare. After him, Vespasian, Domitian and Nerva had in turn laid out forums adorned with temples and colossal statues, and finally Trajan had completed the group by the addition of his great square, which, with its sumptuous basilicas, triumphal arch, column, and temples, surpassed all others in size and splendour.

'By the addition of Trajan's forum to the five which already existed, the whole space put at the disposal of the people of Rome for meeting in public, for promenading, for the transaction of business, or the administration of justice and so forth, was brought to the grand total of twenty-five and one-half acres. This space contained thirteen temples, three basilicas or court-houses, eight triumphal arches, the house of parliament, thousands of life-size statues in bronze and marble, porticoes more than one mile long, and supported by about twelve hundred columns, public libraries and archives, and the finest and richest shops of the metropolis' (p. 89).

Signor Lanciani has also a good deal to say about the great Thermæ, which were in reality gigantic club-houses with beautiful grounds, libraries and concert-halls, where the fashionable youth of Rome could find every variety of amusement. The service, he tells us, was conducted entirely underground by means of crypts and porticoes, which allowed servants to appear wherever they were needed without crossing the hall or interfering with the visitors. A fragment of the programme of service on April 19, A.D. 226, written with a black pencil on a piece of marble in the walls of a room used as office, and bearing the names of the different slaves em-

ployed in some department, and their allotted hours of duty, was actually discovered in the Baths of Caracalla by Signor Lanciani a few years ago.

Less generally known than the *Thermæ* were the porticoes, which, first introduced by Augustus and his friend Agrippa, quickly sprang up during the next twenty years, until the whole plain of the *Campus Martius*, from the foot of the hills to the river, was covered with a network of colonnades where citizens might meet and walk in shelter at all seasons of the year, protected alike from the piercing blast of the *tramontana* or the fiery rays of the summer sun.

Lastly there were the vast gardens or parks which, the present writer shows, surrounded and intersected the city in every direction. Many of these were situated on the slopes of the *Esquiline*, where, as Horace tells us, *Mæcenas* buried the squalid pauper cemetery under a mass of earth and built his villa and laid out his gardens on the top. Recent excavations have shown that other citizens followed his example, and private tombs, full of rich funereal deposits, have been discovered in many instances below the level of some patrician garden.

But it is time to come to what has, after all, been the greatest triumph of recent excavations, the discovery of the House of the Vestals at the foot of the *Palatine hill*. This great event, which took place in December 1883, at once settled all controversy respecting the exact topography of the Forum, and the direction of the most famous of Roman streets, the *Sacra Via*, which skirted the *Atrium Vestæ* on the east, and the *Nova Via*, which passed it on the west. Nor was it less interesting to see the fragments of the *Regia* or dwelling of the *Pontifex Maximus*, with its painted stucco decorations and mosaic floors, then for the first time brought to light, and to realize the plan of the *Atrium Vestæ*, that *virginea domus* which was, as Signor Lanciani remarks, the prototype of all the nunneries in the world. Professor Middleton justly pronounces this to be the most important example of Roman domestic architecture that has yet been discovered: certainly in one respect, the preservation of a great part of the upper story, it surpasses in completeness the *Pompeian houses*. More than once it was burnt down and rebuilt, together with the Temple of *Vesta*, and it is said to have suffered in the fire of 191, in the reign of *Commodus*, but the damage then done to the building must have been comparatively small, since the whole of the ground-floor and great part of the upper stories are shown by the brick stamps

to belong to the age of Hadrian, in whose reign we know the house to have been rebuilt on a larger scale. By the help of Signor Lanciani's maps and admirable photographs, it is easy to understand the plan of the Vestal house. In the centre, with rooms opening out of it all round, is the large open courtyard or Atrium, once surrounded with cloisters or porticoes, adorned with cipollino columns. At one end is a large marble tank for the supply of water drawn by the Vestals for their daily rites from some sacred spring. On the north-east side we find the entrance to the house, near the Temple of Vesta, which was levelled to the ground in the sixteenth century. Thirty-six marble fragments of this beautiful round structure were discovered in 1884, and with their help Signor Lanciani has been able to reconstruct the famous shrine where the Vestal virgins kept watch over 'fire which burns for aye.' At the south-east end of the Atrium is the Tablinum or parlour where the Vestals held receptions, and further on are six small vaulted rooms (agreeing with the number of the six Vestal virgins), carefully warmed with hot-water flues, and preserved from the damp by a layer of large amphoræ sawn in two and placed under the pavement to allow the warm air to circulate freely. Beyond these, along the west side of the central court, are a marble-lined bathroom, a furnace to heat the rooms, and a number of small vaulted rooms which served as offices, including a corn-mill used to grind the meal with which the Vestals baked sacred cakes for the feast of the Lupercalia. Then comes the staircase leading to the upper story, and beyond it some fine halls, richly decorated with Oriental marbles, wreaths and garlands of flowers painted in stucco.

'The whole house in fact,' says Professor Middleton, 'with the exception of the offices, was once richly ornamented with floors and walls wholly lined with rich Oriental marbles, and having moulded plinths and cornices cut in the rarer and more brilliant kinds, such as *rosso antico* from Greece, and even the hard porphyry and green basalt. Among the many fragments which were found during the excavations, are included almost all the fine Oriental marbles, granites, porphyries, and alabasters, which were used during the period of Rome's greatest magnificence, and in many parts the walls appear to have been further decorated with the brilliant jewel-like mosaics made with *tesserae* of coloured glass' (p. 191).

Even the rooms of the upper story were lined with marble, while the large bath on this floor was lined with slabs of *cipollino pavonazzetto Africano* and white marbles and brilliant glass mirrors. This house remained in use even after the last

Vestal died, at the end of the fourth century ; and when the last excavations were made, in 1884, the remains of a mediæval house erected in the precincts of the Atrium in the seventh or eighth century were discovered, but unfortunately almost immediately destroyed. In this building a small terra-cotta jar was found, containing a collection of 835 coins, of which upwards of eight hundred were English silver pennies of the time of Alfred and his immediate successors. De Rossi suggests, in his Appendix to Signor Lanciani's work *L'Atrio di Vesta* (Rome, 1883), that this treasure, as is very probable, may have been sent as Peter's Pence to Rome from England.

In the present volume Signor Lanciani only briefly mentions the fifteen pedestals with inscriptions in honour of the Vestales Maximæ, as the elder Vestals or high priestesses were styled, together with the eleven portrait-statues of Vestals discovered in the central court. To give our readers a better idea of this most interesting discovery, we must borrow the following careful description from Professor Middleton's pages :—

‘The statues, which are of heroic size, range from an almost complete figure to a mere fragment. They are of various dates, mostly of the third century, although one or two date from the second. The finest as a work of art, dating probably from the time of Trajan or Hadrian, is a very noble portrait of a stately, middle-aged lady, the upper half of which only exists. This figure is of especial value as having the only known ancient representation of the sacred vestment called the *suffibulum*, a sort of hood made of a piece of white woollen cloth, with a purple border, rectangular in form ; this was folded over the head, and fastened in front below the throat by a fibula. . . . The other statues also are of unusual interest ; for though many of the museums of Europe contain so-called statues of Vestals, yet these are the only authentic ones. The statues are all of Greek marble, mostly Parian, but a few Athenian. The costume of all is in the main the same, . . . a *stola* or gown reaching from the neck to the feet, bound round the waist by a cord, the *zona* ; usually it is without sleeves, but in some cases there are short sleeves fastened with a row of loops and buttons. Over this is worn the *pallium*, an ample garment, folded round the body in a great variety of ways, giving great scope to the sculptor for the arrangement of graceful folds and the avoiding of monotony. In many cases the *pallium* is thrown over the head like a hood ; in others it is simply looped in rich folds around and diagonally across the body. Round the head of each the *vittæ* are twisted into a sort of coronet ; these were fillets or rope-like rolls of linen, the ends of which in some cases, but not in all, appear falling in front over the shoulders. The feet are shod in boots, apparently of kid or other soft leather ; some

have a separate division for the big toe. Though in most cases the hair is hidden by the *pallium* and the *vitta*, yet in some of the statues enough is visible to show that it was allowed to grow long, although on entering the novitiate the hair of the child Vestal was cut off. One statue, that of a tall, hard-featured lady—apparently a work of the end of the third century—has on the breast a number of metal pins, which show where the pendant of a necklace was fixed, though the ornament itself is missing. All the pedestals are inscribed to the *Virgo Vestalis Maxima*, or chief of the Vestals, a rank usually gained in order of seniority. The inscriptions on two of the pedestals of Flavia Publicia show that several lower grades were passed through before reaching this highest dignity' (p. 200).

It is worthy of notice that on one pedestal of the year 364 A.D., the latest of all in date, the name of the Vestal in whose honour the statue was raised has been carefully erased. As we know that about this time some of the Vestals became Christians, this was probably the reason that the memory of this lady, who had held the office of *Virgo Vestalis Maxima* and received such high praises, was condemned and her name effaced from the pedestal. The Christian poet Prudentius, in his hymn to St. Laurence, sings the praise of Claudia, the Vestal Virgin who embraces the true faith and enters the martyr's shrine—

'Ædemque Laurenti tuam Vestalis intrat Claudia.'

And Signor Lanciani quotes a letter addressed to a Vestal Virgin by Symmachus towards the end of the fourth century, in which this leader of the pagan party inquires anxiously whether he must believe the rumour of her intended secession from the order. Now such an act was perfectly legal, since at the expiration of thirty years of service the Vestal Virgin was free to leave the Atrium and return home. But very few of the number ever availed themselves of this permission, and the act would naturally be looked upon, at the time when Symmachus wrote, as a flagrant desertion on the part of a Vestal abbess. And since he had no other means of punishing her action, it would be easy to understand that he and his colleague, the Roman high priest, would erase the name of the Christian Vestal from the pedestal dedicated to her honour some years before.

Signor Lanciani's labours have been by no means confined to Rome itself. We wish we had space to follow him through the chapters in which he describes his excavations in the Campagna, and the countless remains of roads, bridges, aqueducts, mosaic pavements, marble sarcophagi, statues, inscrip-

tions, and other treasures which he has brought to light. Dig where you will in this once thickly-populated region, you find traces of the works of man and of the age when villas surrounded the Capitol within a radius of four to ten miles, and Rome might be said to extend as far as Ostia, Tusculum, Tibur, and Veii. Yet more interesting is his account of the magnificent harbour at Ostia begun by Claudius and brought to perfection by Trajan, a work which for beauty of construction, richness of decoration, and splendour of materials, has no equal in modern times.

‘There is no doubt,’ he writes, ‘that in ancient times no hydraulic work was considered perfect unless it joined to the skill of engineering the beauty of architecture. What I mean is this : we are satisfied, for instance, with fixing to our wharves iron rings and old guns as moorings ; in ancient times the rings (*dactylia*) were cut in stone or marble, in the shape of a lion’s head or dolphin, and the columns were costly marbles, or bore inscriptions in praise of the constructor of the harbour. We fence the space allotted to commercial transactions with iron railings, the ancients enclosed it with colonnades of Oriental marble. We enter the docks, or the line of customs, through an iron gate ; the ancients entered through triumphal arches, such as the well-known Arch of Trajan on the eastern pier of the harbour of Ancona. For the storage of merchandise we make use of wooden and iron sheds, and in exceptional cases, when we want to impress the stranger with our magnificence, we build brick warehouses. I wish the reader could see, as it has been my privilege to see, the beauty of the docks and warehouses of Porto, the perfection of their reticulated masonry, their cornices and entablatures, carved and moulded in terra-cotta, their mosaic pavements, their system of drainage and ventilation’ (p. 248).

Lastly, in speaking of the Tiber, it is interesting to find that Signor Lanciani is distinctly of opinion that the bed of the river may be expected to yield further stores of treasures. The old Jewish fable of the seven-branched candlestick and golden plate of the Temple at Jerusalem having been thrown into the Tiber may be without foundation, but the recent discoveries which have been made during the construction of the new embankment and the new bridge (Ponte Garibaldi) above the island have proved that a whole wealth of precious objects lies buried in yellow Tiber’s sandy bed. In 1878 the remains of a triumphal arch in honour of the Emperors Valens and Valentinus, together with several inscriptions, terra-cottas, and fragments of bas-reliefs and statues, and in 1885 a fine Græco-Roman statue of Bacchus was found lying head downwards twenty-six feet below the surface of the waters.

The great and varied interest of Signor Lanciani’s book

has detained us so long that we have hardly sufficient space left us to do justice to Professor Middleton's truly admirable volume on Ancient Rome, which is, we have no hesitation in saying, the best English work of the kind that we possess. It is, in fact, a complete handbook to the remains of Ancient Rome, and, more than most handbooks, it tells us exactly what we want to know about the ruins in a brief, clear, and scholarly way. Nothing of interest is left out, and several excellent maps, notably one on the Forum Romanum, make the situation of the chief monuments and the alterations effected by the most recent excavations clear to the meanest capacity. The chief part of the book, as many of our readers well know, appeared three years ago ; but the present edition has the advantage of an additional chapter, giving a list of the chief discoveries which have been made in the interval. Unfortunately, neither the destruction of the Ghetto nor that of the picturesque old houses along the banks of the Tiber has been repaid by any discoveries of great importance, while the damage thus done to the beauty of the city is altogether irreparable. It is also much to be regretted that several fine private houses found near the Tiber and in the Farnesina Gardens have been completely destroyed in the widening of the river. Several of these were not only richly adorned with marbles, but magnificently decorated with wall-paintings and stucco-reliefs dating from the early part of the first century. Some of these were cut off the walls and preserved, but in a sadly mutilated condition ; and we are the more grateful to Professor Middleton for the minute and careful description which he gives of these works of art, probably the finest of their kind that have yet been found in any Roman house.

'The wall-paintings were executed by the same methods as those of Pompei and the house on the Palatine ; but a few were of unusual style, and ampler in treatment than the common Roman types, and of a much more refined and truly decorative style, almost pure Greek in design, and having much resemblance to the beautiful though sketchy paintings on the white funeral *lecythi*, so many of which have been found in the tombs of Attica, dating mostly about the time of Alexander the Great. In these the treatment is kept very flat, the design being mostly expressed by firm painted outlines, as on most Greek vases. One very beautiful figure, thoroughly Greek in style, represents a young lady clad in a *stola* with very graceful and simple folds, and with a veil over her head ; she is seated, and pours perfume from a small *aryballos* into an *alabastrum*. Some of the stucco-reliefs with figure subjects, which are arranged in panels with moulded framing and scroll foliage round them, are of extraordinary beauty, both for moulding and composition, in some

respects even finer than the wonderful tomb on the Via Latina, which has reliefs of subjects from Homer's *Iliad*. Those in the house by the Tiber are of earlier date—early in the first century A.D.—and are modelled with marvellous spirit and refined taste, executed rapidly by the artist in the quick-setting wet stucco, which he applied in lumps on to the already hard ground of the panel, and quickly, before the stucco had time to harden, moulded the figures into shape with his finger and thumb, assisted by a few simple wooden tools. The decision and rapid skill with which every touch on the wet stucco was applied are most admirable, and the result is that an amount of vigour and life appears in these hastily executed reliefs such as it would have been impossible quite to equal by the slow process of chiselling a hard substance. Apparently the only guide which the sculptor had to help him was a mere sketch in outline, incised before beginning on the flat surface of the panel. It would be difficult to find any other examples equal to these in the perfection of combined training of hand and eye. Many of the scenes represented are Dionysiac—fauns playing on the double pipes, nymphs with timbrels and other musical instruments, sportive genii bearing the *thyrsus* or bunches of grapes, and Silenus reeling under the influence of wine. Some figures of winged Victories are marvels of delicate grace in their pose, lightly poised on their large wings, and in the flowing curves of their drapery gently floating behind them and indicating their forward movement. The modelling of the nude, especially some of the faun-musicians, shows very complete art-knowledge of the human form; the play of the muscles under the supple skin is rendered with perfect taste, and free from the anatomical exaggerations of the late Athenian school. The sculptors of these reliefs probably aimed at no originality, but had the good taste to select the most excellent models from among the countless works of Greek art of all periods with which Rome was then crowded to an almost inconceivable degree. As appears to have been always the case, these exquisite reliefs are tinted with colour to increase their decorative effect, in some cases very slightly, the figures themselves being left white, and merely the ground of the panel coloured' (p. 414).

The description of the various technical methods employed in Roman mural paintings which follows is too long to quote here, but it bears out a remark by the author in his opening chapter, where he says that the Romans were a thoroughly inartistic race, endowed with great powers of learning and adapting from other nations that proficiency in the fine arts in which they themselves were wanting. Consequently they adopted and imitated the art which the Etruscans, whose country surrounded their primitive city, had borrowed from other lands, and

'their architecture, painting, and sculpture appear to have been an ingenious compound of these arts as practised in Greece, Assyria, and Egypt—a combination mainly due to the active commerce which

was carried on between those countries and the shores of Etruria by a large fleet of Phœnician traders' (p. 20).

In his description of Roman architectural styles of building and methods of construction, we see the great value which Professor Middleton's practical knowledge of architecture and his acquaintance with the actual processes and materials employed in building have been in these antiquarian studies. The composition of the concrete, the stamps on the bricks, and a hundred other technical details, supply him with valuable evidence as to its date and history, and enable him to read, as it were, the story told by each building for itself. One point on which he lays especial stress is the fact that the Romans frequently used sham facings of brickwork to make what was not an arch look like a real arch. It is therefore a mistake to suppose that the development of the principle of the arch was the main characteristic of Roman architecture.

'Making use of their strong natural cement, the *pozzolana*, they constructed concrete domes and vaults of enormous span, cast in one solid mass of concrete, which covered the space like a metal lid without lateral thrust—having, that is, the form but not the principle of the arch. This allowed them to safely vault spaces so wide that the walls would have been pushed out if they had been covered with a true arched vault either in brick or stone' (p. 24).

The Baths of Caracalla and Basilica of Constantine are built on this principle. So, too, is the mighty dome which, reared by Agrippa in honour of the many gods from whom the Julian race claimed mythical descent, early received the name of the Pantheon. The construction of this enormous rotunda is in fact one of the best examples we have of the way in which the Romans built their vaulted roofs. The cupola is cast in one solid mass of concrete, and, although having the form of the arch, is no way constructed on the principle of the arch. The enormous walls which support the dome are nearly twenty feet thick, are cast in concrete with a thin facing of brick, and were once lined with the richest marble. The roof was originally covered with tiles of gilded bronze, which were carried off in the seventh century by the Emperor Constans, but, stripped as we see it to-day of these sumptuous decorations, the Pantheon is still one of the most imposing buildings in the world. The perfect proportions of the dome render it far more striking than St. Peter's, and no words can describe the wonderful effect of that magnificent cupola when we stand beneath it, and look up through

the circular opening in the roof at the sunlight streaming in on the marble floor, and the white clouds which chase each other across the blue sky overhead.

The removal of the block of houses at the back of the Pantheon a few years ago has finally settled the disputed question whether the Rotunda originally formed part of Agrippa's baths, and shows that no connexion existed between the Thermæ and this temple, which was, there can be little doubt, a completely separate building.

The extensive use of stucco in Roman buildings, and the great variety of cements employed, are also pointed out by the present writer. In speaking of the *opus testaceum*, the specially hard cement made out of lime and *pozzolana* mixed with pounded brick and pottery, used to line the channels of aqueducts and cisterns, he suggests that the mount near the quay of the Tiber, known as Monte Testaccio, was probably a store-heap of broken pots for use in making this particular cement.

Many other ingenious explanations of this problem have been offered by recent archæologists. De Rossi suggested that this singular hill, composed as it is of millions of broken amphoræ and terra-cotta jars piled up in layers, was in reality made up of the handles of amphoræ which were knocked off by the officer of customs to mark out those pots for which duty had been paid on the provisions contained in them. But Professor Dressel's explanation is on the whole the most satisfactory. In his researches he has discovered that when the trade between Rome and her provinces began to assume large proportions, a space of ground near the landing-place was set apart, where the fragments of amphoræ which had been broken on the journey or in the act of unloading might be thrown. By degrees the heap attained such imposing dimensions that a real hill, 150 feet high and 4,000 feet round, was formed, and by a careful investigation of the inscriptions on the fragments which composed the surface Professor Dressel was able to discover the actual date—between 140 A.D. and 250 A.D.—when the mount reached its present height.

Before parting from Professor Middleton's work, we must draw the reader's attention to the chapter which deals with amphitheatres in general, and more especially with the growth and construction of the Colosseum, the most famous and perhaps, in its skilful use of varied materials, the most remarkable specimen of what our author calls Roman utilitarian architecture now remaining. Here again the diagrams in the text are of great assistance to the student, while the

illustrations of passages in Vitruvius which he introduces in this and in other places are of the greatest possible value.

The third book on our list, Dr. Hugh Macmillan's *Roman Mosaics*, differs from the two already noticed in one important respect. Although it appeared for the first time not a year ago, the Rome described in its pages is the city of twelve years back, which is a very different thing from the Rome of to-day. Dr. Macmillan tells us frankly that he has not paid a second visit to Rome or attempted to revise his first impressions of the visit he paid in 1876 to the Eternal City. This must be borne in mind when we read the author's account of the Forum, where we find no mention made of the newly-excavated House of the Vestals, of the Regia, or of the statues and pedestals with their dedicatory inscriptions to the Vestal Virgins. Again, reading the chapter called 'A Walk to Church in Rome,' the description of the view from the Pincio must be taken with some reserve. For within the last few years the external aspect of Rome has changed so much that the old landmarks are scarcely to be recognized. A whole quarter has sprung up in the Prati di Castello, and rows of factory-looking houses conceal the river banks, and dwarf the noble proportions of the dome of St. Peter's, depriving that remarkable view of its greatest charm. The latest discoveries have thrown new light on several minor points of Roman archæology on which Dr. Macmillan would do well to inform himself when he revises the present edition; and in any case we regret to find him guilty of repeating the foolish and impossible mistake of the guide-books, which persist in ascribing the immortal statues of the heroes holding their horses on Monte Cavallo to Phidias and Praxiteles. The names of the Greek sculptors were placed there by persons utterly ignorant of archæology, and there is little more foundation for the old tradition which sees in these figures representations of the Great Twin Brethren, Castor and Pollux. The common consent of scholars now recognizes in these plainly Roman statues copies of bronze originals, probably some of the twenty-four horsemen which once stood in front of the Portico of Octavia, and were executed by the Greek sculptor Lysippus or men of his school in the reign of Alexander the Great.

With these exceptions the book is very pleasant reading from first to last. The name—*Roman Mosaics*—aptly describes its contents, made up, as the author modestly says, of old facts gathered from many sources, and harmonized into a significant unity, just as a mosaic is made up of small

coloured cubes joined together in such a way as to form a picture.

Every variety of subject certainly finds a place in these pages, which reflect the many-coloured changeful life of modern Rome, the startling contrasts and strange surprises that meet us in its streets. We have in turn picturesque descriptions of the Appian Way, of the Painted Tomb at Veii, of the church and convent of S. Onofrio, where Tasso ended his days; learned dissertations on the Codex Vaticanus, on the marbles and Egyptian obelisks of ancient Rome, on Christian antiquities and catacombs, pagan tombs and Renaissance frescoes, on St. Paul at Puteoli and Nero at Baia, on the Propaganda and the Cumæan Sibyl. Occasionally, it must be owned, Dr. Macmillan's varied knowledge and wide range of reading tempt him to stray into regions somewhat remote from the subject in hand. The legendary Footprints of Our Lord on the pavement of the little church of *Domine quo Vadis?* leads him to give a history of miraculous footprints in all parts of the world, from the impression of Abraham's feet shown in the Kaaba at Mecca, and the footprint of Adam and Mahomet in the Mosque of Hebron, to the Tanist stones of Scotland and the Phra-bat or Sacred Footprints of Buddha in the East. In the same way the mention of the famous mask known as *La Bocca della Verità*, in the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin—in reality the opening of a drain, carved, as was common in Rome, with the face of the God Oceanus—forms the subject of a chapter in which the author discusses the holed stones in Scotland and Ireland, the cromlechs of Cornwall, the *Lapides Martyrum* of the early Christians, the Stone of Odin in the Orkney Isles, and the Needle of St. Wilfrid in the crypt at Ripon, and finally goes off into a digression on the subject of jade and how it was first introduced into Europe. For our own part we confess that we distinctly prefer the more purely *Roman* mosaics. Both the chapter on Egyptian Obelisks and that on the Marbles of Ancient Rome are full of curious and interesting information, pleasantly put together and brought within the comprehension of the humblest reader. In his account of Egyptian obelisks in Rome Dr. Macmillan informs us that at one time there were no less than forty-eight of these monuments of ancient sun-worship erected in Rome—all brought at enormous cost and with incredible labour from the banks of the Nile to Italy. Although thirty of these have disappeared, and their fragments lie buried under the ruins of ancient Rome to be dug up, it may be, by future excavators,

twelve of the oldest and grandest in the world are still to be seen in the modern city. Of these the largest is that which was discovered by Sixtus V. in the ruins of the Circus Maximus and by him re-erected in 1588 on the square in front of the Lateran. Originally constructed by Thotmes III., it was set up by him in front of the great Temple at Heliopolis two thousand years before the Christian era, and first brought to Rome by the Emperor Constantius in fulfilment of the wish of his father, Constantine the Great. The next in point of height is the obelisk which stands between the two fountains on the great square of St. Peter's. This one was first brought by Caligula to Rome, where for fifteen centuries it stood undisturbed until the foundations gave way and it was taken down and re-erected by the Papal architect Fontana at the command of Sixtus V. The strange story connected with this event is probably familiar to our readers. A papal decree had been issued enjoining absolute silence on the crowds assembled in the Piazza until the obelisk should be fixed in its place. In the midst of the operation there was a sudden pause, the ropes refused to work, and it seemed as if the huge mass of stone must fall, when a sailor of Bordighera who stood in the crowd cried in a loud voice, 'Wet the ropes.' The architect obeyed the suggestion, and the obelisk took its stand in the place it has occupied ever since. The sailor was pardoned and rewarded for his bold transgression of the Pope's edict, and his native village of Bordighera received the privilege of supplying Rome with palms for Palm Sunday, an honour which it still enjoys at the present time. But we agree with Dr. Macmillan that the most interesting of all Roman obelisks is that which stands in the centre of the Piazza del Popolo with the four Egyptian lions at its base, pouring water from their jaws into the large basin below.

'The obelisk was originally erected in front of the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, by the great Rameses, the Sesostris of the Greeks, whose personal character and wide conquests fill a larger space in the history of ancient Egypt than those of any other monarch. From Heliopolis it was removed to Rome, after the battle of Actium, by Augustus, and placed on the Spina of the Circus Maximus, the sports of which were under the special protection of Apollo, the sun-god, by whose favour it was supposed that the Egyptian victory had been achieved. For four hundred years it acted as a gnomon, regulating by the length and direction of its shadow the hours of the public games of the circus; and then it was overturned during the troublous days in which the Empire was rent asunder. Twelve centuries of decay and wreck had buried it from the eyes of men, until it was dug up and placed where it now stands in 1587 by Pope Sixtus V., to whom modern

Rome is indebted for the restoration of many of her ancient monuments, and the construction of many of her public buildings and streets. With the cross planted on its summit this noble monument was long the first object which met the traveller's eye as he entered Rome from the north by the old Flaminian Way. Brought to commemorate the overthrow of the land from whence it came, it has witnessed the overthrow of the conquerors in turn; and now re-erected in the modern capital it will endure when its glory too has passed away' (p. 199).

No less useful and instructive is Dr. Macmillan's chapter on the marbles of ancient Rome. The immense quantity of marble fragments still strewn on the ground in every part of old Rome and of the surrounding Campagna, the broken pieces of precious porphyry and giallo antico which we find worked into the roads of the new quarters, or lying in rubbish heaps in the old, give the traveller some idea of the extraordinary amount of marble used in the decoration of the public and private buildings of the imperial city. When we remember that for centuries the remains of ancient Rome have served as quarries to supply modern architects and sculptors, so that hardly a palace or church in Rome but is adorned with columns and slabs stolen from ancient monuments, we begin to realize the enormous amount of costly marbles which the city once contained. But, after all, what we see now represents but a small part of the splendour of ancient Rome, since by far the greater quantity perished in the lime-kilns of the middle ages—'Almost all the houses in the city,' wrote Raphael to Leo X., 'have been built with lime made out of the precious marbles that were the glory of Rome.' It was not until the close of the Republican era, about the beginning of the first century B.C., that marble first came into use. Lucius Crassus, the orator, we know, was the first to use marble columns for the adorning of his private house, and was ridiculed accordingly by his countrymen for this proof of effeminate luxury, but under the rule of Augustus the practice became common, and so great was the splendour of the monuments erected during his reign, that he is said to have boasted he found Rome of brick—the *tufa* and *peperino* from the quarries of the Roman and Alban hills, of which old Rome was chiefly built—and left it of marble.

'The old days of stern Republican simplicity,' says Professor Middleton, 'suddenly came to an end under the auspices of Augustus, and the whole city, both in its public buildings and private houses, burst out, as it were, into a sudden blaze of splendour, glowing with the brilliance of richly veined marbles poured into Rome from countless quarries in Africa, Greece, and Asia Minor' (p. 250).

During the next three centuries whole armies of workmen, including a host of slaves and criminals, were employed to dig out endless varieties of Greek and Oriental marbles and alabasters in different parts of the empire, to be shipped and sent to Rome for the decoration of the capital of the world.

Dr. Macmillan endeavours to classify all these different marbles, and gives us a list not only of the various temples and buildings which they originally adorned, but of the mediæval or modern churches and palaces where the columns and other fragments may be at present seen. Much of this information is no doubt, as the author tells us, derived from Faustino Corsi's interesting work *Trattato delle Pietre Antiche*, but Dr. Macmillan deserves our gratitude for having put so much curious information at the disposal of the English visitor to Rome in this clear and readable form, and this part of his book ought to be of real value and assistance to all who are interested in one of the most fascinating studies which Rome affords.

We have further reason to be grateful to the author for the accurate and sympathetic tone of his descriptions of the shrines and churches, the streets and environs of Rome. A Presbyterian himself, he writes with reverent and intelligent sympathy of Catholic Rome, and there is not a word in the whole volume which could jar on the feelings of the most devout member of the Latin Church. Keenly alive to the multitude of impressions which throng with almost overwhelming force on the visitor who sees Rome for the first time, he is equally conscious of the wonderful charm of the place, of the beauty of colour and atmosphere, which haunts the memories of all those who have once drunk of the waters of Trevi. Here is a passage in which he describes the tombs and ruins of the Appian Way—*Regina viarum*—and takes us, as it were, at once into the heart of those scenes so full of strange and mysterious beauty :—

‘Beyond the tomb of Cecilia Metella the Appian Way becomes more interesting and beautiful. The high walls which previously shut in the road on either side now disappear, and nothing separates it from the Campagna but a low dyke of loose stones. The traveller obtains an uninterrupted view of the immense melancholy plain, which stretches away to the horizon with hardly a single tree to relieve the desolation. Here and there on the waste surface are fragments of ruins which speak to the heart, by their very muteness, more suggestively than if their historical associations were fully known. The mystic light from a sky which over this place seems ever to brood with a smile more touching than tears, falls upon the endless arches of the Claudian Aqueduct, that remind one, as Ruskin has

finely said, of a funeral procession departing from a nation's grave. The afternoon sun paints them with ruby splendours, and gleams vividly upon the picturesque vegetation which a thousand springs have sown upon their crumbling sides. They lead the eye on to the Alban Hills, which form on the horizon a fitting frame to the great picture, tender-toned, with delicate pearly and purple shadows clothing every cliff and hollow, like harmonies of music turned to shape. . . . Along this avenue of death nothing can be more striking than the profusion of life. . . . Myriads of flowers gleam in their own atmosphere of living light like jewels among the rich herbage, so that the feet can hardly be set down without crushing scores of them . . . on the very tombs themselves there was a lavish adornment of vegetable life ; snow-white drifts of hawthorn and honeysuckle wreaths waved on the summits of those on which a sufficient depth of soil had lodged ; the wild dog-rose spread its thorny bushes and passionate-coloured crimson blooms as a fence round others ; and even on the barest of them nothing could exceed the wealth of orange lichens that redeemed their poverty and gilded their nakedness with frescoes of fadeless beauty. On some of the rugged masses of masonry grew large heavy tufts of the strange *roccella*, or orchil-weed, which yields the famous purple dye, with which, in all likelihood, the robes of Cæsars were coloured, and which gave wealth, rank, and name to one princely Italian family, the Rucellai. Over the desolate tombs of those who wore the imperial purple, this humble lichen, that yielded the splendid hue, spread its gray-frost of vegetation. I have already spoken of the solitude of the Campagna : but this part of the Appian Way, leading through it, is exceptionally lonely. . . . There are no sights or sounds of rural toil in the fields on either side of the way. Only a solitary shepherd with his picturesque cloak, accompanied by two or three vicious-looking dogs, meets you ; or, perhaps you come unexpectedly upon an artist seated on a tomb, and busy sketching the landscape. For hours you may have the scene all to yourself. Even Rome, from this distance, looks like a city of dreams ! Its walls and domes have disappeared behind the misty green veil of the horizon ; and only the colossal statues of the apostles on the top of the church of St. John Lateran stand out in a halo of golden light, and seem to stretch forth their hands to welcome the approaching pilgrim' (pp. 69-74).

In days like these, when Rome is changing so rapidly, and the relentless march of civilization is sweeping away so much that was fair and precious to us, the record of impressions such as these becomes the more valuable. For, if new quarters continue to spring up, and old streets and houses are destroyed as swiftly as has been the case of late, little will be left of Rome as we remember her ten or twenty years back, and future generations will have to learn from the guide books of bygone days that there was once a time when Rome and her Campagna were as beautiful as they must be for ever interesting.

ART. IV.—DÖLLINGER AND REUSCH ON THE JESUITS.

Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der Römisch-Katholischen Kirche seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert, mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte und Charakteristik des Jesuitenordens. Auf Grund ungedruckter Aktenstücke bearbeitet und herausgegeben von IGNAZ VON DÖLLINGER und FR. HEINRICH REUSCH. 2 vols. (Nordlingen, 1889.)

HEINE proved himself to have but a small stock of that seership which his recent English admirers claim for him when from his self-chosen exile in Paris, 'the New Jerusalem,' as the suffering German called the French capital, he sarcastically demanded

Und lebt denn noch am Isarfluss
Der Pfaffe Dollingerius?

For the epithet 'Pfaffe,' which was in use among the German Catholic folk long before the Reformation, as in the famous Swiss 'Pfaffenbrief' of 1370, we have no fit English equivalent. The 'Pfaffe'-hating poet has been dead nearly forty years. But Döllinger still lives on the banks of the Isar, and if there is one name more disliked than any other by Continental 'Pfaffenthum' it is certainly not Heine's, but that of the great Catholic theologian, although he is busy upon exactly the same service of the Catholic cause as he was when Heine giped at him. It was about the same time that the late Miss Charlotte Williams-Wynn 'went with Professor Döllinger all over the Library' at Munich, and, with an absurdity equal to Heine's, she described him in her pleasant *Memorials* as 'a thoroughly Jesuitical man, but evidently very clever, and he does not mind a joke at all' (pp. 95, 96). Anyone who has seen Franz von Lenbach's remarkable portraits of Dr. von Döllinger and Mr. Gladstone in conversation will perceive at a glance that he is a man instinct with humour. But his humour is kept under restraint, and is charitable to those against whom it is pointed, as Heine's rarely was. An able German critic has indeed regretted that Dr. Döllinger and his colleague in the work whose title stands at the head of this article are almost 'too objective.' Even when they have made for themselves, by their exposition of the facts and the citation of proofs, the most tempting occasion for the ex-

pression of moral indignation or satire, they refuse to take such advantage of their situation as a weak poet, novelist, journalist, or preacher, or even so strong a man as Pascal, would have taken. The unimpassioned, strictly scientific, and never unkindly manner in which they proceed with their anatomy is a lesson for all historians of controversy.

The first division of vol. i. contains five essays, each complete in itself: (1) introduction; (2) an account of the controversy on Probabilism from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century; (3) other moral controversies of the seventeenth century, particularly the strife concerning 'Attritionism' and the astounding relaxations from the obligation of 'the first and great commandment' of the love of God; (4) the history of General Thyrsus Gonzalez and his struggle against Probabilism; (5) the first adequate and critical account, from a Catholic standpoint, of the life, character, writings, and influence of Alphonso Maria de' Liguori. The second division of the volume includes thirteen essays in illustration of the history and characteristics of the Jesuit Company. The first deals with the *Ratio Studiorum*, the second with the peculiar faculties and privileges conferred by the Popes upon the Jesuits; the next treats of the formerly wide-spread belief that no Jesuit can die in mortal sin or be finally lost.¹ The French Jesuit Jacques Terrien described it in 1874 as the '*tradition* que la mort dans la Compagnie de Jésus est un gage certain de la prédestination.'² It was the exact complement of the doctrine of their spiritual kinsfolk, the English Puritans, that 'the elect' (which came to be a synonym for the Nonconformist or the sectary) could never entirely fall from grace. The self-appropriation of this extraordinary sectarian privilege was not originated, but inherited, by the Jesuits and Calvinists. 'The Cistercian Order' (*Religio Cisterciensis*), wrote William of Malmesbury³ seven centuries ago, 'is now both asserted and believed to be the surest way to heaven.' The remaining essays in the first volume unfold the history of a series of controversies within the Company, of dissensions between it and other orders, and of conflicts between Jesuits and the historical episcopate.

The second volume is wholly occupied with the original

¹ I. 524-34; ii. 348. 'Filiis Societatis Jesu sub pallio B. Virginis et vivere et mori datum est.' Cf. also the 'Revelationes de iis qui salvantur in Societate,' ii. 347 ff.

² Cf. *Deutscher Merkur*, 1880, p. 65.

³ *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, L. iv. c. i. T. D. Hardy cites a like opinion from the prologue to Richard of Devizes: 'Cella Cartusiæ celsior sit et cælo vicinior claustrum Wintoniæ.'

documents, now first published, which were certainly never intended for publication. Each is 'orientated' with a useful preparatory note. 'No. 78,' the instructions for the Jesuit missionaries—'sive religiosi sive seculares'—amongst the heretics of Germany and Switzerland, is most instructive (ii. 390-393). Students not under twenty-eight or thirty are to attend the Protestant universities, 'under the pretext of studying law or medicine.' Its closing remark, 'sine pecunia enim haec non possunt expediri,' recalls the prediction made by a Jesuit in Cologne fifteen years ago that the Old Catholic movement could not last long, 'because the Old Catholics have no money.' The success of their crafty policy with the German princes and schools, however, will be evident to anyone who will look at the imperial cities of Germany to-day in the light of their statement at that time (about 1600): 'Ex 80 enim et pluribus urbibus imperialibus non sunt nisi sex toto Catholicæ, non nisi totidem mixtæ, reliquæ omnes in solidum hæreticæ' (ii. 391). The Jesuit campaign amongst 'heretics' has three stages—first tolerance, on account of their harmlessness or their good service to their community; next, what their Puritan kinsfolk call 'religious equality'; finally, exclusive domination.

The work is designed to fill an important gap in the history of Catholic moral theology. Every student of Church history is aware that there was a long and bitter civil war within the National Churches subject to the Roman Chair upon questions which affected the very substance of Christian ethics, especially upon the wide and deep hurt done to morality by 'Probabilism,' which B. Gonet described as 'the art of cavilling with God.' Bishop Burnet in 1681 and 1682 gave a fairly candid account of one campaign in this war, and plentifully illustrated it with contemporary Latin and French documents in the long preface to his *History of the Rights of Princes in the disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices*, and in his *Collection of some Letters and Instruments that have passed during the late Contests in France*. The episode connected with the brilliant attack of Pascal includes, however, nearly all that is generally known to outsiders of the domestic strife amongst the Tridentine theologians. He succeeded by his *Lettres Provinciales* in interesting the educated laity of the Tridentine Churches, and even Anglicans and Protestants, in the moral questions at issue, and in laying bare to all the world the scandalous demoralization of the science of casuistry by the Company of Jesus. Modern Jesuits have cited the unbelievers, and particularly D'Alembert and Heine's

intellectual kinsman Voltaire, as the advocates of the Company against Pascal. The least serious of Frenchmen accused the most serious of caring more to raise a laugh than to produce reasons against the Jesuits. 'Il ne s'agissait pas de raisonner, mais de faire rire.' That Pascal's attack was but an incident in a long war was not realized by Voltaire, however; nor probably was it known to Father Ravignan, if we may judge by his ingenuous plea that 'one of our generals, P. Thyrsus Gonsales [Gonzalez], is the strongest writer against this doctrine that I have met with.' The eloquent but shallow French apologist of the Company was not so familiar with Gonzalez as the authors are, who devote the longest essay in their work to an exhaustive documentary history of the brave stand made by the unpopular General Gonzalez against the Probabilism of his Company. Segneri, the famous Jesuit preacher, defended the right of 'the sons' to rebel against 'the father who ceased to be a father.' So he described the noble man whom Pope Innocent XI. believed to have been marvellously called by God's providence to the generalship for the very end of rescuing his Company from the danger of officially teaching 'laxity' in morals (i. 120-273). Gonzalez can hardly be better described than as an 'unjesuitical Jesuit,' like the gentle poet and advocate of the wretched women accused of witchcraft, P. Friedrich Spee. The two kindred adjectives 'Puritanical' and 'Jesuitical' express lasting judgments of the universal Christian conscience. But as many an unpuritanical theologian was nurtured in the bosom of Puritanism, and ceased not to be outwardly a Puritan—such as Milton, John Goodwin, Lightfoot and Cudworth in their early days, and Baxter and John Durie in their later days—so many unjesuitical Jesuits, some of whom the authors first introduce to us in their book, appeared from time to time within the Company, and yet ceased not to be fervid Jesuits. The presence of what we may justly call an anti-Jesuitical leaven, or at least an unjesuitical leaven, within the Company itself, brought about a most unexpected issue. The Jesuit Company, which regarded it as its own special function to hold together all the Tridentine National Churches in an unbreakable solidarity under the Roman Pontiff, was itself internally torn and agitated for years by the moral controversies, and brought to the verge of ruin. 'The means which had hitherto been found adequate for the stifling of controversies,' as the authors remark, 'itself

¹ P. Ravignan, S. J., *De l'Existence et de l'Institut des Jésuites*, 1844, 7th edition, 1855 (English translation, 1844, pp. 60, 69).

utterly broke down' (Vorwort, iii). The controversies on moral theology within the Latin Churches, which continued throughout the eighteenth century, were virtually struggles for or against the conclusive identification of Jesuitism with Catholicism within those Churches. Sometimes France, sometimes Italy was the main field of battle; but there was no State in Christendom where the ceaseless fight for the definitive transmutation of the old Catholicism into the new Jesuitism was not felt more or less disastrously in political and social life. It was the angry uprising of the old Catholic spirit, as well as the patriotic spirit, against the Company of Jesus which brought about their expulsion from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764, and from Spain in 1767, and ended in the sudden suppression of the order by the famous Bull of Clement XIV. (July 21, 1773), 'Dominus ac Redemptor noster,' for the sake of the Church's peace. The superlatively Spanish Company had become so hateful even in the Church of Spain that when fourteen of the Spanish bishops advised its reform thirty-four bishops called for its suppression, and only two bishops spoke in its favour (i. 340).

There is a rich treasure of historical proof that the bishops of the National Churches under the Papal obedience, especially the German episcopate, hoped that the suppression of the Company by the Pope would purge the Churches for all time from the bad leaven of its doctrine, and render possible the needed reforms in Church discipline. 'But, alas!' as Carlyle exclaimed in the most powerful and least studied of his writings, 'the expulsion of the Jesuit body avails us little when the Jesuit *soul* has so nestled itself in the life of mankind.'¹ The Jesuits invented nothing. They did not originate Probabilism, Attritionism, the Immaculate Conception, Papal Infallibility. They simply selected, developed, and utilized what they found already present in germ and fittest for their object in the existing Ultramontanist system. 'Jesuitism,' in this sense, was a power before there was a Jesuit in the world. Its notorious axiom, 'The end justifies the means'—that express contrary of the law of eternal righteousness—had always been openly or covertly the motto of opportunist policy, or so-called 'practical politics.' It had been justified by that 'book written with the devil's fingers,' the *Principe* of Macchiavelli, which was published when Loyola was but a boy of sixteen. The late Johannes Scherr, of Zürich, who has been called 'the German Carlyle,' detected

¹ *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, XIV. 'Jesuitism.'

'Jesuitism' in the 'Politics' of Aristotle; and the old Catholic scholar Professor Huber has called attention to the 'Jesuitism' of Luther. In a letter to Johann Lange in 1520, when the young Spanish soldier had not the least conception of founding the Company of Jesus, Luther said that he and the Wittenbergers were convinced that all things were lawful against the Pope ('Nos hic persuasi sumus, papatum esse veri et germani Antichristi sedem, in cujus deceptionem et nequitiam ob salutem animarum *nobis omnia licere arbitramur*'). Is not the great reformer's 'ob salutem animarum' the moral correlative of the great counter-reformer's 'ad maiorem Dei gloriam'? Two sorts of men, as Scherr said in his posthumous *Die Jesuiten*, have no right to cast a stone at the Company of Jesus—'the coarse materialists and anarchists who exalt fleshly self-seeking into the place of the highest law,' and 'the heads of great commercial firms, who say that it is ridiculous to do business with the Catechism in one's hand.'¹

From the time of their suppression until the time of their restoration under the reactionary policy of Europe in the first two decades of our century, the Jesuits (or 'ex-Jesuits,' as they were then called) were tolerated only in the anti-Papal States. They have good reason for citing the encyclopædists and freethinkers as their apologists; for not only had the French infidels of the revolutionary age been largely trained in their schools, but those two royal agnostics, Catherine and Frederick the Great, welcomed them into Russia and Prussia, the two States to which they have been most singularly ungrateful. Russia is hated by the Jesuits because it is the powerful champion of the Orthodox National Churches which regard the Pope as the first of Dissenters and the father of Protestantism. They plotted ceaselessly against Prussia, and for Austria and France, until Prince Bismarck made the old Emperor Wilhelm I. 'go to Canossa.' His ancestor Frederick admitted them into Prussia out of a short-sighted parsimony. He found them to be the very cheapest of schoolmasters; he obliged them, however, to adopt the novel denomination of 'Priests of the Royal School Institute.'

Notwithstanding their outward suppression throughout the Roman Catholic Churches they nevertheless kept up an influential activity within those Churches, masking under new names, such as Vincentines, Liguorians, Redemptorists, Marianists, Fathers of the Faith, and other titles, the 'af-

¹ *Vom Fels zum Meer*, 1886-87, pp. 62, 307, 513.

filiated orders' prohibited along with the Jesuits by the famous 'Falk laws,' with which Prussia, following the initiative of the Swiss Confederation in 1848, replied to the most fateful *political* act of our generation—the proclamation of the Pope's infallibility in faith and morals. Politics, as a subdivision of morals, is now theoretically everywhere subject to the Roman Chair. The papers which fell into the hands of the Italian revolutionists in 1848 prove beyond doubt that the election of Pius VII. was the work of the 'suppressed' Company. This was confirmed by the reports of the Austrian secret agents to their Government.¹ The grateful Pope opened the century (1801) with the restoration of the Company in Lithuania; in 1804 he restored it secretly in Sicily; at last, by the Bull 'Sollicitudo omnium' of 1814, he formally and totally undid the work of his predecessor, Clement XIV. From that date the Jesuits have worked with uniform success in one direction—the virtual inclusion of all Roman Catholic Christendom within the Company of Jesus. They have secured the definitive adoption of doctrines of the Company as dogmas of 'the Church,' the theoretical concentration of the Catholic Church instructed by the Jesuits within the individual person of the Pope, and the implicit identification of 'Catholicism' with 'Jesuitism.' The Company won the most brilliant of its victories when it obtained from Gregory XVI. the canonization of its 'Geisteserbe,' Alphonso de' Liguori, and his proclamation as a 'Doctor of the Church' from Pius IX. (i. Vorwort, v, 356, 357, 367).

The unity of the Vaticanist Churches in all nations under the Papal Cæsar as their 'one lord,' and in assent to Jesuit doctrine as their 'one faith,' was clenched by the great doctrinal and disciplinary victory of Jesuitism in the Vatican Council. This unity was declared by the Catholic Dr. Pichler, during the session of that Council, to be 'sheer humbug.'² But the authors are the first to bring fully to light, and historically demonstrate by Jesuit evidence, that even the unity of the most active unifying force within the Vaticanist Churches, the Company of Jesus, is itself only a rope of sand. They show how it has already been all but shattered by Jesuit hands. Hence an uprising of the catholicity and humanity of the new man within some members of the Company, or the rebellion of a Pope against the virtual supremacy of the

¹ *Carte segrete della polizia austriaca.* G. F. Kolb, 'Jesuiten,' in Rotteck and Welcker's *Staatslexikon*, viii. 635.

² *Die wahren Hindernisse einer durchgreifenden Reform der Katholischen Kirche*, 1870, pp. 49, 50.

Company over the Papacy, may again almost or altogether cause its boasted unity and solidarity to tremble. Even the Pope's infallibility, in the rigid form given to it by the Vatican dogma (which was the handiwork of the Jesuits, and especially of Bellarmine), is capable of again becoming in their handling, as they have already made it, 'an indiarubber doctrine' which they can loosen or tighten at their will. Their ideal infallible Pope is the vain Pius IX., who promulgated their darling dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and raised their darling 'Doctor' to the level of St. Augustine. They are obliged to deny, in the interests of the Company, the *ex cathedra* character of the Bull of Clement XIV., since it abolished the Company for all ages as injurious alike to the Catholic Church and to all commonwealths. But what security have they against the election of a second Ganganelli to the Papal throne? In their *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, four years after the promulgation of the Infallibility, it was suggested that it might be at some future time desirable for the dying Pope, as by a Divine inspiration, to employ the 'oraculum vivæ vocis' and nominate his successor;¹ for if the Pope were to leave Rome and die in exile at Jerusalem, Malta, or elsewhere, the cardinals might elect a new Pope, while the *senatus, clerus, populusque Romanus*—the actual living Church of Rome—following the ancient local precedents, and feeling the practical need of an episcopate in Rome, might elect a Bishop of Rome. Which of the two, in such a catastrophe, would be the true successor of St. Peter, the cardinals' pope or the Church of Rome's bishop? Which would be the canonical Bishop of Rome, the nominee of the international cardinals who represent the local *clerus* of the Church of Rome by a mere fiction and in no sense represent the Christian laity of that diocese, or the elect of priests and people of the real local Roman Church? If the Company of Jesus should so far develop the dogma of the Pope's infallibility and absolute monarchy as to include within its contents the right Divine to nominate his successor, it would doubtless involve itself in a conflict with the cardinals, who are the creators of the Pope, and who at present hold the infallibility and absolute monarchy in solution and can precipitate the spiritual and secular gift upon whom they will. It was thought prudent to stop the flight of this indiscreet *ballon d'essai*. Ultramontanism and Jesuitism have

¹ August 1874. By P. Grandérath. He says that some Jesuits held that the Pope, like St. Peter (?), had the right to appoint 'the future ruler of the Church.' He adds that this 'was formerly the universal opinion.'

become so completely one that a blow at either must bring damage to the other. Pius VI. and Pius VII. were far inferior men to Clement XIV.; but they saw that their predecessor, by suppressing the Jesuit Company, had blindly sawn off the branch of the tree upon which the infallible and universally supreme Papacy was seated.

The history of the successive *Moralstreitigkeiten* unveils the inherent weakness of the very power which is not incorrectly reckoned to be the strength of the Vatican system. The constitution of the Company of Jesus has been praised even by those who hated it as a masterpiece of a social organism, held together by impregnable bonds of obedience such as men could never produce or command outside it—‘a tower of granite, so contrived and fabricated that it could neither be stormed from the outside nor exploded from the inside.’¹ Nevertheless the ‘corpse-like’ obedience, the will-less solidarity of the Company of Jesus seemed for a time powerless to supply any remedy against its own internal self-dismemberment, or for the healing of the distractions within the Churches of the Papacy. When its supreme chief, General Gonzalez, encouraged by the Pope, took upon himself the championship of old Catholic morals against the overwhelming majority of his mutinous Jesuit subjects, he attempted only to obtain a bare tolerance, and not a prevalence within the Company, for the doctrine which they hated. He was bound to fail. They refused the soldierly obedience, the boast of their order (*perinde ac si cadaver essent*), when their General seemed, according to their private judgment, to be acting against the sectarian interests of the Company. The Jesuits in their entirety were persuaded, not without reason, that the might and social standing of the individual Jesuit and of the Company were everywhere inextricably bound up with the theory of Probabilism, and with the dexterous application of it to moral and political exigences. The instructive history of this and other civil wars in the Jesuit Company’s own camp has hitherto been almost unknown, even amongst Jesuits, as we have seen in the case of their French apologist P. Ravignan. The authors state that the Dominican Concina, in his *History of Probabilism* and in the documents elucidating that work, has given the fullest account as yet attainable of the Jesuit controversies, and the materials which he collected were increased by the later additions of his fellow-Dominican Patuzzi (i. 305–9, 311, 312). The present work is constructed upon the study of a number of contemporary

¹ Scherr, *u. s.* 70.

letters and memoranda formerly belonging to the Company, and now preserved in the public archives and libraries of Munich. The authors have thus been able to exhibit clearly for the first time not merely the whole course of 'this theological drama,' as they call it, but the confessed motives and opinions of the original actors in it.

A number of technical phrases which have become acclimatized in Roman Catholic moral theology since the end of the sixteenth century occur throughout these volumes. Some 'orientation' of these is needful before the reader can appreciate what is meant by Probabilism.

In many cases of conscience there is no perfect certainty as to the moral allowableness or unallowableness of an act or a course of action. Two contrary opinions are presented to the conscience; both opinions are founded on reasoning, but in neither opinion is the reason *certa*; in each it is only *probabilis*. Opinions A and B may have several equally good grounds, and so be *æque probabiles*, or A may have more grounds than B. A is then *probabilior*, and B is *minus probabilis*. If the grounds for A considerably outweigh the grounds for B, A is *probabilissima*, and B is *tenuiter probabilis*. The probability of an opinion may either be founded upon subjective grounds (*probabilitas intrinseca*) or upon objective grounds—that is, upon the authority of those reputed as experts (*probabilitas extrinseca*).

The more or less probable opinion (*opinio probabilior* or *minus probabilis*) must further be distinguished from the safer or less safe opinion (*opinio tutior* or *minus tuta*). The 'safer opinion' is that by the following of which I am more likely to avoid the breaking of a law than I am by the following of its opposite. Hence it is known as the opinion inclining towards law (*legi favens*), while its opposite inclines towards freedom or licence (*libertati favens*). If I refuse to sign a contract about whose lawfulness I have some doubts I follow the 'safer opinion' (*opinio tutior*); but if, in spite of such doubts, I enter upon such a contract, I follow the 'less safe' opinion (*opinio minus tuta*). If a man strikes a bargain where the grounds for its allowableness seem stronger than those against it, he follows the 'more probable' opinion (*o. probabilior*). If the reasons for the lawfulness of a deed seem weaker than those against it, and a man nevertheless does it, he follows the 'less probable' opinion (*o. minus probabilis*).

Four theories, known as (1) Tutiorism, (2) Probabiliorism, (3) Æquiprobabilism, and (4) Probabilism, have been evolved out of the foregoing distinctions.

(1) The Tutorist holds that the 'safer' opinion (*o. tutior*) must in all cases be followed, even though the 'less safe' opinion (*o. minus tuta*) be the 'more probable' or 'most probable.' Thus, in a case of doubt as to the allowableness of a certain deed, I must not do it, although the reasons for its allowableness outnumber the reasons against it. Again, in a case of doubt as to the obligatory character of some course of action, I am bound to follow it as the 'safer' course, notwithstanding the grounds for its obligatoriness are less than those against it. This view is rejected by the majority of theologians as too rigorous for a general moral rule, and has hence become known as 'Rigorism.' '*Viam tutiorem sequi*,' said St. Antoninus of Florence, '*consilii est, non præcepti*.' Later Tutorists have so far modified this view as to say that the 'less safe' opinion may be followed where, but only where, it is the 'most probable,' or probable in the highest degree (*probabilissima*).

(2) The Probabiliorist teaches that the 'safer opinion' (*tutior*) may be followed, even though it be the less probable (*minus probabilis*). The 'less safe' (*minus tuta*) may be followed only when it is 'more probable' (*probabilior*) than its contrary.

(3) The Æquiprobabilist holds that we may even follow the 'less safe' opinion where it and the 'safer' opinion are equally and alike probable.

(4) The Probabilist boldly asserts that we may follow the 'less safe' opinion, even though it be the 'less probable.' It need hardly be said that the casuists have made room for sub-distinctions and graduations within the Probabilist theory. The theory of Lax Probabilism, which is exhaustively illustrated throughout this work, is content with the least possible degree of probability, so long as there is some feeble degree of it. Thus, according to Tutorism, I may not make a contract unless I have at least the moral certainty that it is not prohibited—as, for example, I must be sure that my bargain does not violate a law of the commonwealth against trickery, or of the Church against simony. I may make the contract, according to Probabilism, if the grounds for its allowableness exceed those for its unallowableness. I am sufficiently justified, according to Æquiprobabilism, if there be as many grounds for it as against it. All that I require to justify me in my contract, according to Probabilism, is to have *some* grounds for its allowableness, even though they be fewer than those for its unallowableness. Lax Probabilism, when developed to its highest pitch of completeness, made 'Christ's yoke easier,'

as its advocates dared to say, by allowing penitents to act upon an opinion which was merely *tenuiter probabilis*, and even *dubie* or *probabiliter probabilis*.¹ The conscience might be easy when there were only some reasons for it, or when it was not quite certain that there were no reasons against it.

It would exhaust too much space to give an adequate selection of the plentiful examples of these positions which occur in the work. In the *Judicium Patrum Revisorum generalium de Tribus Propositionibus* (1677) a characteristic judgment is given upon the third proposition, 'Licet sequi sententiam probabiliter tantum probabilem.' Whatever be thought of the proposition itself, say they, the doctrine is not to be delivered in schools, nor in 'our writings, lest we should thereby give the adversaries occasion of inveighing more bitterly against the Company.' The question as to the lawfulness of following an opinion which is only 'probably probable' was denied by some Jesuits and affirmed by others. The foes and friends of it are catalogued by the Jesuit C. Lacroix (1652-1714) in his *Théologie Morale*, who added that he himself preferred to say that a man might only follow an opinion which is *certe probabilis* 'when it is probable that it is probable.' 'Many actually used the terms *probabiliter*, *dubie*, and *tenuiter probabilis*,' observe the authors, 'as synonymous expressions' (i. 6 n.).

The moral confusion produced by the ceaseless argumentation over these different systems came less to the front so long as they were merely handled academically by lecturers and writers on moral theology. The mischief was first practically felt when they ceased to be academical theories, and were applied by confessors to the guidance of conscience, and so took root downwards, and bare poisonous fruit upwards, in the domestic, social, and political life of Christendom. Archbishop Boonen, of Mechlin, in 1655, in his strife with the Jesuits, prohibited the writings of Caramuel to be read in his diocese, because they represented many opinions as 'probable,' and many acts as allowable, which had hitherto been regarded as sinful, 'in order to make the way to heaven easier.'² Moral.

¹ Cf. St. Evremond's two conversations with P. Canaye the Jesuit and D'Aubigny the Jansenist. 'They make a sin of nothing,' said the latter; 'the Gospel, in their hands, is more indulgent than Morals; and Religion, when managed by them, does not so strongly oppose vice as Reason does.'—*Works*, ed. Des Marzeaux, 1714, i. 183-96.

² I. 37. Caramuel, whose authority was so great in the Company, was himself a Cistercian. He was the inventor of the most exhaustive defence of the doctrine of mental reservation.—Zöckler's art. on 'Reservatio Mentalis,' in *Herzog and Plitt, R.-E.* xii. 705 ff.

theology as a science was anciently taught in connexion with dogmatic theology, and was known in the Middle Ages as *theologia speculativa* or *scholastica*. The special function of casuistry, which was developed out of it, was the application of the universal moral law to concrete instances, and especially to the solution of cases of conscience. Thus moral theology teaches generally that Sunday is to be kept holy, and how this keeping holy is fulfilled; it states the general obligation of abstinence from ordinary labour and presence at the common worship of God. But the later casuists introduce such multitudinous and infinitesimal details concerning the application of the law to the conscience, such endless differentiations of gross and slight transgressions of the law, that the conscience in the end loses sight of the sacred law itself. The existence of such differences is not to be denied. But the guidance and healing of the conscience should be directed to the will, as it is either bent Godwards or sinwards. The penitent should ask, 'Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?' and not, 'What may I be excused from doing, or for doing?' No real 'salvation,' no 'making whole' from sin, can be wrought where the heap of differentiations between mortal and venial sins is merely objectively considered, looked upon as a hard and dry catalogue of commands and prohibitions, not as yet complete in all its particulars, and still under debate in many, whereas the law of the Lord is already perfect. A great and notable theft, since thieving is prohibited by the law of God, is a mortal sin, and separates the thief from Him. Yet a thievish dishonesty, which manifests itself in a life of ceaseless petty thefts, may be so represented by a Probabilist doctor, with no great difficulty, as to look consistent with the retention of the grace and life of God.¹

The law of Sunday has been handled by the casuists with what the Old Catholic Dean Hirscher, of Freiburg, aptly called 'Talmudic petty-mindedness.'² On what grounds may a Catholic be excused from hearing Mass on Sundays and festivals? What actions are or are not to be reckoned as ordinary or servile labour? Is it a mortal or venial sin to

¹ The ways in which the whole decalogue may be set aside by following Probabilist doctors was ably illustrated, though without sufficiency of knowledge, by the late Archdeacon Sinclair in his 'Morals of the Church of Rome,' *Charges*, 1876, pp. 405-29. It was not fair, before 1870, to charge these 'morals' upon 'the Church of Rome,' as bishops in the Roman obedience were foremost opponents of Jesuitism.

² His *Kirchliche Zustände der Gegenwart* (1849), often cited by the authors, was translated into English by Bishop A. C. Coxe, of Western New York, in 1852, with a valuable preface of seventy pages.

write, copy, correct proofs, draw, paint, model, embroider, knit, or hunt on Sundays?¹ Casuistry is as old as the Church, or rather as old as morality, and has always had more or less to handle such questions. But the intrusion of a fully panoplied Probabilism into casuistry, and its armed occupation of it, since the end of the sixteenth century, has resulted in the most hopeless entanglement of the handling. May I paint on Sunday? Laymann, Azor, Sporer, and others tell me that it is not prohibited. Sanchez, Suarez, and others tell me that it is prohibited. But even those who tell me that painting on Sunday is not unlawful do not agree in their opinions upon the 'probability' of its lawfulness. St. Alphonso de Liguori, whose authority as a 'doctor of the Church' promises me something more definitive, tells me that both opinions are 'probable.' I must either thank him for nothing, or else I must try to find a refuge from the difficulty in the *probabilitas extrinseca*. Where such expert doctors differ, and all are 'probably' right (and all as 'probably' wrong), some 'authority,' so called, must decide for my troubled conscience whether I may or may not finish my picture on a Sunday. I must submit mechanically and blindly to direction, like a 'corpse' or a 'staff in an old man's hand,' as if God had made me without a conscience or reason. Many have gone so far in their vindication of applying as a last resort to the so-called *probabilitas extrinseca* (which is of course no 'probability' at all) as to assert that almost every opinion is 'probable' which has been defended by some authors, or even by only one author, and may consequently be adopted in practice, notwithstanding its condemnation by a majority of authors, so long as it has never been expressly condemned by ecclesiastical authority.

The lawfulness of different degrees of Sunday writing has been ingeniously debated by a number of casuists. All are agreed that writing itself is allowable on Sunday, because it is not an *opus servile*, but an *opus omnino liberale*, since the intellect is the principal factor in it. But the question arose whether copying what another had written is a servile or a liberal work, and consequently unlawful or lawful on Sundays.

It is impossible to give even a summary of the author's account of the evolution of casuistry in the Church, and the formation of a *jurisprudencia divina* in connexion with the penitential discipline (i. 10-28). When it became a custom for the Christian to confess once in the year to his *proprius*

¹ See the citations from Lehmkuhl, Suarez, Busenbaum, Liguori, Gury, &c., i. 6-8, and notes.

sacerdos, the occasion was used by the pastor for discovering whether a sufficient religious knowledge was possessed by his flock, and also for instructing the more ignorant and younger members of it in the elements of the Faith. 'It may be truly said,' observe the authors, 'that the Catechism has grown out of confession.' Casuistry held a very secondary place in the Western Churches anterior to the Reformation, and only attained its full development in the post-Tridentine centuries. Its origin, as now known and applied, was due to the great change made in the old Catholic penitential discipline by the Franciscans and Dominicans. They were more active than the parochial clergy in the confessional, as the Jesuit Company subsequently boasted that it was more active than all other Orders. They were the Puritan Nonconformists, and to a certain extent even the Separatists, of the mediæval Churches, who drew Christian folk from the *proprius sacerdos*, their parish priest, on the plea that he was carnal and secular, while they were spiritual and religious. The authors cite the complaints of bishops in the thirteenth century against the schism caused amongst the faithful by the party-zeal of the Orders. In diocese after diocese, where the Orders set up convents, the Sunday and festival Masses in the parish churches and the sermons of the parish priests were neglected. The 'poor parson of the town,' the single-handed pastor, could not contend against the 'religious,' who had wealth and numerous priests at their disposal. They said Masses from daybreak till the third hour, and attracted crowds by the acceptable 'shortness of their Masses.' Like their Nonconformist and Dissenting successors, whose spiritual likeness Chaucer has prophetically drawn in drawing their forerunners, the Mendicants reckoned much upon 'sensational preaching' as a means of drawing the people from the common worship of the parish, and upon the promise of the more exalted religious privileges obtainable in the separatist or conventual chapel than in the parish church. The Papal indulgence system was largely subsidised by the Orders, to the end of drawing the Christian folk from the old Catholic local congregation and loosening their tie to the diocesan father in God. The Franciscans and Dominicans in the diocese of Olmütz seduced the folk with promises that by hearing Mass and sermons in their chapels, instead of in their own parish churches, they would get indulgences for two, three, or even twelve years, by the special favour of the Vicar of Christ, whereas the diocesan bishops would only grant them a very short and comparatively worthless indulgence. It was complained that these conventual

Puritans and Methodists got into their hands nearly all the burials, and that the dues and offerings of the parochial clergy had almost wholly ceased. They 'drink the wine out of the cup, and leave the dregs to the clergy; they wish to enjoy all the honours and profits of the cure of souls, but they will not bear the burdens and the risks of it.' The Bishop proposed that if the monks heard confessions they should at least send their penitents (as the Lord sent the lepers) to show themselves to their lawful priests. It is clear that the Mendicants provided the germ of easy penance which was so richly developed by the Jesuits in post-Tridentine times. Although the Lord conferred upon St. Peter, said the Bishop, the right both to bind and to loose, the monks tell the people that they possess the right to loose, but do not wish to have the right to bind (i. 19-21 n.). We may see here the ancestry of the kindred Puritanical Antinomianism. After the sixteenth century it became more and more customary not only to confess often, to confess before every Communion, to confess venial as well as gross sins, but to seek direction from the confessor upon all questions of moral and social life. This struck a blow at the parochial system, and at the old Catholic ideal of the congregation as a flock gathered together by the pastoral providence of God and united under one common sacerdotal pastor. The external confessor displaced the parish priest as pastor and guide of all the souls in a common flock. It came to pass at last, as Dean Hirscher regretted, that the Christian laid more stress upon the outward accidents of confession, its completeness or its frequency, than upon the inward and spiritual part of the sacrament of penance—its 'Reue und Genugthuung,' contrition and satisfaction.¹ It is worth remarking that an Anglican priest in the seventeenth century made exactly the same complaint of the Puritanical repentance. 'Our disfigured-faced Novelists,' said Richard Carpenter, 'these prodigious Christians who call themselves "Saints," have not the least knowledge or acquaintance with a true Evangelical repentance; they are so great strangers to *satisfaction* that they neither own it nor know it.'²

That there was a revolutionary change in the old Catholic penitential system of the Church in the sixteenth century, and that the Company of Jesus was foremost in effecting it, is plentifully evidenced out of their own reports. Its course is to be traced in the boasts of their *Imago primi sæculi* and

¹ *Kirchliche Zustände*, 69. Bishop Coxe's translation, 201-4.

² *The Last and Highest Appeal to God against the New-Religion-makers*, 12mo, 1656, pp. 16, 17.

in the histories of the different provinces of the Company, where abundant illustrations may be found under the word 'Confessio' in the registers. The Company set itself the task from the first of outstripping all foregoing and rival Orders by its instancy and frequency in the confessional. When Lainez and Salmeron went to Trient, Ignatius Loyola charged them 'aucupandas esse occasiones audiendi et condonandi peccata.' Orlandini reports that two Jesuits active in Portugal heard nearly fifty confessions apiece every day.¹ The scholars of the Jesuits were obliged from the beginning to make a monthly confession. Reports of miracles wrought through confession are not wanting in the history of the different provinces. The authors quote the Jesuit histories of the provinces of Bohemia and Germany in proof of the statement that the habit of frequent confession was first introduced by the Company, and that it was a novelty and not the restoration of a lapsed practice in the Bohemian and German Churches. In Bohemia the priests rarely heard an individual confession, but heard the confessions of fifteen or twenty persons at once, and absolved them in common. 'It may be hastily concluded,' the authors observe, 'that this was a product of Hussitism. It was nothing of the kind. We have exactly similar records of the ordinary use of confession in Italy.' When St. Carlo Borromeo came to Milan, his biographer tells us, he found that it was the custom even of the most pious persons—*sanctissimi omnium*—to confess only once a year, while to ordinary Catholics confession was 'aut inusitata aut ignota.' Orlandini says that it was the same in a whole series of Italian cities, not excepting Rome, in Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Germany. It was the boast of the Jesuits that they introduced (Orlandini wrongly says reintroduced) the habit of frequent confession. One of the most striking differences between the modern post-Tridentine canonizations and the canonizations of the Early and Middle Ages is the stress laid by the modern or Jesuit process upon the extraordinary frequency with which the candidate made confession, often daily, even though he or she had none but venial sins to confess. This point is further illustrated in the valuable chapter upon the superlatively Jesuit theologian and saint Alphonso de' Liguori. It was lately observed that Dr. Döllinger's encyclopædic knowledge

¹ See the strange boast in the *Imago primi sæculi*. 'Alacrius multo atque ardentius scelera jam expiantur quam ante solebant committi: nihil jam menstrua, nihil hebdomaria expiatione moribus receptum est magis: plurimi vix citius maculas contrahunt quam eluunt.' L. iii. c. 8 (i. 64).

embraced all European literature. We find a sign of this in the apt notes upon Puritan and Anglican casuists, such as William Ames, Bishop Sanderson, and others.

The authors have a severe criticism upon Cardinal Newman's reply to Kingsley. If Kingsley had enjoyed their boundless acquaintance with Roman Catholic theology he could have shown that Newman adroitly evaded the point at issue instead of meeting it. They cite Cardinal Wiseman, the *Dublin Review*, the English Life of Liguori by Newman's fellow Oratorians, and Cardinal Manning as witnesses for Kingsley (i. 470-2). Newman evades the real point by confessing, 'as plainly as any Protestant can wish,' that in this matter of morality, greatly as he admires the Italian character, he gives the preference to our English rule of life. The expression *nihil censura dignum*, in spite of Newman's protest that it confers no 'quasi-infallibility' upon Liguori's works, certainly 'does not put any geographical or anthropological limit to his authority in morals. Truth is Catholic, universally human, or alike for every conscience and all nations, and not one thing for Italians, another for Englishmen. To the Apostle of the Nations there is neither Jew nor Greek. Can we imagine St. Paul writing to the Church of Rome, 'You are Italians, and, much as I admire the good sides of your character, I do not demand from you—neither does the Holy Spirit of Truth—so strict a truthfulness as from the Jews'? Cardinal Manning, as the authors say, after quoting his laudation of Liguori's works, is either totally ignorant of the spurious citations which abound in them or else holds such flaws to be quite irrelevant. 'Quotation is the sorest point in Liguori's authorship.'¹ He did not read all the books which he cited; his citations from the Fathers were mostly copies out of other works, and were very often transcribed without any attempt to verify them. His boast that he had read a 'thousand books' during the compilation of his *Dissertazioni* was 'a powerful exaggeration.' The shape which he gave to his citations was frequently ridiculous, such as 'S. Athanasius cum Socrate et Theodoretō,' 'S. Greg. Naz. in plur. orat.' 'Aug. L. 15,' 'Iren. in ejus oper.' His book on the Pope literally bristles with falsified quotations from the Fathers (i. 406-10).

We are sorry that we cannot give an account of the significant controversies upon Attrition and the obligation of the love of God (i. 67-94). To abbreviate what is already

¹ See sect. 4 of the essay on Liguori, *Falsche Citate bei Liguori*, i. 403-12.

told with such compactness would be to spoil it, and we can only console ourselves for our omission by the hope that a work so important and necessary to Christendom, and to all civilized society, will soon be translated in its entirety into our own tongue. We must leave the intermediate essays and histories and pass to the interesting subject of the *Ratio Studiorum*.

The *Ratio [atque Institutio] Studiorum Societatis Jesu* is the official collection of the regulations for the Jesuit schooling, from the lowest Latin classes to the theological colleges. It has of course been a thing of growth.¹ The fourth General Congregation, held in 1551, elected Claudius Aquaviva to the generalship, who appointed twelve fathers to compile a *Formula Studiorum*. Nothing is known, however, of their work. In 1584 he nominated a new commission of six fathers of six different provinces—Spain, Portugal, France, Austria, Upper Germany, and Rome. They met daily in Rome, under the patronage of Gregory XIII., until August 1585. The work of the commission was then delivered by the General to the censorship of theologians of the Roman College, and at the end of the year the sketch of the *Ratio*, with the remarks of the theologians of the Roman College, was examined by the General and four assistants. In April 1586 printed copies were sent out by the General to the provincials, each of whom was to submit the work to five fathers of his province for their opinions. Nothing is known of the opinions sent in by the provinces. There was a long controversy over the allowableness of receiving the confession of an absent person by a letter or a messenger (*De Confessione absenti facta, Die Beichte in Abwesenheit, Die briefliche Beichte*). Aquaviva (*Ratio*) prohibited the Jesuits from teaching it as doctrine, but conceded the contrary opinion to be 'probable' (i. 535–8, ii. 266–74). It is known, however, that the *Ratio* found great opposition in Spain. The history of the *Ratio* down to our own time is told by the authors (i. 479–511). 'The true visible Church of God' is virtually defined for the scholars of the Jesuits as a Roman pontifical empire. The only sure way by which the natural man can be converted into a Church-man or Christian is not by the action of the Holy Ghost as the christening spirit, but by going straight to the Roman Pontiff. It is not sufficient to baptize 'every creature' and 'all nations,' as Christ commanded His apostles, unless the baptized souls and societies complete their baptism by submission to the Roman Pontiff. It is 'apostolicæ traditioni magis consen-

¹ For the documents illustrating its growth see ii. 225 ff.; for the history, i. 480. ff.

taneum' that the papacy, or vicarship of Christ, is 'annexed *jure divino* to the bishopric of Rome.'¹ Baptism, the act of the Holy Ghost, is really of less importance as a factor of 'the true Church' than a man's own act, his self-subjection to the Pope.² It is fellowship with the Pope which is the characteristic note of the true visible Church. Voltaire was a truer Churchman than George Herbert.

'Vera Dei ecclesia visibilis est illa, quæ in externo cultu (hoc est in externa fidei professione et in sacramentorum participatione) *communicat* [not immediately with Christ, but] *cum vero capite Christi vicario*, qui est Romanus Pontifex.'³

As the Son of God is the way to the Father, so the man for whom the victorious party amongst the cardinals gets a majority at a papal election is the way to the Son Himself. The Roman Pontiff is the mediator between Christ and mankind. That which in the *Ratio* was Jesuit opinion was established by the Vatican Council as 'Catholic' faith. Thus the private doctrine of the Company's professors of controversy in 1592 as to the papacy and general councils has now become the public doctrine for all Christians and Churches in subjection to the Roman Pontiff. The *Ratio* concedes it to be 'a probable opinion that a Pope, as a man and a *doctor privatus*, may be a heretic. It is the usual opinion of the scholastics. But it is the more probable opinion, and it is to be maintained decidedly by our theologians (*a nostris strenue defendendum*), that no Pope has ever *de facto* been a heretic.'

The professors were to teach that infallibility is not promised by God to 'the discussion' (by a General Council) which precedes definitions, but to 'the conclusion'—that is, to the mechanical and juridical act of the Pope.⁴ They were to teach that it is 'dangerous to think that the Pope can err in the canonization of a saint, or in the approbation of an order.'⁵ Even 'though a General Council should be lawfully congregated by the Roman Pontiff, and should persevere in its obedience to him'—that is, should not waver, as the great reforming councils of the sixteenth century did, or presume to depose the Roman bishop, as the Councils of Constance and Basel did—'ejus tamen definitiones (nisi in Summi Pontificis

¹ 'De Concil. et Rom. Pontif.' 6 a.

² 'Is, cui fides interior, vel baptismalis character deest, si in externo cultu sacramentorum et fidei professione cum *vera* ecclesia communicat, est vere et proprie membrum ecclesiæ.' 'De Ecclesia,' 3 a.

³ 'De Ecclesia,' 1 a.

⁴ *Ib.* 10 a.

⁵ 'Religionibus approbandis,' *ib.* 8. a.

decreto ad Concilium misso expressæ contineantur) de fide non sunt, antequam a Papa confirmentur.'¹

To obtain security and concord and avoid dissensions and incautious speeches in disputation with heretics, were the objects of the 'Directions for the Professors of Exegesis and of Controversy.' In the *Ratio* of 1586 there are twenty-four 'defined' propositions on canonical Scripture, and twenty in the *Ratio* of 1592. The infallibility of the Bible extends to the very minutest details. We trace here the kinship which James I. detected between the Jesuits and the Puritans. The *Ratio* says what Dr. John Owen repeated in his controversy against the Quakers: that all the words used by the Biblical writers were dictated in substance by the Holy Ghost. The *Ratio* of 1586 stated, 'Probabilius est, verba primorum exemplarium ac fontium incorruptorum fuisse omnia et singula a Spiritu Sancto dictata secundum substantiam;' but in 1592 the 'probabilius est' was omitted. This stringent verbal infallibility was extended to the Vulgate, but to no other translation. Any interpretation which contradicts the sense given in the Vulgate is a violation of the decree of the Council of Trent (n. 5). The Vulgate is not barely authentic in questions of faith and morals, but even on all points soever, so that nothing which is contained in it is false (n. 7). Where Hebrew or Greek manuscripts disagree with the Vulgate no confidence is to be placed in such texts (n. 15). It is to be taught as doctrine that Christ and the Apostles never cited Bible texts *per accommodationem ad rem suam*, but gave the true sense of the text as intended by the Holy Ghost (n. 20).² This was scrupulously followed by Bellarmine, but violated by the best Jesuit expositors, as the authors show from Maldonatus (i. 507).

The Louvain Jesuits, L. Lessius and J. Hamelius, in 1587 were impugned on account of their thesis that 'a book written by human diligence, without the assistance of the Holy Ghost, becomes Holy Scripture if the Holy Ghost subsequently witnesses that nothing false is contained in it.' Pope Sixtus V. in 1588 reserved the decision of the Louvain controversy to the apostolic chair. At the same time General Aquaviva put forth a doctrine exactly contrary to the Louvain thesis; but his direction was not put into the *Ratio* of 1599, nor was it observed by later Jesuits. In 1625 J. Bonfrère defended (*Præloquia*, c. 8, s. 6) the theoretical allowableness of

¹ There are fourteen articles under the heading 'De Concilio et Romano Pontifice,' ii. 243.

² 'De Scripturis Canonicis,' ii. 240.

the Louvain thesis, and the consequent possibility of what has been aptly called (*per contradictionem in adjecto*) an *inspiratio subsequens*; but he was too prudent to apply this notion of a post-mortem inspiration to any of the books included in the Bible. The authors point out that the Vatican Council did not straightway declare, like Aquaviva (and most of the early Protestant theologians), 'all and every of the words of Canonical Scripture 'a Spiritu Sancto dictata secundum substantiam,' but it simply declared '(Libri) Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem.' The Vatican declaration was directed by the Jesuit, Cardinal Franzelin, in 1870, not against the dead Lessius and Hamelius, but against Jahn and the great Benedictine scholar Haneberg, abbot of St. Boniface in Munich, who had declined the bishopric of Trier shortly before the Council (i. 505).

One of the most interesting topics handled by the authors in their essay upon the *Ratio* is the degree of authority given by the Jesuits to St. Thomas Aquinas. The fluctuations between the time of General Aquaviva and that of the Vatican Council as to the relation of the Company to Aquinas are remarkable. At one period St. Thomas is proclaimed as their 'probatissimus' author; he is to be followed by all Jesuit theologians 'ordinarie'; at another time a sharp distinction is drawn between the Jesuits and those whom they name 'the Thomists.' The devotion of the Company to St. Thomas was seriously affected by the strife between the Jesuits and the Dominicans which followed the appearance of Luis Molina's work in 1588. Aquaviva's decree of December 24, 1613, sanctioned a doctrine of grace as the doctrine of the Company, which not only differed widely from the 'Thomist' doctrine, but also from that sanctioned in the *Ratio* of 1586. In 1593 it was ruled to be 'undesirable that our men [the Jesuit professors of scholastic theology] should be more strongly bound to St. Thomas than even the Thomists themselves.' But in the *Ratio* of 1599, in that of 1616, and again in that of 1832 'Our men' are ordered 'to hold fast to St. Thomas' in the scholastic theology; they are 'to regard him as their own teacher' ('eumque ut doctorem proprium habeant'), and they are to spare no pains that their hearers 'erga illum quam optime afficiantur.' The General Congregation of 1853 declared that the Jesuits were bound to adhere to St. Thomas as laid down in 1593, but were not obliged to use St. Thomas as the ground for their lectures, but might adopt for that purpose any other author commended by the General. After the publication of Leo XIII.'s *Thomas-Encyclica*, however, the

General Congregation of 1883 professed that the Jesuits, according to the constitution and the General Congregation of 1593, 'had at all times regarded St. Thomas as their own peculiar doctor'; and that according to the decrees of the General Congregations of 1730 and 1751 the Company was obliged also to adhere to him in philosophy. Consequently the professor of experimental physics, they added, must assert nothing which gainsays the 'systema de corporum principiis et constitutione' laid down by the professor of metaphysics. This decree was laid by the General before the Pope, who warmly approved of it, and urged that it should be most scrupulously observed. The Congregation had twice resolved that the professors of theology and philosophy must be cautious against thoughtlessly delivering opinions invented by themselves as the genuine doctrine of St. Thomas, but must consult those approved and distinguished theologians of the Order who have been owned by the Popes and other learned men as lights of the Church and as the most devoted scholars and wise expounders of St. Thomas. 'The acts do not state,' observe the authors, 'whether this decree was also warmly approved by Leo XIII.'¹

The main object of the theoretical part of the *Ratio* was to secure 'solidity' and 'uniformity' of doctrine within the Company. The Constitutions laid great stress upon the establishment of uniform agreement amongst the Jesuits upon those opinions which divided other Catholic scholars; and upon which they disputed against each other. The authors of the *Ratio* of 1586 state that the General urged upon them that the object of their work was to bridle the 'opinandi licentia.' The *Ratio* of 1832 contains rules for the professors of Church history and canon law, two branches of ecclesiastical culture which found no place in any earlier *Ratio*. Lecturers on Church history are instructed

'rigidly to maintain that the rights of the Church and of its supreme Head are based upon antiquity; they are to show that all which the innovators (the so-called Liberal and scientific Catholics) assert about the modernness of these rights is pure invention; they are to explain that the early documents have often been corrupted (not in the interests of the Roman chair, but to the contrary) by the moderns!' (I. 511.)

In 1883 the General Congregation declared that the Company had always rejected every one of the errors con-

¹ Cf. the whole section, 'Autorität des Thomas von Aquino,' i. 488-500; and ii. 226-40.

demned by the Pontifical Syllabus of 1864.¹ This will seem a bold assertion indeed to those who recollect the revolutionary principles affirmed by the Jesuits Lainez and Bellarmine, and expounded at such length by Mariana and Rainold, who provided the arguments for regicide which were practically applied in France in the sixteenth century, in England in the seventeenth, and again fully developed in France in the eighteenth. It is true that General Aquaviva in 1610, after the murders of Henri III. and Henri IV., prohibited the doctrine of tyrannicide. But the principles of the Jesuit Rainold's *De justa Reipublicæ Christianæ in Reges impios et hæreticos Auctoritate* (1592), were adopted by the kindred Puritan casuists in 1649, to justify the execution of Charles Stuart by the military oligarchy which called itself the Christian republic of England. It has been the constant use of the Jesuits, as the authors show, to retake with one hand what they reject with the other. The Jesuit Persons, Assistant for England, wrote a book (1594) against the claim of the King of Scots to the English Crown; he and other Jesuits tried to prove that Philip II. of Spain was the lawful successor of Elizabeth. The Scottish Jesuit Critonius (William Creighton) defended the claims of Mary Stuart's son against Persons and other Jesuits, asserting that James, if he became a Papist, would be the rightful king of England. The rivalry of the two political controversialists lay merely on the surface, like that of the two barristers in the case of *Bardell v. Pickwick*. Both these Jesuit pleaders had received their briefs from the General of the Company, 'damit die Gesellschaft für beide Fälle gedeckt sei'! If James became king of England, the Jesuits could say that one of their authorized theologians had contended loyally for his succession. If James were excluded, the ambidextrous Company would be in a position to show Philip that one of its approved officials had zealously opposed the heretical pretender, James Stuart (i. 661, and notes). No reader of this volume can doubt that the Company has at this moment two precisely contrary views of modern Irish policy under its patronage. Whether the Irish Home Rulers are defeated, or whether they triumph, is a quite secondary matter to the Pope and the Jesuits. The main matter is that they should get profit for 'the Church' out of the duped adherents of each political party, and that, whatever be the political issue, the Company and its Pope should be 'für beide Fälle gedeckt.'

¹ They emphatically 'reject the so-called Catholic Liberalism,' and urgently counsel the General 'to use all means to keep this pest out of the Company,' i. 511.

In the chapter upon the controversy of the Jesuits with Gaspar Scioppius (Schoppe, who was converted to Catholicism in 1598) the authors give a view of the immense mass of offensive and defensive literature concerning the Jesuits which appeared in the third decade of the seventeenth century (i. 555-92). The strife was opened by Scioppius; and not only Carmelites and Benedictines, but Lutherans and Calvinists, joined him as allies, on the ground that the Jesuits had become the chief disturbers of the peace, and the sworn enemies of the Holy Roman Empire. As early as 1632 the Emperor was urged to expel the Order. In 1636 Alphonsus de Vargas published his *Relatio ad Reges et Principes Christianos*, giving an account of 'the political stratagems and sophisms of the Society of Jesus,' by which it was plotting to subject the whole world under its own autocratic rule. It was republished at Cologne in 1641, under the title *Stratagemata et Sophismata Jesuitarum*. Scioppius caused a panic in the order. The Swiss Jesuit, Laurenz Forer of Luzern, was ordered to answer him. A German Jesuit wrote to Forer that if Scioppius were to go to Rome, in order to justify his attacks upon the Company, he would find those there who were already fully prepared to believe him. He had compared the Jesuits with the Greek sophists as early as 1602, and in his controversy with Scaliger in 1611, he had refused to accept Jesuits as spokesmen of the Catholic Church, saying that he neither approved their plans, their morals, nor their manner of conducting their schools; which at this period were so prodigiously increasing. In ten years, under Vitelleschi's generalship, seventy-two new colleges had been erected, although the general congregation of 1565 had commanded moderation in the increase of schools. The authors insert a sketch of the history of the multiplication of Jesuit schools from the time of Ignatius to the General Congregation of 1853. The Vicar-General, Oliva, complained in a circular letter of 1674, that the increase of small and wretched (*misera*) colleges in some provinces had become most injurious to the order. Scioppius exhibited to his contemporaries the interior of the schools of the new monopolisers of education. He remarked bitterly upon the over-cultivation of music, singing, and play-acting by the Jesuits in their German and other colleges. The Jesuits degraded architecture, painting, sculpture, the drama, and every art which they patronized.¹ Forer's reply is feeble. He said that the 'Apotheosis,' the dramatic representation of

¹ Cf. 'Jesuitenstyl,' Brockhaus, *K.L.*, viii. 480, 1866.

the canonization of St. Ignatius and St. F. Xavier, was popular. Its sensationalism 'took,' as we say, and that sufficed. It had to be played over and over again, because the space in the German College at Rome was so limited that the cardinals, nobles, and sight-loving Roman people who crowded to see the plays in honour of the saints, could not be all accommodated at once.¹ An eager multitude often waited outside for six hours before the beginning of the play. The performances were arranged with such lavish splendour that the Spanish ambassador declared that his own king had nothing more excellent at his court (ii. 307, 308). The Rector Castorius hired the six best singing-boys in Rome. He made them sit on the branches of trees, 'and sing like nightingales,' when he was giving a dinner. In the prologue of a comedy played by the Jesuit scholars of the College of Vienna before the Emperor Matthias and many of the German princes, Scioppius was scandalized because the Lutheran Duke of Brunswick was addressed by the young Jesuits as the 'Right reverend Bishop of Halberstadt.' Forer replied that it was only used as an official title. English readers will recollect that the Duke of York, the brother of George IV. and William IV. inherited from his German kindred an episcopal style and title. The 'Bishop of Osnaburg' was reported in the London newspapers as reviewing the troops in Hyde Park.

Comedies played a great part from the earliest period in the educational system of the Jesuits. The authors do not seem to be acquainted with an interesting account of such comedies, or rather 'screaming farces,' by an Englishman who had often taken part in them, the much-abused Richard Carpenter, who afterwards became a priest of the Church of England, and Vicar of Poling, and was ejected from his parish by the triumphant Puritans, against whom he boldly asserted, 'when bishops had no humane help,' as he said, 'the divine rights of the episcopacy.' Carpenter was not only a man of ascetic life and profoundly read in scholastic and mystic theology, but was also a dramatist of some power.² The Romanists in Arundel abused him as an 'apostate,' and the Presbyterians and Anabaptists as a 'Jesuit.' He called the one 'puritanical Jesuits,' and the others 'jesuitical Puri-

¹ Scioppius complained of the use of the Pagan term 'apotheosis,' for a Christian canonization, but it was defended by Forer.

² For his references to the Jesuit comedies see his *Experience, History, and Divinity* (1642), p. 153. His own comedy, *The Pragmatical Jesuit new-leavened* (1663), seems to have been constructed on the model of the Jesuit 'college-comedies,' p. 65.

tans' and 'Geneva Jesuits.' He was the subject of the most unmerited slanders throughout his life and after his death, of which his own series of writings against the Jesuits and Puritans supply ample contradiction.¹

In No. 58 of the Rules for the Provincial it is ordered that the performance of comedies should be 'very seldom,' and never in the Church. Every play is to be in Latin, to be decent, and to be examined by the Provincial. In the 'Ordinationes' issued in 1583 by Oliver Manareus, as 'Visitor' of the Rhine Province, and confirmed by the General in 1586, however, it is stated that the expression 'very seldom' may be 'mildly interpreted whenever princes urgently wish for a performance'—'poterit Provincialis uti *ἐπιτεκνία*.' Nay, even the approbation of the Provincial is not absolutely needful. When a prince had an extraordinary reason for wanting a performance, and there was no time to apply to the Provincial, the Prefect of the Studies and the Rector might act in his stead (i. 581). The Rhineland Provincial Congregation of 1593 ordered that 'comedies and dialogues should not be so lengthy as to burden the audience.' A comedy must not last longer than four hours, a dialogue not longer than two. The *Ratio Studiorum* of 1586 and of 1591 ordered that 'the poet' of the comedy should be called in to assist in the preparation of the stage, the rehearsals, and other preliminary work. The *Ratio* of 1599 repeated the order that comedies and tragedies should be performed 'but rarely,' and that they

¹ See his noble *Appeal to God against the new Religion-makers* (1656). The account of R. Carpenter in Mr. Leslie Stephen's *Dict. of National Biography*, by Mr. A. C. Bickley, is a hazy and uninquiring reproduction of the article in the *Biographia Britannica*, or in Chalmers' servile copy of it, which is built upon the fictitious tales of Dodd's (Romanist) *Church History*. Mr. Bickley cites all the authorities found by him in the *Biog. Brit.*, or in Chalmers, but has evidently not taken the trouble to look at Carpenter's own books. He says that Carpenter 'joined the Independents' at a time when he was in eager conflict against them, and was 'persecuted,' as he said, 'by their ghost of Pope Hildebrand, Cromwell.' The mistake rose possibly from the fact that Carpenter, in 1652, in a treatise against the Anabaptists, described himself as 'independent' of both the parties among 'the mad people of this nation'—the Presbyterian Nonconformists on the one side, and the Independent and Anabaptist Separatists on the other. 'When I first embraced England,' said he, 'I discovered in her neither. Therefore, be it known to heaven and earth that I will not own either' (*The Anabaptist Washt*, 1653, p. 348). After the restoration of the English episcopate, which he welcomed with joy, Carpenter's first published sermon had the *imprimatur* of Sheldon, Bishop of London. It is a pity that Mr. Leslie Stephen has not exercised a little healthy scepticism in his appointment of compilers of seventeenth-century biographies. He has the repute of not being unfriendly to criticism if it be directed against the Church or the Bible.

should be only in Latin, and of a Biblical or pious character. Female parts and female dresses were totally prohibited. In 1591 leave was given for women to be admitted as spectators. In 1602, however, the Province of Upper Germany protested against the 'womanless' drama: it was said to be impossible to perform many plays, either sacred or profane, without female characters. Aquaviva dispensed with the regulation against female parts, but he ordered that they should be sparingly introduced, and be serious and modest. In 1631 Vitelleschi complained, in a circular, that the comedies in many places were filled with matter for rousing the mirth of the spectators, and were more fitting for playactors and buffoons than for men of a religious mind (i. 582). Richard Carpenter, who was himself a 'poet' or playwright when a student, as well as an actor, says that he wrote a Latin play in which he himself took the comic part—that of a Protestant preacher. 'I preached upon the stage,' says he, 'and took for my text those holy words of Christ to St. Thomas, Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.' He adds, there was 'excessive laughter at every word, and I was not reprehended by them, but highly commended.' He composed in Rome another play, 'a mixture of English and Latin,' in which he again 'personated a minister, and profaned the words and phrases of Holy Scripture. All passed for very well done.'¹ The composition, learning, rehearsal, and performance of these comedies occupied an undue share of the time and zeal both of teachers and scholars. Indeed, the German Jesuit, G. M. Pachtler, says that he once hoped to publish a collection in two volumes of the school-comedies of the Company of Jesus, but he found that the mere titles of the school dramas, of which he had scarcely collected half, filled a thick octavo volume.

A catalogue of the special 'faculties and privileges' granted by the popes to the Jesuits was published in 1584 by General Aquaviva.² They are alphabetically arranged for convenient reference. The appendix contains the remarkable 'Formulæ diversæ absolvendi' for the use of Jesuit confessors, which were sent in that year to the Jesuit superiors in the northern provinces—the famous *Privilegia Septentrionalia* (ii. 247–50, 280, 281). Only one copy is to be kept in each college or house, and a caution is given against public mention of its existence. The confessor is to permit the use of Catholic prayer-books in the German language, 'quamvis jussu Pii V.

¹ *Experience, History, Divinity*, i. 153.

² *Compendium Privilegiorum et Gratiarum Societatis Jesu*.

non sunt editi.' He may absolve those who have read prohibited books, and give them licence to read such books, provided they do not *ex professo* defend heretical dogmas. He may dispense the wife, children, and servants of a heretic from fasting, and even from abstinence. He may absolve clergymen who hold several canonries or benefices which do not strictly oblige them to constant residence. Transalpine Catholic visitors to Rome, who are accompanied by heretical servants or friends, can be dispensed by their confessor from the obligation of denouncing these persons to the Inquisition, provided their confessor be a Jesuit. No Jesuit is obliged to denounce German, Bohemian, Polish, or French heretics in Rome, so long as such persons do not openly assert that they are heretics. They may permit noble ladies, not of a lower rank than *baronissæ*, to visit their colleges. The claim of the Jesuits, and of some other orders that they were privileged by the Pope to exercise spiritual functions, and especially to hear confessions, in all parishes and dioceses of the Church, even without the permission of the diocesan bishop, gave occasion to many conflicts. They were advised, however, for the sake of peace and good order, not to exercise their ministry against the express will of the parish priest, and to obtain the permission of the bishop when it could be had without difficulty. If the bishop withheld his permission upon grounds which seemed unreasonable to the Jesuit confessors, they must use their faculty secretly. In absolving from ecclesiastical censures they must avoid whatever might injure the bishops, and must impress upon their penitents that the absolution availed only *pro foro interno*. They were cautioned against making any boast of their faculties and privileges (i. 514, 515, ii. 247, 280). The *Compendium*, edited by Aquaviva, and the exceptional faculties granted to the northern Jesuits, were not to be shown to anyone without an express permission from the Provincial (ii. 248).

But the Company of Jesus did not merely claim special privileges grounded upon pontifical bulls or other documents (*privilegia scripta* or *bullata*). They claimed also more extraordinary 'privileges *per communicationem*.' That is to say, any privilege granted at any time to any earlier Order could be made available by a declaration of the Pope to the Jesuit Company. The most significant, however, of all their privileges were those which had a merely oral ground, or were conferred upon them by 'the living voice' of the Pope, *vivæ vocis oraculo*.¹ The *Compendium* of 1584 contains a number

¹ See the section 'Vivæ Vocis Oraculo ertheilte Privilegien,' i. 515-523.

of Jesuit privileges which have no other basis than the Pope's mere oral declaration. Gregory XV., by a bull of July 2, 1622, withdrew from all the Orders—and the Jesuits were expressly included—all privileges conferred *vivæ vocis oraculo*, except those for which the written testimony of a cardinal could be exhibited. Urban VIII., in a bull of December 20, 1631, went a step further, and withdrew even this latter concession. Hereupon there arose a question in the Company of Jesus whether they had, or had not, lost these privileges once conferred by the oracle of the living voice. Four different opinions were given upon the point, three of which are peculiarly interesting as specimens of Jesuit casuistry and sophistry.¹ The authors of the first answer contended that as the oral privileges of the Company had been already confirmed by *written* bulls of Gregory XIII. and Paul V., they could not be included amongst those which were withdrawn by the bull of Urban VIII. Certain theologians asserted, in the second answer, that nearly all the important privileges bestowed by the 'oracle of the living voice' had also been granted in writing. Other theologians said that this was true of all the privileges. It was a 'probable' opinion of some theologians that the Company could hold fast whatever it possessed, without any violation of conscience, in accordance with the rule *potior conditio possidentis*. *Beati possidentes!* It was ordered, however, that in using any of the privileges revoked by the Pope, the Jesuits 'should not be too free and ostentatious, so as to avoid giving scandal to bishops, or parish priests, or other Orders.'² The author of the last opinion (*Quis sit sensus Constitutionis Urbani VIII., &c.*), a Jesuit of Ingolstadt, was the most astute apologist for the theory that the Pope's revocation revoked nothing. He handled it as a nose of wax. Gregory XV. had revoked the orally given privileges which were not confirmed by the testimony of a cardinal. This bull was duly promulgated in the colleges, but it was soon after declared that the Pope, at the request of the General, had renewed the revoked privileges. Urban VIII. only revoked those oral privileges which were confirmed by the testimony of a cardinal, but none of those for which there was no such testimony. To decide the question whether the oral privileges

¹ The opinions are printed in ii. 274–286.

² In 1782 the Bishop of Verona prohibited the clergy of the Tyrol from receiving any Papal indulgences till he had examined them. In 1785 the Archbishop of Mainz declared all future Papal dispensations to be invalid in his diocese, unless they had been examined and confirmed by his own Vicar-General.

revoked by Gregory XV. were still in force, one must first know whether they were renewed at the prayer of the General by mouth or by pen. If they were renewed by mouth one must then know whether they were confirmed by a cardinal. If they were renewed by the Pope's mouth, with a confirmation by a cardinal, they do not fall under the bull of Urban VIII. 'In Rome it may be possible,' said he, 'to get replies to these questions; but in the Ingolstadt College we have as yet no answers. So long as we are in ignorance we are also *in possessione*, and may consequently regard our privileges as still in force' (i. 519, 520, ii. 285, 286).

We feel that we have been unable to do justice to this great work, and to the catholic and judicial temper in which it is written, by the few glimpses which we have given of its stupendous contents. It is beyond all doubt one of the few books of our time concerning which it can be justly said that every theologian, every statesman, and every journalist, who is really anxious to discern the signs of the times, ought to make a conscience of reading. To no modern nations are its disclosures more important than to England and the United States of America, and it is devoutly to be hoped that an English translation of it will not long be delayed.

ART. V.—MARK PATTISON.

1. *Essays by the late Mark Pattison, sometime Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.* Collected and arranged by HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A., Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1889.)
2. *Sermons by Mark Pattison, late Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.* (London, 1885.)

IF we attempt to judge the life of Mark Pattison from an ideal standpoint, we must pronounce it a failure—a magnificent failure perhaps, but still a failure. This it was because he not only did not succeed in fully realizing the aim he put before himself, but also because he showed in his own character and career the inadequacy of that aim. His con-

ceptions of an elevated philosophic education, of the functions of a University, of the obligations and attractions of the scholar's life, will always be found inspiring by those who are fit to appreciate them; but he only partially succeeded in illustrating by his example what he had illuminated by his learning; and the impression which his *Memoirs* give us of a life of misery, the intensity of which is only brought into relief by the brilliancy of his attainments, shows us the inadequacy as a guide to life of purely intellectual aspirations.

There is no one who has more clearly realized or more accurately defined the final end of the highest education. To attain a cultivated understanding which would enable him to judge fairly, impartially, and correctly all systems and all persons, he devoted years of labour. At the end of his life he wrote the *Memoirs*, which have since been published, in which he showed that where his personal feelings were concerned he was more biassed and unjust than the controversialist whom he so despised. There are few who have had a more correct appreciation of the obligations under which a scholar labours to advance knowledge, there are few who have so fully realized all that is required to satisfy the demands of scholarship; in his published fragments he has shown that he was capable of producing a work which would become part of the literature of the country. He has left us one admirable book: we have now the opportunity of reading some of his contributions to periodical literature: both make us feel that a more than twenty years' enjoyment of learned leisure as head of an Oxford College ought to have produced more. The ideal of a University at any rate he might have tried to realize. During some few years he threw himself into University life, and it is to him as much as to anyone that Oxford owes the present form of the school of *literæ humaniores*—one of the most satisfactory portions of the modern Oxford system. Yet the greater part of his life he shut himself off from the teaching and government of the institutions to which he belonged. From absence of tact and self-command, by morbidly brooding over the injustice and slights that he had received, he destroyed his own happiness and his influence over others. Had he consistently shown the elevation of character which a devotion to learning ought to give, had he created a great school of followers, had he been a great influence in the University, his failure to produce might have been forgiven. But he failed in every direction. We might repeat of him what Scaliger says of Henri Estienne:—

'His death is a great loss to Greek letters. We may say he might have done much more for them, if he had remained true to them or true to himself. Indeed, I could not but regret his conduct while living, nor can I help regretting his loss now he is gone—I grieve that he did not produce what he might have produced.'¹

For the cause of his failure lay in himself: in the weakness of his own character and the limitation of his own aim. He has himself sketched for us the terrible picture of a miserable life, illuminated though it may have been by periods of self-forgetfulness, still more by some of those moments when the mind, conscious of its own powers, conscious of its own knowledge, seems to be almost superhuman—those moments which have made many great philosophers feel, as they recall their own experience, that in the life of contemplation lies the greatest elevation human nature is capable of. But whether as the self-conscious undergraduate who fancied that everyone noticed the awkwardness with which he wore his cap and gown for the first time, or as the disappointed candidate for the headship of his college, showing little dignity in the way in which he bore a gross injustice, we find the same morbid self-consciousness which cut him off from the sympathy and affection which might gradually have cured his nature. For a few years he came under the influence of a stronger mind. It was Newman who drew him out of himself. It was to Newman he owed the spur which roused his intellectual nature. Caught up in the whirl of religious excitement, for a time he lost his self-control. But when the reaction came he rebounded to the opposite extreme. He gave himself up in bondage to his intellect, and cut himself off from the one influence which might have strengthened his character—religion.

There are some minds which seem to be able to exist without either religion, or any of those substitutes for it which perhaps satisfy single individuals. They are either minds of abnormal and one-sided or else of imperfect development. To neither of these classes could Mark Pattison belong. Again and again he reminds us of the advantages and the elevating influence of spiritual religion. In Casaubon and Scaliger as Protestants, in Huet among Romanists, he emphasizes the reality of their religion. Spiritual retreats are, he tells us, one of the best creations of the Roman Church. He notes in this respect the deficiencies of Warburton. Into the inner circles of religious belief we do not wish and are not able to pry. We do know that after the religious excitement of early years he cut himself off from most of the influences of

¹ *Essays*, i. III.

religion : we know that he gave himself up almost exclusively to intellectual activity. Cut off from spiritual life and affection, without the usual motive power necessary for action, he illustrated the barrenness of the intellect *per se*. His breadth of mind enabled him to realize and to depict the richness of the land he could not enter. He knew the importance of religion and devoted (possibly, it is true, in an injudicious manner) much of his energies to preventing the gulf which he feared might arise between theology and learning. We feel that the loss was all the greater because if his mind had been illuminated and his character strengthened by an object of devotion, his work in the cause of learning and culture would have been infinitely wider, and his influence far more reaching.

But our readers will not need to be reminded of the necessities or advantages of religion. We have said enough of the defects of one on whose merits we intend to dwell, and we shall devote the remainder of our space to attempting to illustrate from his own writings those principles of which Mark Pattison constituted himself the prophet and high priest—the importance, the value, and the transcendent dignity of intellectual culture and learning.

Among the materials for doing this we must place first the well-known *Life of Isaac Casaubon*, and his writings on academic organization published in his lifetime. Since his death have appeared his *Memoirs*, a work in which the writer seems to take a cynical pleasure in presenting to the world many of the worst features of his character ; and a volume of Sermons, in some ways most appropriate to a University lecture-room, if deficient in what is ordinarily considered essential to a Christian pulpit. To these we can now add a collection of his miscellaneous writings, edited by Professor Nettleship and published by the Clarendon Press. To all who are responsible for the work we must express our great obligations both for what they have done and the manner in which they have done it. All the essays contained in it, with but one exception, had appeared in print before ; but although one or two, such as the somewhat notorious *Survey of the Tendencies of Religious Thought in England*, were comparatively accessible, the majority of them were lost in the mass of mediocre and ephemeral material which form the staple product of most of our magazines.

The majority of the essays deal with two main subjects—the history of learning and scholarship and the history of religious thought. On the former subject they present on a

smaller scale all the qualities which distinguished the *Life of Casaubon*—fulness and accuracy of information ; an intimate acquaintance not only with the life but also with the surroundings of each character he describes ; a capacity, not of picturesque narrative, which is a very doubtful merit, but of putting before his readers a vivid, life-like representation of each man as he appears ; a sober and weighty judgment, which, except where certain prejudices interpose, seldom errs, yet is illuminated by the vigour and brightness which his love for his subject inspires. The second class of essays, those on the history of religious thought, which are illustrated by certain of the sermons, are most conspicuous for their powers of historical analysis. He is grossly unfair in his judgment on certain contemporary movements, he is one-sided in his estimate of the merits of German theology. The prejudices which he feels against obscurantism—which is admittedly disastrous, but is hardly more injurious to the Church than the coldness of excessive intellectualism—are more offensively prominent. Their value is diminished by a partizan spirit which the author would have been the first to criticize in another. He puts forward one side of the truth ; he is not conscious of the difficulties which surround it.

We do not suppose that these essays will ever command wide popularity. Their subjects are too remote from popular interests, even from the interests of many educated men. And we do not feel inclined to give them a fictitious popularity by selecting the passages we dislike and branding the work as heretical. We imagine, however, that they will long find readers ; they will long supply scholars with a history of the great names in the rise of scholarship, and religious thinkers with an able exposition of the value and necessity of freedom of religious thought. Their style is not exactly calculated *ad captandas populares aures*, but its dignity, its self-restraint, and its epigrammatic terseness will make it attractive to a certain class of readers. We shall illustrate it by the quotations we shall have to make ; at present we will confine ourselves to one extract, an extract unsurpassed for its dignity and elevation of expression and for its admirable conciseness. It is a description of the death of Scaliger. 'On the 21st of January, 1609, at four in the morning, he fell asleep in Heinsius's arms. The aspiring spirit ascended before the Infinite. The most richly stored intellect which ever spent itself in acquiring knowledge was in the presence of the Omniscient.'¹

¹ *Essays*, i. 195.

We purpose from these various materials to illustrate and partially to criticize Pattison's views on the value of learning, on the highest form of education, on the ideal of a scholar's life. These are three parts of the same theme—the means of acquiring and disseminating knowledge and its influence in the world. To this we must add something about Universities as homes of learning, and the special influence of reason and knowledge in one department of human life—that of religion.

Our first proposition, then, is the infinite importance of learning and philosophy : not merely of professional learning, of all that may be included under the head of useful knowledge, of all that will make a man a good lawyer or a skilful mechanician, but of everything which may be included in the word thought, of everything which removes us from the world of practical matters, and makes the 'distant, the remote, and the past seem more real than what is immediately before our eyes.' We may be accused of enunciating a commonplace truism ; we can only wish it were a truism. It is one of those general propositions to which many men will give a vague assent but which they will absolutely ignore in practice ; for, after all, most men have a certain dread of what they cannot understand, and a suspicion that learning does not make bread more plentiful, or provide more pigs' wash for the swine.

It is quite true that if we look at the isolated figure of the solitary student in his laboratory or in his cell, remote from the world, little cared for by the men of his own time, even looked at with something of the suspicion and dislike which was felt for a possessor of magical powers in the Middle Ages, we wonder what is the connexion between him and practical life ; but two generations afterwards the mass of mankind will be preaching from the housetops as the inspiring principles of their lives what he thought out in his closet, and the course of history will be shaped by ideas which he originated.

'It requires but little acquaintance with the history of philosophy and science to know that the progress of movement and discovery begins at the top, and works downward. The creed of the few philosophic minds in one age becomes by the law of social progress the creed of the mass of educated men in the next age ; and in the following, if not artificially checked, is diffused through the mass. The leading minds in each age, who are the first to make the discovery or propound the idea, or rather who, from their position as possessors of the wisdom of the past, are enabled first to discern and interpret the ever-ripening growth, the harvest of time (for discoveries are 'potius

temporis partus quam ingenii'), so far from having been acceptable to the popular taste, are usually alienated or disregarded, persecuted, proscribed, or ridiculed, according as the humour of the times is sternly serious, feebly decorous, or childishly frivolous.' ¹

It is the duty of history to enable men to trace events to their remote causes, to distinguish between the apparent and the real forces which shape the course of progress. History, properly understood, will enable us to realize the influence of ideas upon life.

'The influence of speculative theory upon institutions and conditions of society is an influence so subtle that it is no wonder that it escapes the notice of the generality of men who are absorbed in finding proximate causes. It is only when this subtle influence manifests itself in the form of a revolution that its power is recognized. In such cases as the French Revolution of 1788, or the spread of Christianity in the third century, when the grain of mustard seed has become a tree, the transmutation of the idea into the political fact is recognized by all ; it forces itself upon their attention. But what is not equally capable of being placed in a palpable form is the insensible agency of abstract thought unceasingly operating to mould and modify civil society. It is with human communities as it is with the face of the planet which they inhabit. Geological catastrophes are few and local ; but the agencies of heat, light, motion, and pressure, because they are constant and universal, escape detection all the while they are operating the series of never-ending changes. So in the spiritual world there are ideal forces which operate on so vast a scale, and over such spaces of time, that their action cannot be seized at any given point.' ²

The truth of these principles cannot be contested. It is not likely to be contested by any educated or thoughtful man. But it is easy to exaggerate their importance ; it is easy from a natural devotion to learning, or from the attractiveness of establishing a thesis for which the originator feels a somewhat paternal affection, to imagine that it is to learning that all the progress of the world is due. To show that the growth of civilization was the result entirely of growth in knowledge was the object of Buckle's *History of Civilization*, and it is a striking example of the balance of Pattison's mind that, although full of admiration for the book and in sympathy with much of its contents, he recognizes the one-sidedness and inadequacy of the theory as a whole.

'Buckle's *History of Civilization* appeared and took the reading world by storm. I was carried away by Buckle's vast reading and the appearance of wide induction which his pages bore, a quality

¹ *Essays*, i. 429.

² *Sermons*, p. 213.

which I had now come to require in any book. I gave much time to the study of Buckle. . . . I brought all the attention of which I was capable to meditate upon his main thesis, viz. that the actions of mankind at any point whatever of their history are determined by their knowledge. I found myself compelled not only to reject this theory, but came to see the impossibility of reducing the theory of progress to *any* single law.’¹

And again—

‘It is not questioned that intellectual progress is a fact ; that its course can be traced ; that it is an element of national history—perhaps the most attractive element. But what is of vital consequence to us to know is, whether intellectual advance is an inevitable necessity. Will society be regenerated by its intellect in spite of its passions? . . . What security have we that the sleeping volcano of passion will not flame forth with irresistible violence? that the ocean of imagination and false opinion will not break in, submerge a continent, and sweep away every trace of the Palace of Truth?’²

After all knowledge is dependent upon power.

‘Let beneficent power, by strength of arm, maintain knowledge in its freedom, and it will teach and enlighten ; but it cannot maintain its ground for an hour against force. Let selfish power step in, and in its own interest close the printing-presses, and where is knowledge? Shut up in the bosoms of a few silent worshippers, it dies a lingering death beneath the frown of power. It passes through all the stages of decay. Taste becomes pedantry, science becomes magic, Virgil is turned into an enchanter, and civilization has become the prolific mother of the thousand forms of barbarism.’³

Although learning is not the only influence which shapes history, it is an undoubted one ; and true learning is a most beneficent influence ; but equally with its effect on the masses we can trace its work in the formation of the highest type of character.

‘That the mind can become an end to itself, that it can propose to itself its own perfection as a work to be wrought out by its own effort, that mental illumination is an illumination within the soul, by which it is enabled to see God—this is the principle of intellectual cultivation. That the character can be purified, strengthened, and raised to a heroic height by discipline, self-denial, self-control, by a force exerted from within—this is the principle of moral education.’⁴

Such, then, is the paramount importance of learning. Even if it be sometimes ineffective, sometimes harmful, even if it sometimes has an injurious influence on a character and

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 311.

³ *Ibid.* 430-431.

² *Essays*, ii. 430.

⁴ *Sermons*; p. 125.

breaks up principles which cannot be replaced, still it is an element even in material progress, it is a power which will always work. It cannot be suppressed with safety; it must be controlled and directed. Hence arises the importance of education. If we restrain mental action it will fester and burst out in unhealthy channels; men will form ideas: if we do not give them an opportunity of forming true ones, they will be guided by those which are false. Society may become stationary and lifeless, or be at the mercy of powerful instruments for evil. Each generation is therefore bound to do its duty for that which comes afterwards, and to educate, in the manner which will best fit them for influencing their contemporaries, all who show an aptitude for learning.

The final end of education must be the formation of character and the attainment of a disciplined habit of mind. Its object is, not to teach men a certain number of facts, but to enable them to acquire a disciplined habit of mind and the capacity for viewing knowledge as one great whole, dominated by a great idea.

'What the facts of a single science are to that systematic arrangement of them which makes them into a science, that the complexus of all the sciences is to the great Method, the architectonic science, which arranges all knowledge in one harmonious structure, appointing its place, assigning its value, and arranging in a regular series each incorporate branch. . . . In a University every science sinks into a means to a worthier end—the cultivation of mind. This is the one use to which it puts knowledge—the light in which it regards science. The products of a University are not inventions, improvements, discoveries, novel speculations, books, but the fully educated man, the *περὶ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων*.'¹

What, then, is the best form of education? Obviously the greatest care must be taken that true ideas shall be inculcated early.

'An ideal University,' says Cardinal Newman, 'is a place where truth, a subtle, invisible, manifold spirit, is poured into the mind of the scholar by his eyes and ears, through his affections, imagination, and reason; it is poured into his mind and is sealed up there in perpetuity, by propounding and repeating it, by questioning and questioning, by correcting and explaining, by professing and then recurring to first principles. It is the place where the catechist makes good his ground as he goes, treading in the truth day by day into the ready memory, and wedging and tightening it into the expanding reason.'²

¹ *Essays*, i. 438, 439.

² Newman, *Office and Work of Universities*, pp. 22, 25. Quoted in Pattison's *Sermons*, p. 122.

Surely this must be correct. I have devoted years, a man may say, to the acquisition of truth ; I have received it as a sacred heritage from the past. Surely the greatest benefit I can confer on those whom I can influence is to tell them and impress upon them 'the truth.' But to all such ideas, whether suggested by the Roman Catholic, or the Positivist, or the Scientist, Mark Pattison gives a decisive negative.

'The business of the educator must be not to teach but to stimulate, not to inculcate truth, but to force growth. . . . All our accumulated stores of knowledge on which we pride ourselves, all our sciences, our wealth of books, our languages, literature, our traditional opinions—these are not the things for which a University exists ; they are only means placed in our hands with which to call out and promote the life and growth of the mind. Knowledge is only the food of life, not the life itself ; and our business is not to inculcate truth, but to superintend life.'¹

We must, therefore, not dogmatically impose our opinions on others ; we must teach the history of philosophy, not philosophy ; we must teach ecclesiastical history, not theology. We must allow the mind to attain truth for itself, because we do not consider our own opinions so certainly true that we would venture to be responsible for promulgating them, and because the habit of mind formed by doubt is higher than that formed by certitude.

An interesting comparison might be drawn between the works of Cardinal Newman and Mark Pattison, between those of the master and the scholar. The resemblance between the opinions of both is certainly striking ; the eloquent description of the ideal character in Newman's *Lectures on the University* might have been written by Mark Pattison ; both have illustrated the ideal of a University up to a certain point, on the same lines, and with great knowledge and brilliancy. Still more striking is the contrast ; their opinions as often represent the extreme poles of difference. So it is in the instance we have been quoting of the method of education. The difference between the two is incalculable ; it is a difference which permeates all their thought ; it represents the distinction between two great systems which are in perpetual conflict. We venture to suggest that on this, as on other points in which the Cardinal Deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro and the late rector of Lincoln College differed, they are both incorrect. It is quite true that truth must be the end ; but truth has two sides : it consists not only in holding right

¹ *Sermons*, pp. 116, 117.

opinions, but in holding right opinions for the right reason and in the right way. Anyone who is taught on authority, whether it be in a Roman Catholic seminary or by a Positivist professor, holds what he is taught purely on the authority of his teacher. He has no good reason to give for his opinions ; he has no means of testing them. He is at the mercy of his teacher, and his teacher may be wrong. In the same way it is quite true that our teaching should be historical, so as to allow the formation of ideas as well as ideas to be studied, and to enable men to apply to progress in the future the lesson of the past. But equally is education one-sided if it be purely historical. Undogmatic education is an impossibility unless the teacher be indifferent, and it is disastrous because it produces in the minds of all but a few students a feeling of bewilderment, a tendency towards which is even more disastrous to character than utter dogmatism.

The right course is a mean between the two. Every teacher not only has a right but is bound to teach the truth as he conceives it, but he is equally bound to teach it on a rational basis. He must give the reasons which have led to his attaining it. He must discipline his mind to give correctly and fairly the views of his opponents, and he may train his pupils to be able to criticize his own opinions by showing to them the method by which he criticizes other theories. The pupil thus learns truth as far as his teacher is able to teach him ; he learns also to hold it in a true manner. He has, at any rate, a platform given him which may serve either as a starting-place for further progress or as a point of view from which he may study a more correct path upwards. His power of judgment and his reasoning capacity are both trained, while he is not bewildered by being left in the labyrinth of opinion without some clue to guide him.

A considerable portion of Mark Pattison's life was devoted to the educational question. He could point with pride to the fact that the University was reformed largely on the lines of his work on *Academical Organization*. In his essay on *Oxford Studies*, reprinted in the volume that lies before us, he sketched a scheme for the final classical school, which has been largely followed, although not entirely. It is the theme of two of the finest of his sermons, in one of which he develops the philosophic and intellectual, in the other the moral or ascetic, element in education. He defends it against professional training and instruction in useful knowledge, the characteristic of which is that it is entirely relative to the fashion of the day. The Canon Law was once useful. The value of a

training in Aristotle is quite independent of the variation in popular philosophy. Perhaps the most interesting of all the essays from this point of view is that on F. A. Wolf, who is popularly known by his destructive criticism on Homer, but whose real title to fame is that he was one of the most successful of University lecturers and the reformer of German education. It is to him that the system of philological training and teaching in Germany owes its philosophic arrangement, and the systematic completeness which distinguishes it so favourably from the unorganized chaos of the English want of method.

But we must pass on to our third subject. In order to advance science and knowledge, in order to keep up in each generation an elevated standard of philosophic attainment, learning must have its high priests—men who will give themselves up to a life of study and have the qualities of mind which fit them for such a life. There was no subject, perhaps, on which Mark Pattison cared more to dwell; to illustrate it he wrote the greater number of his writings. His one complete work of any size is his *Life of Casaubon*; the new volume of *Essays* contains a series of sketches of the lives of great scholars; his *Memoirs* were designed to narrate the history of his own mental progress.

These biographies form the most attractive part of his writings. He has that fulness of knowledge which adds weight to his words; the incidents of real life form a pleasant relief to philosophic disquisitions; he writes with a love of his subject, which makes his readers share the enthusiasm which he feels. He dwells on the perseverance, the self-sacrifice, the devotion to learning of his heroes—Scaliger in his solitary garret at Paris mastering the Greek language by sheer intellectual force and strength of will, or in his later life carrying on his intellectual studies in spite of the incessant distractions of a military campaign. 'Far from being glued to his desk, he was perpetually in motion, ready to take his turn of garrison-duty in case of necessity; not unable or disinclined to join a party for *la chasse*, and to spear a boar with his own hand.'¹ It was not a life exactly suited for learning. He is 'in a land in which paper and ink are hard to come by.' 'For love's sake,' he writes to Lipsius, 'tell me if you have put out anything lately. No one can be shocked at my not knowing this or anything else, in this barbarian land, where letters are extinct.' To another correspondent he says, 'Tell

¹ *Essays*, i. 159.

me if you have seen anything new this Frankfort fair ; for where I am there is no talk but of surrendering or not surrendering towns.'¹ Yet, in spite of these interruptions, Scaliger succeeded in carrying on the most exacting critical and historical studies, and produced the *De Emendatione Temporum* among the distractions of a soldier's life. Or is there not something solemn in the picture of 'Casaubon shutting himself in his poverty-stricken garret alone with God and his Greek books'?

We may perhaps sum up three main characteristics of the man of learning. The first is self-sacrifice.

'It is well that we should be alive to the price at which knowledge must be purchased. . . . The life [of Casaubon], regarded from the exterior, seems adapted to deter rather than to invite imitation. A life of hardship, in circumstances humble, almost sordid, short of want, but pinched by poverty : Casaubon renounced action, pleasure, ease, society, health, life itself, killing himself at fifty-six. Shall we say that he died thus for the sake of fame? Fame there was, but it reached him in but faint echoes. Even what there was was all dashed by the loud slander of the dominant ecclesiastical party and the whispered suspicion of the vanquished. At best the limits of such fame must always be circumscribed. To the great, the fashionable, the gay, and the busy the grammarian is a poor pedant and no famous man. The approbation of our fellows may be a powerful motive of conduct. It is powerful to generate devotion to their service. It is not powerful enough to sustain a life of research. No other extrinsic motive is so. The one only motive which can support the daily energy called for in the solitary student's life is the desire to know. Every intelligence as such contains a germ of curiosity. In some few this appetite is developed into a yearning, an eagerness, a passion, an exigency, an *inquietude puissante*, to use an expression of Leibnitz which dominates all others and becomes the rule of life.'²

And, secondly, there must be a love of truth. It was this that made the scholars of the seventeenth century and the period of the counter-Reformation so attractive to him. The history of the time was a great drama, the struggle between ignorance and learning, between freedom and authority, between Protestantism and the Jesuits. He may have exaggerated the evils and neglected the good side of a nation which contained within it many elements of true devotion and piety. On the single issue, the evil of suppressing opinions by force and of bolstering up religion by historical fictions, he must undoubtedly command our sympathy. The short account of the contemptible Muretus serves as an admirable foil to his true heroes—Robert Stephanus, who gave up all

¹ *Essays*, i. 237.

² *Casaubon*, pp. 490-2.

the advantages of Paris for the freedom of Geneva ; Scaliger and Casaubon, who both refused to desert the religion which they held on the grounds of the sincerest convictions.

‘Scaliger was the central figure of his time, and the whole literary effort of the Catholic reaction for a quarter of a century had been directed to beating down his fame by an organized system of distraction and vilification such as has never been played off against any other man who was not a political leader. . . . I imposed it on myself as a solemn duty to rescue the memory of Scaliger from the load of falsehood under which the unscrupulous Jesuit faction had contrived to bury it.’¹

This idea of a great struggle continually going on between truth and ignorance runs through all his writings. It occasionally appears almost ludicrous when he pictures himself as a *vox clamantis in deserto* amidst the obscurantism of Oxford and the Philistinism of England. It is a reality when the ignorance was represented by the folios of Baronius and the weapons of ignorance were the filthy libel and even the stake.

We have dwelt on the moral qualities exhibited in the scholar’s life ; one more extract will suffice for the intellectual side of it.

‘Learning,’ says Mark Pattison, ‘is a peculiar compound of memory, imagination, scientific habit, accurate observation, all concentrated through a prolonged period in the analysis of the remains of literature. The result of this sustained mental endeavour is not a book, but a man. It cannot be embodied in print, it consists in the living word. Such was Scaliger as drawn to us by Casaubon : “A man who, by the indefatigable devotion of a stupendous genius to the acquisition of knowledge, had gathered up vast stores of uncommon lore. And his memory had such a happy readiness that, whenever the occasion called for it, whether it were in conversation or whether he were consulted by letter, he was ready to bestow with lavish hand what had been gathered by him in the sweat of his brow.” True learning does not consist in the possession of a stock of facts—the merit of a dictionary—but in the discerning spirit, a power of appreciation, *judicium*, as it was called in the sixteenth century, which is the result of the possession of a stock of facts. Rare as genius is, it may be doubted if consummate learning be not rarer. A few such men there have been—Wytttenbach, Ruhnken, Bentley in the last century, Lobeck in the present. Such a man was Isaac Casaubon. It is a treasure which we can only possess “in earthen vessels.” Then came the death summons, and at fifty-six all these stores, which had been painfully gathered by the daily toil of forty years, were swept away, and nothing left but some lifeless books,

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 322.

which can do little more than a gravestone can do—perpetuate the name—"tot congestos noctes diesque hauserit una dies."¹

In order to keep alive learning in a nation, in order to provide a place which can be devoted to erudition and research, the piety of founders and benefactors, the wisdom of rulers, the accident of casual association, and the ordinary laws of supply and demand have caused Universities to grow up.

'A University is an organ of the intellectual life of the nation ; it is the school of learning, the nursery of the liberal arts, the academy of the sciences, the retreat of the studious and the contemplative . . . not merely the mouthpiece of necessary instruction, but a pattern of lofty erudition and a stimulus to its attainment.'

Amongst Universities one of the most distinguished places is held by Oxford, and with Oxford Mark Pattison's career was bound up. All the share he took in the practical work of the world was that spent in his own University. We have pointed out already that we believe that his influence in broadening the system of University teaching has been most excellent in its effects. At one time it was feared that a too sudden introduction to philosophy would have a disastrous effect. We believe that in the present state of society it is not only not harmful, but beneficial. A man who has been well trained in even the most sceptical thought is far less likely to be imposed upon by the shallow philosophizing of the magazines, and if he desires ordination will bring to the cause of his religion far higher powers and capacities than the man who has not been so trained. We believe his work has been mainly good ; we believe that the ideal he attempted to elevate before his contemporaries will gradually work through the University, and will lose some of its unattractive features.

But how has the University of Oxford succeeded in fulfilling its duty? The judgment is severe. There are few tasks which Mark Pattison wearies of so little as that of arraigning his contemporaries for their neglect of the duties of their calling. He attacks their want of elevated intellectual interests, their failure to add to the sum of human learning, the inadequacy of their teaching, their fussy devotion to the petty details of University business ; sometimes too he lashes their frivolity, extravagance, and self-indulgence. We come to the University with our minds glowing with a great ideal, which we have been dwelling upon in our imagination, of the mag-

¹ *Casaubon*, pp. 489, 490.

nificance of a cultivated intellect and a place which will be its fit home.

'We step out of our studies with hearts dilated with the magnificent outlines of the Temple of Knowledge, in which we dream we minister, and we find ourselves not in an academical auditory, but among the lower forms of a grammar school. Instead of a liberal curiosity, intellectual tastes, studious habits, and the frugal self-control of the scholar; instead of our ardour to teach being met by an equal ardour to learn, we find that we have to do with ignorance, stupidity, sensual tastes, laziness, indifference, an effeminate passion for amusement, self-indulgent habits, listless, aimless temperaments, inert rather than vicious, unenergetic, unheroic, unimpassioned.'¹

We might quote much more to this effect, but it would be unnecessary; we believe such an extravagant attack to be absolutely unjustified, and we believe that the extravagance shows the weakness of its writer's character and the cause of much of his failure. But what element of truth is there in it? The connexion of Oxford with Mark Pattison will make it desirable that we should confine our attention more exclusively to that University.

We must acknowledge at once that, judged by any ideal standard, it will often fail. It is true that the mass of teachers in the University, in spite of brilliant exceptions, do not devote themselves to learning in a sufficiently single-minded manner; it is true that University business takes up far too much of the time of many, often to their own extreme reluctance; it is true that the devotion to athletics and amusements, not only amongst undergraduates, is very great. We might, no doubt, add up many more charges. It is perhaps better to look at the other side. If during the last fifty years Oxford has not produced so many learned books as a smaller German University, whose professors have no duties outside the lecture-room and the study, and who never attempt to co-ordinate their studies with life, it has shown a very large amount of intellectual activity; it has rescued itself from a state of torpor, it has rescued the Church from a state of torpor, it has reformed its system in every direction; so much so that some have even accused it of dangerous intellectual activity. It has taken a very definite place as the mediator between the learned and the unlearned world. If the mass of its students are often idle, there are few so idle as the mass of German students, at any rate during their first years of

¹ *Sermons*, p. 61.

University life. If they are devoted to athletics, it is better than the licentiousness, the coarseness, the materialism, and the unrefined habits of the German students. The University may fail to produce many learned men ; it produces many well-educated men. If its training of specialists is inadequate, the general education it gives its best men is as good as, if not better than, that acquired elsewhere. In breadth of view, in clearness of judgment, in learning without pedantry and philosophy without impracticability, the well-educated Englishman need not be ashamed of his training.

While saying this much in praise of Oxford, we are not insensible to its real defects. If we might venture to give some advice we should suggest the motto 'In quietness.' You have gone through much intellectual excitement ; you are too fond of distracting the few weeks of your exceedingly short term by a mass of extraneous amusement and business, which is not at any rate your primary duty. Do not reform Universities, institutions, and examinations, but do your own work as quietly and as well as you can. You have six months' vacation ; spend two of those months, if you will, in travelling or in rest ; you have four left. If during those four you can tear yourself away from the exhilaration of examining schools and the other thousand and one ways in which you fritter away your time, and devote them to steady reading and research, you will come back to your pupils with your minds refreshed and ideas enlarged, and you will gradually, if slowly, produce, each, a work of erudition which will together add to the credit of yourselves and the University. Above all do not be ashamed of your calling. Do not think it your duty always to be fleeing to practical work. If you are a clergyman without a parish it is not your duty to waste time in parochial work which might be better spent ; it *is* your duty to devote yourselves to theological learning and study, which will do far more to help your parochial brethren than your inadequate attempts at parochial work. *Ne sutor supra crepidam.* If you are a layman it is not your duty to become a popular lecturer or a hustings orator, or to fritter away your time in giving what you know is almost valueless instruction to the thousands of holiday-makers and picnickers who even invade the peace of the long vacation, and listen to lectures on novels by ecclesiastics who have deserted their dioceses, and to discourses on learning from scholars who have deserted their books. For six months in the year you spend most of your time in training students ; you help to form their minds and characters ; you are put into a close intercourse with them, which gives you every opportu-

nity. They will go out through the length and breadth of the country and will disseminate your ideas and teaching where they go. They will be the clergy of nearly half the parishes of the country ; they will be the masters of half the schools ; they will influence their generation through hundreds of journals and magazines. Is yours not a sufficiently dignified and important position, and cannot you give the rest of the year to keeping up your stock of knowledge, to freshening your ideas by original work, and to adding to the body of truth which it is your privilege to disseminate ?

Several of these essays are devoted to the history of religious thought, amongst others that on the 'Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750,' published originally in *Essays and Reviews*, one on the 'Present State of Theology in Germany,' written in 1857, with indiscriminate praise of that section of thought which has most definitely been given up, and one on 'Learning in the Church of England.' The same subject is touched upon in various other essays, directly or indirectly. We propose, finally, to say something of the relation of learning to religion, with special reference to the Church of England.

The Church of England fares no better at the hands of our author than the University of Oxford. To the learned and rational theology of the eighteenth century he gives a certain qualified praise, and his essays on the subject have a value, especially in the present day, to draw more attention to the necessity of tempering enthusiasm, zeal, and piety by accuracy of thought and rational judgment. To the earlier stages of the Oxford movement, in moments when his mind is not soured, he gives credit for considerable learning and devotion to study ; he does so, perhaps, all the more readily as it helps to excuse his own weakness in allowing himself to fall a victim to it. From the moment that Mark Pattison deserted the movement, the Church of England became the home of fussy curates, of uneducated ecclesiastics, of obscurantism, of ignorance, of reaction, of one-sided ecclesiastical controversy. In the year 1862 a Church Congress was held at Oxford ; this brought down on the heads of its holders all the wrath of our intellectual martinet.

'The discussions,' he says, 'were mock discussions, which led to a prearranged conclusion. The impartial onlooker turns from the Oxford Congress as he might go away from a field-day where some Continental monarch had reviewed his troops. We all know what a parade-day at Potsdam is worth. A great deal of powder is burnt, cuirasses flash and plumes nod magnificently ; the commander-in-

chief and his high-born officers have had important work, by which nothing was done. The party exult over the Congress as a "success"! They have reason. It at once showed their strength and cemented it. It demonstrated at the same time the difficulty of erecting theology into a party creed, without at the same time degrading it into a party watchword.¹

We will ask our readers to remember that this was written in 1863. We will ask them to notice the terms of magnificent scorn with which the Prussian army is treated, and then we will ask them to remember some of the leading events in European history in the next seven years. But what have we to say to the Church of England? Has it too its Sadowa and its Sedan to show that the accusation brought against it is as unfounded as that against the parade at Potsdam? The accusation made is that it is deficient in learning. Now we are quite willing to admit that of the 10,000 clergy of the Church of England there are many who are ignorant; we are quite willing to deplore the evil effects of excessive devotion to the petty details of parochial life, of the mistake of fussiness for zeal and the sacrifice of higher spiritual and intellectual pursuits to the attractions of the soup-kitchen and the children's holiday. No doubt there is truth in this; no doubt the Church suffers sometimes because the sermons are poor if the music is good, and the teaching inadequate if the charity is profuse. We are thankful to any who will point this out in a way which will command attention by the moderation and fairness with which it is done. But look at the other side. The Church of England cannot, any more than the Universities, compete in quantity of learned work with the great army of German professors who can devote themselves to learning without distraction; but it has succeeded in producing the leading work in textual criticism and the best patristic monograph of the century. But these may be isolated instances. We had the opportunity not long ago of talking with one of the best known and most rationalistic German professors of theology, and the subject of discussion was the English Revised Version, a version which has been attacked for various reasons. He pointed out that the Lutheran Church, the Church of 'learned Germany,' had been engaged in the same work at the same time. The English translation was from every scholarly point of view infinitely the best. The revisers had had the courage boldly to accept the result of textual criticism in the New Testament, and to apply judiciously but firmly the best work of modern scholarship. They had produced a book which

¹ *Essays*, ii. 279.

was the most convenient summary even for a German scholar to use. The German work was inferior in every respect. But more remarkable even than this is the manner in which the results of modern science and thought have been accepted—accepted, not by the prominent examples of single individuals, but by the general modifications of opinion throughout the clergy as a whole. The English Church has assimilated the results of modern geology and the theory of evolution, in spite of the fact that the latter was only too often brought before it in anti-Christian garb. It is at present face to face with an even more difficult problem, that of Old Testament criticism, and it shows every sign of being willing to approach it in a bold, cautious, and reverent spirit, without any desire to reject what may be true, and firmly convinced that the foundations of the great Christian verities will not be shaken. This is the work of the Church of England for the last thirty years, thirty years which have been spent in strengthening its grasp on Catholic tradition, without losing its hold on the intellect of the country.

But the relation of learning to religion brings us face to face with a general problem of greater difficulty. What is to be the attitude of the Church towards free learning and research? We can only, in the small space that is left to us, touch upon this point. We might illustrate with ease the two most extreme and, we believe, equally erroneous views from the writings of Cardinal Newman and Mark Pattison. Both look upon progress as a contest between dogma and reason, between oppression of opinion and freedom of opinion, and each takes a different side. All the evils of the world are due to disregard of authority, says the one; all the evils of the world are due to suppression of opinion, says the other. We make the following suggestions: That it is quite true that the suppression of opinion by force, by State influence, by any means except reason, is disastrous; but equally is it true that a Church is bound to have a system of teaching which must be expressed in formulas, and to make these a condition of membership. These two principles acting and reacting will, we believe, be found to work out the desired result—that men should hold the truest possible opinions in the truest possible way. Supposing the Church were to do what sections of it have done, oppose undeniable truth or allow erroneous teaching to prevail, immediately reason and learning will begin to assert themselves, and, unimpeded by legislative hindrances, make their way. The section of the Church which allowed these erroneous views to prevail must reconsider its position in order

to defend its true doctrines. More than that, the danger of opposition will compel all men to hold their own views as intelligent and rational beings. On the other hand, the dangers of inadequate teaching will be avoided, because most men will be taught according to the system which is believed most nearly to represent truth. No man will hesitate to make his teaching prevail by any legitimate means; all will fear to do so by illegitimate means. We suggest that in this way it is possible to steer between the Scylla of Romanism and the Charybdis of free thought.

We have said enough to enable our readers to judge of the scope and aim of Mark Pattison's life; we have hinted what we believe to be the defects both of his character and his teaching; we have dwelt strongly on his merits. We send all our readers to these volumes of his Essays and his other works, trusting that they may catch something of the devotion to learning which inspires them.

ART. VI.—THE ORIGINS OF IRISH CHRISTIANITY.

1. *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*. Translated by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L., LL.D., for the Master of the Rolls. (London, 1887.)
2. *The Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*. By WILLIAM BULLEN MORRIS, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. (London, 1888.)
3. *The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago*. Selections from the Würzburg Glosses. Translated by the Rev. THOMAS OLDEN, M.A., M.R.I.A. (Dublin and London, 1888.)

FOR the first time all the original sources of information on the origins of Irish Christianity are given to the public in a collected form, and with the advantage of being edited by a first-rate scholar. Of these documents some, as the *Tripartite*, are in Irish, so old as to be intelligible only to a few undaunted scholars. Others are in Latin, but in some cases the texts in which they are accessible swarm with misprints and blunders, and, besides, can only be consulted in publications not to be

found in ordinary libraries. It is, therefore, difficult to over-estimate the value of these volumes of the Rolls Series to the student of the early ecclesiastical history of these islands. The originals of all the Irish pieces are given with literal translations, and all, Irish and Latin, are edited with scrupulous accuracy and a learning which may be well described as unique.

Up to a recent period the authorities for Irish Church history were chiefly the writers of the Anglo-Norman period, from the twelfth century onward, who were presumed to be safe guides on the subject; and yet, paradoxical as it may seem, their knowledge was very superficial. Several reasons may be assigned for this: first of all, they were of the conquering race, and looked down on the natives and their institutions as barbarous; again, they were fully persuaded that nothing could be right that was not in accordance with English, then equivalent to Roman, usage; and, once more, they saw the Irish Church in its decline, when it was disorganized and enfeebled by centuries of Danish persecution. The great institutions which had once sent forth a stream of learned men to teach in the schools of the Merovingian kings, or to evangelize the heathen occupants of Western Europe, now lay in ruins, and the countless volumes penned by their scribes had been almost wholly destroyed by the ruthless invaders. Thus when these ecclesiastics, knowing and caring nothing for the history of the past, found in Ireland an impoverished and ill-educated clergy ministering at the altars with rites in their eyes strange and irregular, they disdained to inquire into the origin of the system, but treated it as one to be superseded with all convenient speed. It is obvious that these circumstances precluded any real knowledge on their part of what the Church of Ireland had been in its best days. And even had they desired to investigate the subject the native language was a barrier, for it was not an attractive one to listen to, much less to learn. Bæde has a story of a Saxon king who was so tired (*peritæsus*) of the language of his bishop, who, though a Saxon, had been educated in Ireland, that he took the first opportunity of superseding him. A somewhat similar state of feeling in the nineteenth century is shown in the following description of it by Archbishop Whately:—

‘It is a barbarous jargon in which the discordant sounds of the farm-yard are mixed up. There is the drawling running of one note into another of the cock’s crow, the squall of the peacock, the cackle of the goose, the duck’s quack, and no small admixture of the ass’s bray.’

This chaff of the witty Archbishop was gravely replied to by an indignant patriot. The disadvantage under which former writers laboured from want of acquaintance with the language has been lessened by the translations which have appeared of late years, and is now further diminished by this noble edition of the *Tripartite*.

Not the least interesting feature in the learned Introduction is the summary of evidence for the existence and individuality of St. Patrick ; for he has been so divided and subdivided into several Patricks by perplexed theorists that many were inclined to doubt his existence. It is not many years since the present writer heard a dignitary of the Irish Church at a dinner party say to his neighbour, 'Do you believe there ever was such a person as St. Patrick?' Mr. Stokes has now, however, restored the saint safe and sound to his Church by an array of evidence beginning with the fifth century and ending with the thirteenth, and derived from native and foreign sources. It is classed under each century, and places for ever beyond doubt his real existence as well as his fame at home and abroad. The difficulty of previous writers has been to reconcile the absence of Patrick for thirty years from Ireland with other statements in the Lives. But the fact is it cannot be reconciled, and Mr. Stokes prefers to follow the authority of Probus and deny it altogether. The result is that there is no need to assume a plurality of Patricks or a duality of Palladii, or to attribute the acts of one to the other.

His mode of conducting his mission is not without instruction for us at the present day ; for some would tell us that the Church should go forth in poverty and look for maintenance to those whom she desires to evangelize, but he seems to have come to Ireland well provided with funds. 'I paid,' he says in his *Confession*, 'the hire of fifteen men that you might enjoy me and I you always in the Lord.' Again, 'I gave rewards to kings, for I gave hire to their sons who travel with me, and thus they abstained from seizing me with my companions.'¹ He always refused gifts when offered by his converts, and he even incurred the disapprobation of his companions by doing so. One of the stories told in the *Tripartite* is that 'he asked of God as much gold and silver as his nine companions could carry, to be given to the Gael for believing ;'² that is, we may presume, that, like St. Paul, he might not be burthensome to them. A dialogue may be also

¹ *Trip.* vol. ii. p. 372.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 31.

quoted as evidence that he was known to have money. An owner of land said to him, 'What wilt thou give me for that land?' 'Life eternal,' he answered. 'Thou hast gold,' said the other; 'give me some for it.' Patrick replied, 'I have given my gold to all, but God will give me other gold.'¹ This money appears to have been contributed by the Gaulish Church, from which, as the Introduction shows, he had his mission.

A singular member of his staff was his champion, or strong man, who bore him over rivers and difficult places, such as the morasses which abounded in Ireland.

'Once as Patrick was coming from Clogher, from the north, his champion, Bishop MacCairthinn, lifted him over a difficult place. It was an effort, and he groaned aloud, "Oh! oh!" "It was unusual for thee to utter that word," said Patrick. The Bishop replied, "I am now an old man and infirm, and thou hast left my comrades in churches and I am still on the path." "I will leave thee, then, in a church," said Patrick, "that shall not be very near, lest thou be contemned; and shall not be very far, so that mutual visiting between us be continued." He then left him in Clogher, and gave him the [silver reliquary called the] Domnach Airgid.'

This remarkable work of art is still in existence, and in the safe keeping of the Royal Irish Academy, together with its enclosure, a copy of the Gospels so old that its leaves are agglutinated together and cannot be separated.² This provision of 'a champion' may be contrasted with the mode in which Bishop Selwyn conducted his mission in New Zealand. It is said that when the Maoris offered to bear him across the rivers on his visitation tour he declined, adding that he would never consent to make such fine fellows beasts of burthen, and accordingly he waded or swam over. Surely we are not so far behind the primitive Church after all in these latter days.

Another suggestion made recently is that the dress and ways of the natives should be imitated as far as possible by Christian missionaries. Here also a story in the *Tripartite* may be referred to, which is on other grounds of great interest. Patrick and his companions were sitting by a well in the early morning, when two daughters of the king, who were receiving their education with a Druid who lived near, went early to the

¹ *Triph.* vol. i. p. 95.

² Vol. i. pp. 176-7. The Domnach Airgid is an oblong box nine inches by seven and five inches in height. It is composed of three covers, of which the first or inner one is of wood—yew—and no doubt is the one given by Patrick; the second, or middle one, of copper plated with silver; and the third, or outer one, of silver plated with gold. The work on the second indicates a period from the sixth to the twelfth centuries. The ornament on the outer cover is that of the fourteenth century.

well, as was their custom. They were Ethne the Fair and Fedelm the Ruddy. 'They found the assembly of clerics in white garments [surplices?], with their books before them. Surprised, they asked Patrick, "Whence are ye? Are ye out of the elf-mounds or of the gods?"' He discourages their curiosity about his origin and says he came to tell them of the God of the Christians. They then ask many questions. 'Who is your God? Where is he? Is he in heaven or in earth, or under earth, or on earth?' &c. 'Is he in seas, or in streams, or in mountains, or in glens? Hath he sons and daughters?' &c.¹ Patrick, in reply, gives them a summary of the Christian doctrine, and the story ends with the baptism of the maidens and their reception of 'the Body and Blood of Christ.' The white robes of the clergy by their novelty were useful in attracting attention, and were assumed advisedly by the missionary party. Mr. Stokes calls attention to the five baptismal interrogations² (*ἐπερωτήσεις*) put by the saint, to the mention of the chrisom cloth, and the naïveté of the questions asked by the girls about God and his sons and daughters—'questions which no legend-monger ever had the imagination to invent.'

One of the most dramatic incidents in his career was the lighting of his Paschal fire in sight of the palace of Tara, and thus violating the law. 'On that night the fire of every hearth in Ireland was quenched, and it was proclaimed by the king that no fire should be kindled in Ireland before that of Tara.' But 'the folk of Tara' saw with astonishment the consecrated Paschal fire which Patrick kindled, and the king, ordering his chariots and horses to be yoked, said, 'We will go and slay the man who has kindled the fire!' Patrick, however, said, 'Some trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God,' and he passed safely through the crisis.

In after times an Easter fire was kept up in many places in Ireland, which seems to have had some connexion with this now mentioned. Giraldus Cambrensis describes the perpetual ashless fire at Kildare, which was tended by nuns; this was in the twelfth century, and perhaps is the latest instance of the kind.³ Nothing is said to connect it specially with Easter, but in the Life of St. Ciaran of Saigir, in Queen's County, who flourished in the sixth century, we have an account of a similar practice, which is described more in detail. He had placed a boy in 'the fire house' in charge of the sacred fire, 'which he

¹ Vol. i. pp. 99-103.² Vol. ii. p. 316.³ *Works*, Rolls series, v. 120.

had blessed on the previous Easter,' and gave him orders not to allow it to expire, but to replenish and tend it during the year. The youth, notwithstanding, allowed the fire to go out. Ciaran was greatly concerned. 'Do you know,' he said to his monks, 'this cursed boy has let the fire go out? There will be no fire now in this church until Easter unless God sends it.' It was very cold, snow was falling, and there were no fires in the guest-house, 'for it was from the sacred fire they were kindled every evening.' In this emergency Ciaran went forth, and spreading abroad his hands prayed earnestly. Then a thunderbolt fell into his bosom, which he gathered up carefully in the skirt of his robe and brought home, and the sacred fire was rekindled and the guests relieved from their sufferings.¹ This treatment of the thunderbolt may be commended to the notice of electricians as an early instance of 'the storage of force'! There were also fire houses at Inismurray Island and at Cloyne, though the custom does not seem to have been general and died out at an early period everywhere except at Kildare. At an early stage of human society, and when there were few means of obtaining fire, the custom prevailed of having a common fire to which all could resort, and this seems to have been adopted by the Church and connected with religion.² In its essential feature it still survives in the sacred fire of the Greek Church at Jerusalem, described by Dean Stanley, which is supposed to be Divinely kindled every year on Easter Day.

This and other practices common to the Irish and Eastern Churches suggest some remarks on their connexion. Mr. Haddan was of opinion that there was no more than in the case of any other Western Church, yet some account is evidently required of these coincidences. Now the fact stated by Mr. Stokes that Patrick's mission was from Gaul seems to afford a clue. The south of Gaul, with which he was connected, was christianized directly from the East, and maintained a constant intercourse with it, its earlier prelates having been Greeks. In course of time it gradually lost its Oriental character, but at the time of Patrick's mission, which Mr. Stokes places at 397, it appears to have retained some traces of it, which were reflected in the daughter Church of Ireland.³ That Church,

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Ciaran of Saigir.

² 'Le Christianisme a toujours traité avec respect les nations converties. . . . Les religieuses de Kildare entretenaient auprès de l'Eglise de Sainte Brigitte un feu bénit qui y brûlait encore au bout de six cents ans.' Ozanam, *Œuvres*, iv. 98.

³ 'Si les fondateurs de monastères irlandais rappellent . . . les in-

secluded from the rest of Christendom by the distracted state of Europe, preserved the deposit it had received, and built up for itself an ecclesiastical polity suited to the wants of the country. When, a hundred and fifty years¹ afterwards, communication was reopened the Continental Church was found to have changed, but the Irish had not, and was looked upon as little better than schismatical by the Roman authorities.² Again, occasional communications with the East took place through the visits of Eastern pilgrims to Ireland, or Irish travellers to Egypt and the Holy Land. In this way have been accounted for the character of the interlaced ornament on Irish work; the rich colouring of the illuminations; the stamped leather cases for carrying books, which, as Bishop Reeves says, are exactly similar to those found in Abyssinia; the hanging up of books in those cases, as practised in the Greek monasteries, instead of using shelves. These are slight matters, but they show that the Irish were interested in the East and liked to imitate its customs. An incident mentioned in the Life of Colman-Ela (*d.* 611) points in the same direction. His steward being ordered at Epiphany to furnish supplies for the festival, made answer that he had plenty of spring water, but nothing else. There appears to be an allusion here to a custom described by Chrysostom.

‘In this solemnity [Epiphany], in memory of our Saviour’s baptism, by which He sanctified the nature of water, they were used at midnight to carry home water from the church and lay it up, where,’ he adds, ‘it would remain as fresh and uncorrupt for one, two, or three years as if it were immediately drawn out of any fountain.’³

In this drawing towards the East the character of the Irish intellect was not without its influence. Michelet and others have noticed the ‘sympathy between the Celtic and Greek genius.’⁴ This is certainly true in the case of Johannes Scotus,

stitutions de l’Orient c’est à Lerins et dans les écrits de Cassian qu’ils les connurent.’ *Ibid.* iv. 100.

¹ ‘In process of time the remote situation of this country and the intervening distractions of Europe cut off all communication between the two Churches. After the long interval of 150 years it was again opened; a schism ensued.’ *Dissertations on the History of Ireland*, pp. 203–4, by C. O’Conor of Balenagar (Dublin, 1812).

² ‘It is quite plain that the Scots (Irish) also were just in like manner tinged with the same dark dye of schism as the Britons, and guilty like them of separation from the Church of Rome.’ Baronius, *Annals*, tom. 8, p. 193 (Antwerp, 1600).

³ Bingham, vii. 82. *Dict. of National Biography*, s.v. Colman Ela.

⁴ ‘Le génie celtique, qui est celui de l’individualité, sympathise profondément avec le génie grec.’ Michelet, *Hist. de France*, i. 121.

who is an example of the highest type of Irish intellect, for, in his poem prefixed to his translation of the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, he shows much more sympathy with the East than the West. Referring in it to the desertion of Rome by its rulers, he says with evident pleasure—

‘Cessit et ad Grecos nomen honosque tuus ;
Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur.
Moribus et muribus Roma vetusta cadis ;
Transiit imperium mansitque superbia tecum.

Truncasti viros crudeli vulnere sanctos,
Vendere nunc horum mortua membra soles.
Jam ni te meritum Petri Paulique foveret,
Tempore jam longo, Roma, misella fores.’¹

The first volume of Mr. Stokes' book contains the translation of the *Tripartite* ; the second begins with the portion of the *Book of Armagh* containing the notes of Muirchu and the collections of Tirechán, with several smaller pieces. The date of the *Book of Armagh* is 807, which lends importance to these memoirs, though even then corruptions were gaining entrance. One may observe how much the history of these islands is interwoven when it is seen that the British History of Nennius has in several passages been taken direct from the *Book of Armagh*. The extracts are given by Mr. Stokes,² who was the first to call attention to them.

Other documents are the *Confession* of Patrick and his letter to the subjects of Coroticus, who is identified by Mr. Stokes with Ceretic, king of Alclyde, now Dumbarton. These are generally accepted as authentic, and Mr. Stokes gives a summary of the evidence on this point. The *Confession* affords an insight into Patrick's personal character and teaching. It is sometimes supposed to be of the same nature as the *Confessions* of St. Augustine ; but it is rather, as Dr. Todd says, ‘a defence against some undefined and not very clearly stated charges of presumption in undertaking his mission, and of incompetency for the work.’ It was written near the close of his life, and, like St. Paul's address to the elders of Miletus, is his last message to his flock.

Mr. Stokes does not accept the Roman mission of Patrick, but he thinks he had an affection for Rome, and that the canon attributed to him may be authentic, which orders that ‘difficult causes should be referred to the Chair of St. Peter,

¹ Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. 121, 122, sæc. 9, Proem. xxii. xxiii.

² Preface, p. cxviii.

having the authority of the city of Rome.'¹ One rather hesitates about this, as it does not seem in harmony with the letters just referred to, nor with the poem of Secundinus. Still it is possible, as perhaps the 'city of Rome' was likely to contain learned ecclesiastics in that age. But the matter is really of little importance, for, to quote Archbishop Ussher, 'if I myself had lived in his days, for the resolution of a doubtful question I should as willingly have listened to the judgment of the Church of Rome as to the determination of any Church in the whole world. So reverend an estimation have I of the integrity of that Church as it stood in those good days.'²

It is worthy of notice that the authorities of the Irish Church did not show any anxiety to be on intimate terms with Rome. In the case of Bishop Conclaed, who flourished in the sixth century, this appears very plainly. He was 'Brigit's bishop'—that is, the bishop of her community at Kildare and under her orders, according to the system which prevailed in Ireland. He was also her principal artist, one of those workers in metal whose skill is shown by the remarkable specimens of their workmanship still extant. He had therefore a twofold reason, ecclesiastical and artistic, for wishing to visit Rome; but when he desired to do so Brigit refused her permission. Conclaed, however, rebelling against what John Knox called 'the monstrous regimen of women,' started off without leave. But he had not gone many miles when he was devoured of wolves, in punishment, as was generally understood, for setting at naught her commands.³ On another occasion a holy man came to St. Aidan of Ferns, who lived in the seventh century, saying, 'I wish to go on pilgrimage to Rome.' The bishop replied, 'Thou shalt not go.' The other replied, 'Verily if I see not Rome I shall die.'⁴ But, notwithstanding, he could not obtain the required permission, and had to be content with a lecture on the subject from St. Aidan with which he expressed himself perfectly satisfied. The feeling of the native authorities is well expressed by the Irish verse in the Codex Boernerianus: 'To go to Rome is much of trouble, little of profit. The King whom thou seekest here, unless thou bring him with thee, thou findest not. Great folly, great madness, great loss of sense, great folly since thou hast proposed to go to death, to be under the unwill of

¹ Introduction, p. cxxxv.

² *Works*, iv. 330.

³ *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, J. H. Todd, D.D., p. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 115.

Mary's Son.'¹ One may fairly conclude, from these facts among others, that, whatever might have been Patrick's feelings with regard to Rome, he did not impress the Irish Church with any special regard for it. The popular belief in Ireland is that the Church was founded by Pope Celestine, and always maintained the closest communion with Rome. But educated Roman Catholics do not share in this delusion. Some years ago a well-known convert, when in Ireland, congratulated a Roman Catholic professor on the profound Catholicism of his countrymen and their unalterable attachment from the beginning to the Chair of St. Peter. 'I am constantly hearing that,' was the reply; 'but there is no truth in it. I assure you if you inquire you will find that some of the most famous heretics of early times were Irishmen; and if you, sir, succeed in converting England you will find the Irish taking the same line again.'

In addition to the proofs of the early date of the *Confession* given by Mr. Stokes, it may be mentioned that the Creed which it contains is in the plural number. 'With one exception,' Mr. Freeman says,² 'no Creed has been found in the singular until the middle of the fourth century; and in the least changed of the Eastern rites, the Syriac, as well as in the Spanish, the Eucharistic recitation of the Creed runs in the plural, "Credimus."'" Perhaps there is also an evidence of antiquity, as well as a point of contact with Eastern ideas, in that passage of the *Confession* in which he says he dreamed that Satan was crushing him, and that he called out 'Helias! Helias!' with all his might, he knew not why; and just then the splendour of the sun fell upon him and he was relieved and awoke.³ There is evidently a connexion of some kind intended with Helios, the sun, which arose at the moment; but still it was Christ the Lord, he says, who came to his aid, and the material sun was but the type of the Sun of Righteousness.

Mr. Bent tells us that the Greek islanders of the present day adapt the old mythology to Christian ideas, and say it is the Virgin who opens the gates of the East, instead of Eos, the Dawn; and in the hymns of the Greek Church she is 'the mother of Helios—that is, Christ.' Patrick refers in the *Confession* to sun-worship as familiar to those whom he addressed. 'The sun,' he says, 'rises daily at God's bidding for us; but it shall not *reign* for ever, nor shall its splendour continue; and woe to its unhappy worshippers!'⁴ Mr. Bent notices

¹ *Goidelica*, by Whitley Stokes, p. 182. London, 1872.

² *Principles of Divine Service*, ii. 340.

³ *Trip.* vol. ii. p. 363.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 374..

this very expression, 'the sun reigns' ('basileui ho hēlios'), as still in use in the Greek islands. 'When the sun has set they say he has returned to his kingdom, and there rules and passes the night in a vast palace, where his mother is ready to receive him with forty loaves of bread.'¹ These ideas carry us back not only to the time of Patrick, but, as Mr. Bent says, into the realms of mythology. The *Confession* and letter about Coroticus have been published several times, the last occasion before the appearance of the present work being in 1887, when they were brought out in Dublin under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance. Anyone acquainted with the constitution of that motley body will be disposed to commiserate the two editors. They were somewhat in the position of the Davenport brothers, but much more securely tied, as each sect contributed a knot, and they were therefore not free to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Still this does not account for their choosing a bad text of the *Confession* to translate from, when they might have used that of Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs; nor does it explain their giving an obsolete translation of the Irish hymn, which seriously detracts from Patrick's character, when a correct one was within their reach.

The alphabetical hymn of Secundinus, St. Patrick's nephew and one of his missionary companions, is of singular interest. Its antiquity appears by its use of the present tense, by the absence of miracles, and by its silence as to any Roman mission. The metre, consisting of eight and seven syllables alternately, does not depend on quantity, like classical metre. It seems to be of Gaulish origin, and another instance of it is found in the carol sung by Cæsar's soldiers when on the march, following his chariot in the Gallic triumph:

'Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem.'

It is a description of Patrick as a missionary, and though it is to be regretted that there are no personal details still it is an invaluable picture of him. It abounds in allusions to Scripture and is wholly free from superstition. In one stanza he compares Patrick to St. Peter, in another to St. Paul, and again he says, 'Christ chose him to be His vicar on earth.' The occasion of its composition is stated in the ancient preface to have been a complaint made by the author about Patrick. 'He would be a good man were it not for one thing—that is, if he did not preach charity so very little.' This coming to his ears he said, 'It is on account of charity I do

¹ *Athenæum*, January 17, 1885.

not preach it, because other Saints will come after me into this island, and they will need the service of men.' As we have already seen, it was not necessary for him to urge them to give to him.

Referring to the social condition of the country at this time, Mr. Stokes notices that there are no vernacular terms for the words 'writing, pen, paper, quire, parchment, writing style, book, letter, tablet.' This would seem to lead to the conclusion that there was no knowledge of writing until it was introduced by the Christian missionaries; for, besides, he is said to have written alphabets called 'abgatoria,' or 'elementa,' for his converts, but the word alphabet is sometimes applied to an elementary work, and the inference is, therefore, not quite conclusive.

Anyone who has seen the marvellous *Book of Kells*, 'the admiration and astonishment of everyone who examines it,' as Bishop Reeves says, or any of the other less famous but beautiful manuscripts which exist, will not wonder that the office of scribe was held in high esteem. We learn from Mr. Stokes' introduction that 'anyone who shed a scribe's blood should be crucified or pay seven slave girls.' The slave girl was the unit of value at that time, and was equivalent to three cows. The penalty, therefore, amounted to twenty-one cows, which made killing a scribe an expensive matter.

In treating of the sacraments he takes 'the list given by the Roman Church,' and proceeds to inquire how far the seven are recognized in the documents. Extreme unction is not noticed at all in them, and of the remaining six there is nothing to show that penance, matrimony, or holy orders were regarded as sacraments. On confirmation he gives no opinion. There remain, therefore, baptism and the Eucharist as the only two clearly recognized by the Irish Church. Baptism was by immersion. There was long a controversy in the sixth and seventh centuries in the Spanish Church as to whether immersion should be once or thrice; but in Ireland the latter was the rule, as it was also in Edward VI.'s first Prayer Book, though the rubric has since been omitted.

The Holy Communion was in both kinds, and in the Würzburg Glosses, presently to be noticed, the spiritual Blood offered on the altar is contrasted with the material Blood shed on the Cross.

When the daughters of King Leogaire received 'the Body and Blood of Christ,' as already mentioned, the sequel of the story adds, 'They fell asleep in death, and Patrick put them under one mantle, in one bed, and their friends bewailed them

greatly.' They had previously asked to see Christ face to face, and this was the mode in which their request was granted. Similar stories are told on other occasions in connexion with the Holy Communion, and also occasionally apart from it. When Enna, then a young prince, asked his sister, St. Fanche, to give him to wife a royal maiden she was educating, she gave the girl the choice of being 'married to him or loving Christ.' Having chosen the latter, she went away with St. Fanche, lay down on the bed and immediately expired, and the story goes on to add that Enna was brought in to view the corpse.¹ The meaning wrapped up in these legends is that the person had died to the world ; but Irish legend-writers had a strange habit of taking a metaphor literally and working it out in full detail, and so they describe the laying out and burial of the king's daughters. So in the *Life of St. Finnchu*, of Mitchelstown, it is related that having got into a violent passion and hid his face under St. Comgall's cowl, the flame of his anger set fire to the cowl. And Giraldus Cambrensis, describing an island in the county of Tipperary, says he heard it was called the 'Island of the Living,' because no one could die on it, and 'if anyone would rather quit the world than lead a longer life of misery he is put into a boat and wafted elsewhere to die.' Such was the legend with which he, like a modern tourist, was furnished. But it really meant the island of those who live a religious or spiritual life, as the clerical occupants of the island engaged to do. In all the foregoing instances metaphor is taken for fact, and the imagination of the writer is exercised in inventing details.

We turn from these suggestive volumes to a very different work, *The Life of St. Patrick*, by Rev. W. B. Morris. It is a volume of 297 pages which contains not one new fact, not a single new idea, nor the least evidence of independent thought, but it would be difficult to match it for mistakes, misrepresentations, and general inaccuracy. It reminds one somewhat of Miss Cusack's book which he had before him. That lady, in the fervour of her enthusiasm on joining the Church of Rome, was ready to believe everything told her by her ecclesiastical guides, and in publishing the fictions of her *Life of St. Patrick* she was undoubtedly honest, and she really believed, for instance, that Patrick lit his fire with icicles in default of sticks. She has since seen the inner life of her adopted Church, and has found reason to return to the Church of her fathers. Mr. Morris gives one the idea of a person trying to persuade

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Enna.

himself that he believes what he writes but yet is half conscious that he is not up to the mark. He abandons the early miracles, not being able, we may presume, to swallow the icicles, but why he should halt in this way is difficult to understand on his own principles (pp. 34-40).

It would be a dreary task to go through all his errors in detail, and we therefore select a few which bear on matters of importance from which the reader may infer what reliance is to be placed on his work. The *Book of Armagh* is one of the most important documents connected with the history of Patrick. It is one of the few manuscripts in Ireland which have survived the Danish invasions. Its exact date is, therefore, of importance, but it was uncertain until about twenty years ago, when Dr. Graves, bishop of Limerick, proved that it was transcribed in 807.¹ This has never been questioned. Now, what does Mr. Morris say about it? Well, at page 45 he tells us the date is the middle of the seventh century, and if anyone should charitably suppose this to be an oversight, he will find it repeated at page 48, in the following emphatic form. 'The Book of Armagh, the manuscript of which belongs unquestionably to the seventh century.' But, perhaps, he did not know this elementary fact. This would be strange, for he tells us he has been more than a quarter of a century studying the question.² The interval between the death of Patrick and this manuscript, taking his own date of the former as 492, is therefore 315 years instead of 150 as he states!

The parentage of Patrick gives him much concern. How is he to get over the fact, stated by Patrick himself in his *Confession*, that his father was a deacon and his grandfather a priest? Here is his method (p. 58). 'On this we must suppose,' he says, 'either the ancient copyist made a mistake or else his father and grandfather were separated from their wives!' This is a short and easy method of disposing of an historical fact. It is curious to observe what a dread the authorities of the Roman Church have of truth. When O'Curry was professor of the 'Catholic University,' during part of its brief existence, he told the students that a celebrated member of the community of Clonmacnois, known as 'Conn of the poor' from his charities, was 'a lay religious.'³ Now, no one knew better than he that the person referred to was 'bishop' of

¹ The evidence is given in the introduction to Mr. Stokes' *Tripartite*, p. xc.

² Preface, p. 13.

³ O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, p. 184; for the episcopate of Conn, see the *Chronicon Scotorum* (Rolls Series), p. 209.

Clonmacnois, but, holding office at the will of the authorities, he was obliged to keep such facts dark when lecturing, or lose his pay. The fact was that not only was Conn in Holy Orders but his father, grandfather, and great grandfather were also, and his son became Abbot of Clonmacnois, and his son again was also abbot.¹ His parentage thus curiously resembled that of Patrick.

The great question, however, with Mr. Morris is the Roman mission. We are told, 'an overwhelming array of ancient Irish writers are witnesses to the fact that St. Patrick received his commission from Pope Celestine' (p. 109). To test this, we shall begin at the beginning—that is, with the *Confession* written at the close of his life, and entering at length into his mission and its origin. There is no reference whatever in it to any mission from Rome. This rather staggers Mr. Morris, who thinks he ought to have expressed his gratitude to the Pope for sending him, and considers the absence of such recognition 'an extraordinary blank in his autobiography' (p. 98). Of course it is, on his theory. Neither is there any mention of such a mission in the long poem of Secundinus, his contemporary, which describes him and his teaching. Nor does the *Hymn of Fiacc* make any mention of it, nor the *Memoir of Muirchu* in the *Book of Armagh*. These are all the earliest authorities, and their silence as to a Roman mission is simply fatal. It does not matter in the least how many of the later writers, such as Jocelyn, he may quote; their evidence is of no value whatever as opposed to the primitive records. All those we have referred to are given in the originals in Mr. Stokes's book.

Connected with the imaginary Roman mission is the group of legends about his visit to Italy. These appear in full bloom in Mr. Morris's book. The *Hymn of Fiacc* was supposed by Colgan to say that Patrick 'went across all the Alps,' but modern scholarship has shown the correct translation to be 'he (i.e. the Angel) sent him over all Albion,' that is, he crossed England or Scotland.² In other words, he passed over Great Britain on his way to Letha or Armorica, where St. Germain's see was. It had long been a puzzle how he could 'remain with Germain in the south of Letha,' as stated in this hymn, if Letha meant Italy as was formerly supposed, inasmuch as Germain's see was in the south of Gaul. But it has been shown that this name was originally applied to Armorica as the sea-coast territory. The myth

¹ *Annals of Four Masters*, A.D. 1022, 1031, 1056, 1079, 1103, 1128.

² *Tripartite*, vol. ii. p. 405.

founded on this mistranslation has been warmed up and served out again by Mr. Morris with embellishments due to the inventive genius of Cardinal Moran.

We pass on to the Bull of Adrian IV., by which Ireland was granted to the King of England, and in which he stipulated for Church rights and Peter's Pence.

We quite appreciate the untowardness of this Bull to the Roman Church in Ireland in these Nationalist days. It is a bar sinister across their escutcheon, and convicts them of not being the legitimate Church of Ireland. Here Cardinal Moran puts in an appearance again, and, according to Mr. Morris, pronounces it to be 'spurious.' We have no doubt he does. He is not a man to stick at trifles. But there is no better authenticated document in all history. Archbishop Ussher gives some of the evidence.¹ We add a proof which he does not mention, and which we commend to Mr. Morris's attention. In the year 1318 the chieftains and nobles of Ireland, headed by Domhnall O'Neill, King of Ulster,² made a complaint to Pope John XXII. of their unhappy condition, which they attribute to this Bull. 'Your predecessor, Pope Adrian,' they say, 'an Englishman, in the year of our Lord 1170, upon a representation false and full of iniquity which was made to him by Henry, King of England, made over the dominion of this realm of ours in a certain set form of words to that prince.' Again, 'We hold it as an undoubted truth that, in consequence of the aforesaid false suggestion and the grant thereupon founded, more than fifty thousand persons of the two nations have perished by the sword, independently of those who have been worn out by famine or destroyed in dungeons.' They inclosed a copy of the Bull to the Pope, and he wrote³ to the king, inclosing him a copy also, and calling on him to fulfil the conditions. We rather think that Pope John and the Irish chiefs knew something more about the matter than that veracious person, Cardinal Moran. Mr. Gladstone, in a letter written in 1879 and addressed to Mr. Probyn Nevins, agrees very much with this remonstrance. 'It is a question with me whether [the donation of Adrian], as an abnormal and arbitrary proceeding, did not vitiate at the fountain-head the relation between English and Irish.'

Throughout his book nothing can be more unsatisfactory

¹ *Works*, iv. 546-8.

² The Remonstrance is given in Fordun's *Scotichronicon* (ed. Hearne), iii. p. 908, Oxon., 1722.

³ The letter is in Peter Lombard, *De regno Hiberniæ*, Louvain, 1632, p. 260.

than Mr. Morris's dealing with his authorities. He quotes a life by St. Evin¹ repeatedly with the formula 'St. Evin says.' By this he means the *Tripartite*. St. Evin lived in the sixth century, whereas Dr. Lanigan² long ago proved with abundant learning that the *Tripartite* could not be earlier than the tenth. What, then, are we to say to Mr. Morris? And what is the value of any statement made by him? Again, in p. 169 is a quotation from the *Annals of Ulster*—'Patrick the bishop was approved in the Catholic Faith.' This is the counterpart of the line in the poem of Secundinus, which says he was 'a faithful witness of God in the Catholic doctrine,' but of course it has nothing to do with Rome. But Mr. Morris, quoting it again at p. 124, by altering the passage and making it part of a previous sentence, contrives to make it look as if it was the Pope who approved. 'Leo being ordained the forty-second bishop of the Roman Church, the Catholic faith of Patrick the bishop was approved.' But they are two distinct and unconnected passages, and there is a full-stop after the word Church! He follows this perversion up by saying (p. 170), 'This is, I believe, all that has been told us regarding the official relations of the Apostle of Ireland with the Vicar of Christ!!'

One remark before we leave this strange book. After describing the attendance, wholly imaginary, of Patrick at the funeral of St. Martin at Tours, he tells us he 'must have met St. Ambrose there,' St. Ambrose being at the time specified in the Cathedral of Milan. That is, he was in two places at one time—an instance, Mr. Morris says, of 'bilocation.' There is a well-known story of a member of the Irish House of Commons in the course of a speech affirming that no one could be in two places at the same time 'unless he was a bird.' To this may be added now, according to Mr. Morris, unless he was St. Ambrose. But surely this is grovelling. Mr. Morris has drunk of the cup of the enchantress, and one is apt to think that Milton, when he wrote his *Comus* and pictured the results of quaffing the cup of Circe, may possibly have had such cases as Mr. Morris's in his thoughts.

The work on the Holy Scriptures consists of selections from the Würzburg glosses. These glosses form a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles in old Irish mixed with Latin, which is said to be the earliest in the British islands. A commentary of the age of Charlemagne is surely a curiosity. The manuscript appears to have been brought out

¹ P. 47 and Index.

² *Eccl. Hist.* i. p. 57. See also Mr. Stokes, Introduction.

of Ireland by one of the Irish clergy fleeing from troubles at home, with which poor Ireland always seems to have been affected. He brought it to Würzburg and left it there, for which he has earned the gratitude of the present generation ; for had it remained at home the Danes, according to their habit, would have committed it to the flames. The Latin text is also the work of the Irish school, as appears from the strange spelling in which they indulged. Camden tells us that eminent Irishmen used to send their compositions to Aldhelm before publishing, to have what was called the 'scabredo Scottica' removed, which, no doubt, was their eccentric spelling. The authorities quoted in the commentary are Augustine, Jerome, Origen, Pelagius, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville. But the citations from Pelagius are much the most numerous, though the authors of the commentary by no means follow him implicitly and are careful to avoid his errors. To find him quoted side by side with Jerome, who called him an 'Alpine or Scottish dog,' and with Augustine, indicates an indifference to the verdict of foreign councils, of which Irish Church history furnishes many examples. The comments are extremely concise, and suggest rather heads for oral instruction. Thus, on the word 'spirit' in 1 Thessalonians v. 23, two views are given in the following brief fashion : '(1) The primary part of the soul, by which we understand ; or (2) the Holy Ghost, *i.e.* as it hath been imparted to us.' Here is summed up a whole controversial literature ; for Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, and the school of Antioch took it to mean the Holy Spirit, whereas the Alexandrians regarded it as a witness to the threefold division of human nature. To the former view it was objected by the Alexandrians that the Holy Spirit, being one of the persons of the Trinity, could not need to be 'preserved.' On this Chrysostom suggested that the 'gift' of the Spirit was what was meant, and this is expressed in the explanatory clause of the comment. In this we have an example of the care taken to give both sides of a question. Some of the views given remind one of modern controversies. On 1 Corinthians xii. 9 the interpretation of 'gifts of healing' is twofold—(1) 'that he may cure the sick, as physicians do ; or (2) it means performing miracles of healing.' In the former view the healing art in all its branches is represented as the gift of the Holy Spirit to man ; and when we consider its remarkable development in Christian lands, and how human suffering has been alleviated by anæsthetics and other discoveries, it would seem that there is a good deal to be said for this. The other view

is the ordinary one that they were miraculous gifts. The word prophecy is usually taken to mean preaching, as in 1 Corinthians xiii. 2, 9, xiv. 1, 6. The comment on verse 32 of this chapter is very distinct and gives two views: (1) 'Some say that the Holy Spirit, who was in the prophets of the Old Testament, was subjected to the prophets of the New—that is, to the Apostles—but this is not true, for (2) it is not of prophets he treats here, but of preachers.' A great many Irish saints are termed prophets, though no prophecies of theirs are recorded, and it is highly probable that the primary meaning of the term as applied to them is preachers. In the twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis says there were only four prophets recognized in Ireland. They are thus enumerated in an old stanza in the *Martyrology of Donegal*:

'The four prophets of the fine Gaels,
Happy the country whence they came;
Colum cillé, Moling the perfect,
Brenainn of Birr, and Berchan.'

But the Irish are strongly fatalistic in their views, and believing that everything is ordained by an immutable decree, something on the plan of a railway time-table, they are extremely curious as to the future. In consequence of this an immense number of spurious prophecies have appeared from time to time, chiefly of a political character, which, being attributed to well-known saints, are always eagerly received. O'Curry has dealt with these at considerable length, and pointed out how they were adapted from time to time to political events.¹ Cicero, treating of the *εἰμαρμένη*, or destiny of the Stoics, says they too were ready believers in those who pretended to foretell.²

There are two references to the Holy Communion. One on Ephesians i. 7, already mentioned, runs thus: 'Redemption'—'through the actual Blood which poured from His side when He was on the Cross and the spiritual Blood which is offered every day upon the altar.' One of the post-Communion collects offers a parallel to the language of the gloss: 'Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ.' The other reference is on 1 Corinthians v. 7: 'As leaven in bread was forbidden at the solemnity of the [Paschal] lamb, so it is

¹ *MS. Materials*, pp. 382-434.

² *Fatum id adpello quod Græci εἰμαρμένην*, id est, ordinem seriemque causarum quum causa causæ nexa rem ex se gignat, &c. Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 55.

not proper for the leaven of sin to be at the solemnity of the Lamb, *i.e.* Christ.' One is reminded here of the usage of the Greek Church, in which the principal Host is termed the Holy Lamb. Some comments refer to the marriage of the clergy. Thus on 1 Timothy iii. 2: 'Husband of one wife'—that is, before receiving orders but after baptism.' From which it appears that marriage after ordination was not allowed, the same rule applying to bishops and deacons. In verse 13 of the Authorized Version, 'used the office of a deacon,' is in the margin 'ministered,' which does not necessarily refer to clerical duties. These two renderings are represented in the gloss: '(1) If they fulfil their orders, or (2) if, when among the laity [*i.e.* before ordination] they have corrected their household.' The 'good degree' referred to by the Apostle may be taken in two ways. (1) It is reward in the kingdom of heaven, or (2) it is proper to confer a bishop's rank on him'—that is, on the deacon. Dr. Todd, in his *Life of St. Patrick*, discusses the question whether ordination *per saltum* was practised in the Irish Church, and refers to the legend of Columba and Bishop Etchen. Columba had gone to him 'to have the order of bishop conferred on him.' Etchen was pointed out to him ploughing in a field. After some conversation Columba made known the reason of his coming. 'It shall be done,' said the cleric. 'The order of a priest was then conferred on Columba, although it was the order of a bishop he wished for.' 'I regret,' said Columba, 'that thou hast conferred this order upon me, but I shall never change it while I live.'¹ He concludes that this mode of ordination was tolerated. The marriage of the clergy is recognized by the ancient laws of Ireland, but the position of the married and unmarried was looked at from quite a different point of view from ours of the present day. We should say an injury to a married man with a family would be a more serious thing than to an unmarried man. But the Irish law provided the heaviest penalty for 'wounding a virgin bishop.' After all it must be allowed that there is an improvement in Ireland, for they do not nowadays wound or maltreat bishops, virgin or otherwise. The note on 1 Corinthians vii. 25 is very sensible. 'He did not say, Let everyone abide in celibacy, whether he is able or not. Question, What did the Lord say? The answer is not difficult. He said, He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.'

On passages of special difficulty several interpretations are given. 1 Corinthians vi. 3, 'We shall judge angels':—

¹ *Life of St. Patrick*, by J. H. Todd, pp. 70-77.

'To the faithful [this is addressed]. The angels meant here are devils. For there was more reason that we should sin, from the frail nature of the flesh which we received—if we should sin—than there was for them to have done so, from the finer nature they received. For this reason we shall be their judges. Or (2) it means we shall judge the true angels, and this is the way we shall judge them. As they will be in the encompassment of the judgment, so shall we. As the psalmist says, "He shall call heaven from above, and the earth, to judge His people."¹ Or (3) it is spoken of Christ, who in our human nature shall judge the angels. Or (4) the more exalted saints shall judge the lower.'

The meaning of the second view is explained by a passage in the *Book of Leinster* describing the judgment. 'Christ the Son of God and the angels of heaven and the men of earth and hell listening till the sinner finishes showing his sins When he has finished, "See, O judges," says Christ, "which is heaviest, this man's good or his evil deeds."'' It is evident that this gloss shows much reading and thought, and a desire to look at the text from every possible point of view, instead of selecting some one authority and following it through thick and thin. A similar remark applies to 2 Thessalonians ii. 3, 'That day shall not come except there come a falling away.' 'Until the fall of the Roman Empire—that is, the departure of the empire from the Romans; or (2) the falling away of believers into unbelief; or (3) until the devil comes, whose names are *Discessio* and *Refuga*.' Bishop Lightfoot thinks St. Paul circulated the Epistle to the Romans in one form without the two last chapters, and in one manuscript the word Rome is omitted in chapter i. vv. 7, 15. With these omissions the Epistle became a general one and more acceptable to nations outside the Empire who were generally in hostility to it. The Würzburg glosses give a curious confirmation to this in the comment on Romans vi. 17, the author of which must have had one of these copies before him: 'Whatever nation it was to whom this Epistle was addressed it is shown to have been under a yoke, for he says 'ye were the servants,' &c. The manuscript referred to is the *Codex Boernerianus* already mentioned, which is one of those of the Irish school, and no doubt was intended for circulation among their missions to the Slav and other races.

It is refreshing to find texts worn by the attrition of many controversies looked at from a point of view wholly unconnected with them, such as 1 Timothy ii. 5, 'For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the

¹ Psalm xlix. 4 (Vulgate).

man Christ Jesus,' on which the comment is, 'As He is the One God of all, He desires the salvation of all.' Here the writer brings out the meaning of the 'for' and establishes the connexion with the preceding verse. Indeed, it is one of the features of these comments that they show great ingenuity in establishing the connexion between passages where it is not obvious at first. Another fact which strikes the reader is the impartiality of the commentator; he evidently means the student to know all that can be said on any point, and to hear not only both sides but as many sides as there are. On 1 Timothy ii. 4, 'Who will have all men to be saved,' three interpretations are given, the authors of which are Primasius, Pelagius, and Augustine. Question, Why are not all men saved if He desires it? for the psalmist says, 'He hath done whatsoever He hath pleased' (Ps. cxv. 3). The answer is not difficult: 'Because no one is constrained against his will.' This is Pelagius' view. He held strongly the freedom of the human will. The next reply is that of Primasius: 'By the figure called synecdoche a part is put for the whole, for there is no race or language in the world of which some one was not saved.' The third is Augustine's, and is in accordance with his well-known views: 'It was those only whom He desired to save that He did save, *i.e.* who will have all men to be saved; that is as much as to say, no one can be saved except he whom He wills.'

One would hardly expect to hear of Plato being studied in Ireland in the ninth century, yet there is good reason to believe that one of the comments refers to a theory of his, and it is expressed with the usual brevity, which in the case of a philosophical theory implies either an advanced class of students or else that it was enlarged on, as already suggested, in oral teaching. The passage is 1 Cor. xiv. 26, where the words 'hath a revelation' are explained, 'Memory—that is, the revealing of mysteries.' The latter part of this is from Primasius, but the Irish commentator, to explain how the mysteries were revealed, adds, by 'memory.' There can be little doubt that this is Plato's theory of *ἀνάμνησις*, which he has described in many passages of his works. One of these is quoted in the appendix of the present work; another in the introduction to the *Phædrus* is as follows: 'The triple soul has had a previous existence, in which, following in the train of some God from whom she derived her character, she beheld partially and imperfectly the vision of absolute truth. All her after existence, passed in many forms of men and animals, is spent in regaining this.' From this it is evident that the commentator blends together this philo-

sophic theory and the Christian revelation, and explains one by the other. The Corinthian, who had the revelation, simply had his memory stimulated by supernatural means, and was then able to recall the mysterious sights he beheld in his pre-existent state. It was this union of philosophy and religion which, according to Mosheim, the clergy on the Continent so strongly disapproved of. They followed authority, but the Irish gave wings to their imagination and soared into the regions of the transcendental. For it will be observed that this theory implied the pre-existence of souls, and also their transmigration, themes on which Origen delighted to expatiate, and which probably the Irish learned from him. It is evident that the compilers of these glosses were men of extensive reading and considerable metaphysical knowledge. Their names are unknown; they were units in that great host of learned men who came forth from the Irish schools in that age and swarmed over the Continent, preaching, converting, and teaching the rude barbarians of the north. The histories of some of them we know, because they passed the greater part of their lives abroad, and foreign writers celebrated their praises. Such are Columbanus, Dungal, John Scotus, St. Gall, and others, who, if they had spent their lives at home, would be as anonymous as the authors of the glosses.

With all the genius, eloquence, and zeal of these missionaries to the Continent how little visible trace they left of their existence! In one respect they resembled the Irishman of the nineteenth century who goes forth from his native country. He digs canals, raises embankments, carries the hod, and does the pioneer work in new lands, and then he goes his way and others succeed and enter into his labours. Without organization, without discipline, disregarding authority, there was no element of permanence in their work, and so they vanished from the scene and Rome entered into their labours. And yet they had grand conceptions. In the *Annals of the Four Masters* when the death of some native bishop or abbot of local fame is recorded he is sometimes said to be the most eminent in 'North-West Europe.'¹ Thus at the year 925 the successor of St. Patrick is 'Head of the piety of all Ireland and of the greater part of Europe,' and in a poem quoted in the *Annals* it is said of him:

'Premature the death of the Abbot of Armagh,
Maelbrighe, Head of Europe.'

At 1020 another of the successors of St. Patrick is Head of

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*, by Dr. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1851.

the Clergy of all the North-West of Europe, and Flood of the Dignity of the Western World.' At 1034 the Lector of Clonmacnois is 'Chief Sage of the West of the World.' At 1040 an anchorite is 'Head of the West of Europe for piety and wisdom.' Of Baithin, the successor of St. Columba, it was said by a native author, 'No one on this side the Alps could be compared with him in knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and in the extent of his learning.'¹ And when they spoke of a foreign town in which the Irish had established a native monastery—'monasterium Scottorum,' as it was termed—they called the town by an appellation of their own, disregarding the foreign name; so they termed Péronne, Cathair Fursa (the city of Fursa, the Irish saint who settled there). To them all North-West Europe was their mission field, and the Church founded there was in theory theirs. What might have been we may speculate on, but the disposal of events is not ours, and both in the case of nations and individuals ideals are cherished which are destined never to be fulfilled.

ART. VII.—LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.

1. *England's Work in India.* By W. W. HUNTER. (London, 1881.)
2. *Indian Missions.* By the Right Hon. Sir BARTLE FRERE. Third edition. (London, 1874.)

WE have selected these two out of a host of books more or less bearing on the subject we have proposed to ourselves, because they are the work of laymen not directly concerned in missions, who may therefore be supposed to be free from the bias, optimistic or pessimistic, which almost necessarily affects men who are in the heat of the conflict.

The first period of any mission must always be one of guerilla warfare. Men are raised up here and there by the Spirit of God—great leaders, souls of splendid courage, men who 'know how to take souls by storm and say, Let us love God.' With such men no general organization is possible, nor is the time ripe for it. They must work on their own lines; they are individual, fiery, energetic; they cannot consent

¹ Ussher, *Works*, vi. 245.

merely to apply a system framed by others, they must make one for themselves. We have lately been reminded by a great authority that St. Aidan was the true apostle of England, St. Augustine only the apostle of Kent. Did not part of the difference between the two men lie in the fact that Augustine tried to impose organization too soon, while Aidan was content to rouse, to stimulate, to convert, to tolerate, and to wait for the time of organization? Such was in the main, and with due reservations, the character of the first sixty years of the English Church—a great age, full of great thoughts, during which the new wine was fermenting; to have prematurely put it into bottles would have ensured the bursting of the bottles and the spilling of the wine. It is with nations as with individuals, a time of ‘marvelling’¹ must precede the time of calm and settled faith. It is a spirit that is always needed in a Church, and never may it die out of our own—this spirit of enterprise, of adventure, of free, independent effort. Its value is well understood by all true soldiers, in spite of all their habits of military discipline and obedience.

‘An armed force is a means to an end, and the end is victory over our enemies; and this is to be achieved partly indeed by a due use of discipline and method, but partly also by keeping alive in those who may come to have command a knowledge and love of war, and by cherishing that unlabelled, undocketed state of mind which shall enable a man to encounter the unknown.’²

But the time comes when this spirit can no longer be the only or the leading characteristic of a Church’s life. Such a time is marked for us in England by the Council of Whitby—a crisis for which events had been preparing some years previously—when Roman organization had to be stamped on Celtic enthusiasm; and in spite of the great authority already quoted, and notwithstanding our sympathies on the side of the Celtic Church, a mother worthy of eternal gratitude, we who contemplate the great work of Theodore must feel that the gain was greater than the loss.

‘And so we bid farewell,’ says Dr. Bright, justly, ‘to that old Scotie Church of Northumbria. It could not but pass away, for it could not provide what Northumbria *then* needed; it had but a temporary mission, but that mission it fulfilled with a rare simplicity of purpose. It brought religion straight home to men’s hearts by sheer power of love and self-sacrifice; it held up before them, in the

¹ ‘That ye may *marvel*’ (St. John v. 20). Cf. the saying preserved by Clem. Alex., ‘He that wonders shall reign, and he that reigns shall rest’ (Ap. Westcott *in loc.*).

² Kinglake’s *Crimea*.

unconscious goodness and nobleness of its representatives, the moral evidence for Christianity. It made them feel what it was to be taught and cared for, in the life spiritual, by pastors who before all things were the disciples and ministers of Christ, whose chief and type was a St. Aidan.¹

The same lesson is taught by the history of the Church as a whole. The first century was the age of apostolic preaching, of wandering 'prophets' and 'evangelists,' whose exact relation to the settled ministry is so puzzling to modern critics; the second century is the age of organization, from which everything emerges firm and clear and well-defined when we reach the days of St. Irenæus and Tertullian.² Or again, what good work had been done by the monastic predecessors of St. Benedict! What vast missionary energy had been expended by St. Martin and his disciples on the conversion of Gaul! What a mighty shadow is that of St. Severinus! But in the case of the monks, organization was delayed until it was almost too late. It was with the degenerate successors of great founders that Benedict had to deal when he first took refuge at Subiaco. It seemed as though monasticism in the west were doomed to premature extinction. Yet by the magic of his famous rule Benedict so breathed upon the dry bones that for eight centuries his monks were able to be the leaders of the triumphs of Christ amongst the barbarous nations of Europe.

It seems clear, then, that there are times when organization is harmful, and repressive of the life of an upspringing and vigorous church, and that there are other times when organization alone can give new life to that which is decaying. Which of these is the condition of Christianity in India at the present time? A mere glance at the comparative numbers of the Christians and non-Christians in India shows that we cannot yet by any means dispense with the 'guerilla' spirit, the spirit which reverses the famous maxim of Talleyrand, and says, 'Above all things, zeal.' The masses of India have yet to be awakened; their consciences have to be aroused, nay, they have to learn the very existence of such a thing as conscience. We have to remember that a larger number is added to the population every year than the whole number of native Christians already gathered in. Certainly it is no

¹ *Chapters of Early English Church History*, p. 204.

² Of course we do not mean to imply that the episcopate did not exist from the first, only that a great deal of missionary activity went on outside the regular sees. The same thing happened also in later times, but then the proportion between the two kinds of work was reversed.

time to relax evangelistic efforts, free, unrestrained in their liberty to employ their own methods and to follow the lines which a spiritual originality may suggest ; and from this point of view the large number of Christian bodies may not be such an evil as from another point of view it undoubtedly is, if only they will devote their attention to the non-Christians, and let each other's work alone.¹ But side by side with these the work of the last hundred years—setting aside as not coming under present consideration the fruits of the Roman missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Christians existing in India before them—has produced a body of Christians which, if relatively small when compared with the unconverted millions, is yet not small in actual numbers, and is yet larger in view of the possibilities of influence which lie in it for the rest of the country. It is with this body of something less than a million souls—non-Roman, and therefore not committed to a line of policy which has certainly seemed unprogressive² in the past—that the hope of the future would seem to lie. It is as this body is well and wisely dealt with, or the reverse—as it is encouraged to develop on true principles, or the reverse—that the strength or weakness of the future Church of India would seem to depend. All work in India is foundation work. It may not seem to accomplish much in the present, but it is sinking deeper the piers upon which a vast cathedral is to be reared. Woe to that mighty building if hereafter the foundations on which it rests are found to have been composed even partly of rubble and sand.

We do not lose sight of the fact that a large proportion of these Christians cannot be claimed by the Catholic Church as her children in the sense that they or their parents have been.

¹ Let us not be misunderstood. Of course the first care of a missionary of the Church will be to 'set up the altar upon his bases' (Ezra iii. 3). He will provide for his own worship and for those immediately attached to him from the first, and to the little 'Church in the house' so formed converts will one by one be admitted, first as catechumens and then by baptism ; but when these become numerous it will generally be better that a division be made between 'pastoral' and 'evangelistic' workers.

² Perhaps we ought to explain what we mean by 'unprogressive.' We mean that the native Christians themselves of the Roman Church have shown no power of propagating their religion. We do not wish to deny the great and fruitful work of its former European missionaries ; on the contrary, we are grateful for their noble examples. But we know of hardly any Roman Catholic missionaries now, and statistics are difficult to obtain, who are doing *direct* missionary work among the heathen, and they seem purposely to refrain from ordaining native clergy. We would it were otherwise.

converted by her agency. Still there are many things which show that the Church will have a preponderating influence in deciding for all these questions of organization. In the first place, none of the bodies to which they belong makes any permanent claim on their allegiance; they pass readily from one to another, often at the mere bidding of outward circumstances. Secondly, the causes of difference, dying out now even in England except so far as fostered by political and social motives, are very imperfectly understood by these native Christians. Thirdly, there is no one Christian body, if it be not the Church, which can hope to gather the suffrages of all. Fourthly, there is a natural tendency towards episcopacy in the Indian mind. The rajah surrounded by his State officers is the only ideal of government which India knows, and no one will consider this a fact of small importance who has observed how powerful such national characteristics have been in shaping the destinies of national churches.¹ In addition to this there is no objection of principle to the Church, except in the rare cases where it has been carefully inculcated, but on the contrary a pretty general set towards it amongst the native Christians when left to themselves. Their state of mind is graphically and somewhat pathetically indicated by the Report of an 'Indigenous Mission' in Bengal, which has come into our hands. After stating that the object of the mission is 'to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ by indigenous means and efforts on the part of the Bengali Christian brethren connected with different Protestant denominations,' the Report goes on:—

'We are now and then asked the question, What would be the form of church government of the converts of the mission? We confess we are diffident to answer it, as it is beset with difficulties, and as we think that the united good work which is being done may suffer if we enter into any such controversy; for the history of the propagation of Christianity during nineteen hundred years has taught us that, humanly speaking, there cannot be any real and substantial agreement regarding church government among all Christians. Besides, the question of church government of the converts of the mission is of secondary importance with us, the primary and chief question being the conversion of souls. We have agreed, however,

¹ Cf. Bishop Milman's *Mitslav*, Introd., p. viii.: 'The early history of nations often furnishes the clue to their whole subsequent fortune. The features and characters of their infancy and youth reappear, or are developed in their manhood or in their age. Even such a mighty change as Christianity does not obliterate every line and colour of their ancient heathen disposition and religion. Their new faith receives a tinge from their old original superstition.' He illustrates this in the case of the Teutonic and Slavonic religions.

to make over our converts to any denomination of the Church which may be willing to look after them.'

The present Bishop of Calcutta is above all things an organizer. By his metropolitanical tours—a feature of church life unknown to ecclesiastical provinces like our own which have been long settled, but which Archbishop Theodore knew well how to use—he secures that the lines of development in the different dioceses shall not be widely divergent; and these tours are followed every two years by episcopal conferences which tend still further to consolidate the work. Probably there is no man living better able than he is to inform us about the progress of organization in its larger sense in the different Indian dioceses.¹ But the present article deals with those secondary questions of organization which have scarcely yet come to the front. In such matters as Forms of Prayer, Ritual, Architecture, and the other accessories of worship, the English Church has been content hitherto to follow blindly in the path marked out for it by its own antecedents, without asking whether that path is the one most likely to suit the national character of the people amongst whom it has led us. Amidst a large number of histories of missions, reports, reviews, and other articles which we have consulted on the subject, we have only found a single reference to this by no means unimportant question, and that reference is in the little book of Sir Bartle Frere. He says: 'An extension of the episcopate . . . would promote the creation of a great body of native clergy, with a native episcopate of their own, and a *native ritual*, the three *great present needs* of our native Church in India.'

It is nearly twenty years since those words were written, but the seed thus dropped still remains unfruitful.

But now, if the Church is really to advance, these matters of liturgy and ritual must receive their proper share of attention. For the question is one of converting a nation, not of picking up an individual convert here and there. We cannot afford to neglect any of the outward means by which the inward heart of the nation may be reached. All the externals of our religion must be, to the fullest possible extent, national and not foreign. We must be careful, of course, not to concede anything to nationality which would touch the inner core of principle; we must feel our way cautiously towards an end which would involve serious change in the mode of presentment of our faith; but still we must set it before us as an

¹ See a paper on 'Church Organization in India' by the Bishop of Calcutta, in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review*, Calcutta, January, 1888.

ideal, we must work towards it as a goal. We have delayed too long already. Already there are signs that if we will not do this the native Christians will take the matter into their own hands, and work out a national Church in independence of historical Christianity.¹

We know what powerful subsidiary aids the Church has had with her at different periods of her life. In the first age persecution. After that, though far less effective, the encouragement and example of rulers, or even the sanction and teaching of religion by the State. All these we have now to part with. The State will neither persecute, nor encourage, nor assist: its attitude is neither that of Marcus Aurelius, nor of Constantine, nor of Charlemagne. It comes nearest to that of Claudius, and of Nero in his early days, his golden quinquennium. Then, just for a moment, Christianity had a foretaste of that contemptuous tolerance which is the last discovery of modern statecraft, and it was just then that St. Paul saw the need of teaching the Church to assume the outward garb of those amongst whom it worked in order that it might transform their inner spirit.² Afterwards persecution rendered this less possible, and the favour of the emperors rendered it less necessary. It is just when the State is indifferent, when it tolerates without assisting, that it is most important for Christianity to be careful that the outward garb in which it presents itself to those who do not as yet know it from within, should be such as to catch their imagination, to avoid offending their prejudices, to rouse their interest, and to lead them on to the desire of a deeper knowledge of its inmost truth.

¹ Since this was written we are glad to see that the point here contended for has been urged in different connexions by two authorities of great weight.

² 'If the idiosyncrasies of race are, as I believe them to be, the most precious heritage of man, and therefore deserve to be guarded with the tenderest and most zealous care; if a lower development on the lines indicated by nature is more genuine, more real, more lasting than a higher development which is at the time altogether alien to them, then there is something radically wrong in the way in which Christianity has hitherto been presented to the negro in Christian lands.'—Prof. Bosworth Smith in *Nineteenth Century*, December 1887.

³ 'The more the native Church in India offers to a convert the advantages which he loses by joining it, the more *native*, i.e. the less Anglicised is its mode of life; and the more its members are filled with true Christian love and sympathy, the less will this deleterious influence of caste be felt; at present, however, its influence against the Gospel is very strong.'—*Hinduism as a Mighty Antagonist of the Church of Christ*, by Rev. W. Hooper, D.D.

⁴ Cf. Gal. iv. 12, and Lightfoot's note.

The principle is given us by our Lord Himself. 'No man having drunk old wine straightway desireth new : for he saith, the old is better ;' on which, it will be remembered, Archbishop Trench thus comments :—

'Wonderful, and rare as it is wonderful, is the spirit of mildness and of toleration for all which is not absolutely sinful, so that it shall be allowed to endure till it drop away of itself, which speaks out in these words. St. Paul entered into his Master's spirit, and acted in practical conformity with it, when he would do nothing to force the Jewish converts to forsake their ceremonial law, earnestly as he must have desired to see this serious obstacle to an entire fusion of the Jewish and Gentile Churches, this perilous thing, liable to so much abuse, removed out of the way ; being content to wait patiently till it should fall off of itself, as a husk falls off when its office is done, and the fruit which it has protected so long is at length fully formed. Reverence for that which has been consecrated by time, with an acknowledgement of the mighty force which custom and habit exercise on the spirits of men, and at the same time a warning to the disciples not to overlook this in their impatient expectation that all men, whatever their past training and discipline may have been, should accept and embrace a more excellent way on the very first moment that it is presented to them, all this utters itself in these gracious words.'¹

Many recent utterances of those in high places have told us that the time has come when this principle must be applied in our dealing with races new to the Christian faith. From these we will select one, the type of many others, as coming from the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. In his speech in 1887 at the S.P.G. meeting occurs this passage :—

'We are coming to a time when the different nations will each have their own Church as we have ours ; and it behoves England to insist that in the whole united body of the Catholic Church there should be according to God's providence national Churches, and that each Church should have and hold the Gospel with those particular forms, usages, and modes of expression which bring it most home to itself and to its people.'

This was well understood in the times immediately succeeding the Apostles. It was the first care of those wise master-builders that the Church should not be encumbered by its accidents, strangled by its clothes. They preached the 'essentials of Christianity,' by which we do not mean that colourless creed for which the phrase is often made to do duty, but the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. They marked sharply the distinction between the form and the

¹ *Studies in the Gospels*, p. 185 (2nd edit.).

spirit, but they were none the less anxious that the spirit should weave a form for itself out of the materials which it found ready to hand. And this distinction was grasped firmly by their followers, so that when Christianity invaded the Roman Empire it did so silently, like a flood; ready, and proving its readiness, to fight to the death for every particle of truth, but ready also to conform to the ways of men in every point in which truth was not involved.¹ This tradition lived on, and received a wonderful development in the Alexandrian school, that school which, as Eusebius witnesses,² was so fruitful in conversions. It is true that there was another line, another attitude taken up towards their heathen neighbours, by such men as Tertullian, an attitude of the fiercest possible opposition in the most trivial matters,³ but there is no evidence to prove that this unconciliatory attitude was particularly successful in gaining converts.

There is then no doubt of the principle which should be our guide in these matters of Liturgy and Ritual. We subscribe to the sentiment of Keshub Chunder Sen: 'The future Church of India must be thoroughly national; it must be an essentially Indian Church.'⁴

It is in the application of the principle that the difficulty lies. Perhaps the English are of all nations the least fitted for helping a great people to carry out a national idea. Our own strong individuality as a nation seeks inevitably to impose itself on others. The Hindu bends before us, no doubt, but we do not mark the 'patient, deep disdain' with which he resumes his ancient attitude when we have passed. To our unbendingness of national character the peculiar circumstances of our Church have given an added stiffness. Yet it is not for nothing that God has given us our work in India, and all natural predispositions must brace themselves for the effort required by supernatural facts. It may well be that through the discipline humbly accepted of accommodating ourselves to the needs of our daughter churches, God intends to prepare us for emerging from the insularity which is both our misfortune as a Church and our fault as a nation.

We speak roughly of Eastern and Western types of mind.

¹ Cf. Ep. to Diognetus, 5: *χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὐτε γῆ οὐτε φωνὴ οὐτε ἔθνη διακεκριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων*, κ. τ. λ.

² H.E. vi. 3.

³ He forbids Christians, for instance, to shave their face like the heathens (*De Spect.* 23); a point on which he is met by a curious canon of the Welsh Church, pronouncing excommunication on those 'qui capillos barbarorum more promittunt' (Haddan and Stubbs).

⁴ Quoted by Sir B. Frere, p. 46.

We are apt to forget that all the world east of Constantinople does not present a uniform surface. The Eastern type with which we are most familiar is the Jewish, and next to that the Arabian; both are as different as possible from the Hindu; indeed in some respects the Hindu, as being Aryan and not Semitic, approaches more nearly to the European than either of these. Yet the developments of the Aryan stock have become widely divergent in the course of centuries. The Western Aryans have been moulded by religious and climatic influences into a race practical, prompt, independent. Religion and climate have had their influence on the Aryans of the East, but they have worked in a different direction. The doctrine of metempsychosis is universally held by Hindus. The result is that life seems to them a thing not to be lived strenuously, but to be borne patiently. The value of time, the importance of work, the need of doing it with one's might, are conceptions entirely alien from their minds. To them the activity of a European seems meaningless bustle, his care for punctuality seems pedantic fussiness. Consequently the devotional expressions which have shaped themselves under Western conditions of life do not appeal to them. To us what an excellent thing a collect is. Its finely chiselled perfection of form, its clear-cut definiteness of petition, its jewel-like scintillation of spiritual wisdom, small but very precious, make it entirely satisfactory to a Western mind. But as a matter of fact the collect has never found a home in the East. The Greek Liturgies, all Asiatic in their origin, do not recognize it; the type of devotion which they set is that of lengthy prayers, with frequent repetitions and accumulated invocations, rising gradually to a climax, and then dying away like the sob of a frightened child upon its mother's breast. Such also, though in a more exaggerated form, is the character of Hindu devotion, and there seems no reason why it should not flow as readily in Christian as it now does in heathen channels. A religious Hindu woman will spend four hours in prayer before she goes to her household duties, and she will find time for an equally long devotion in the evening. It is sad to think that in most cases the first thing they have learnt in becoming Christians is to pray less. A Mussulman will go five times a day to prayer, but when he becomes a Christian he probably learns to limit these times to two.

It is the same with ritual: it should be allowed to flow in natural channels. Certainly the bald simplicity of Protestant worship has no attraction for the ordinary Hindu. Wherever

the stately ritual of the English Church is used, as for instance at Nazareth, in Tinnevely, it leads to an enthusiasm of devotion which is not seen in other places. But even this can hardly be looked upon as a finality, for the Hindu with his taste for colours and all that is gorgeous must feel even our most ornate ritual to be comparatively cold and unstimulating. In Church music we positively repel those who hear our tunes for the first time, and even those who have been long accustomed to them seldom learn to cordially like them. Even if our music serves to add brightness to a service, there is nothing in it to touch, to melt, to prepare the way for conversion. On the other hand, India has a music of her own, which, if it sounds barbarous and uncouth to English ears, is to her own children sweet beyond expression. The way in which natives speak of its effects on their own hearts reminds us of the legends of Orpheus and the Sirens. Here is a powerful missionary engine; perhaps the most powerful of all in a land where the emotions rule far more widely than the intellect. And yet it has been little used. In the Madras diocese indeed, where the largest number of native Christians are to be found, a species of Tamil lyric has sprung up in which the Christian facts and doctrines are easily and gracefully told in words set to some of the favourite Hindu tunes, and bands of wandering evangelists go about singing these with great effect. But they can hardly yet be said to have taken root in the services of the Church, and the example has not been extensively followed in other parts of India.

Church building is another branch of the same subject; and here we have been most persistently wedded to European ideas. The Englishman goes out with his mind full of the dear village church at home, or of the great town church wherein he has served his first curacy; and what can be more natural than that he should strive to reproduce it, on a smaller or larger scale, in the place in which he has come to work? But he forgets both the necessities of the climate and the susceptibilities of the people. He must have his great east window, and when he has got it he is driven to his wits' end to know how to keep out the sun. Probably he has another large window at the west end, and the day comes when it is driven in by a hurricane.¹ But the material loss is a small thing compared with the opportunity that is lost for building a place of worship which shall appeal to the people of the country in a way that they shall understand—a building in which

1. This has twice happened to the large windows of Calcutta Cathedral.

they might feel at home and yet look upon it as a house of God. They have their own great temples, but, so far as we have observed, no single attempt has ever been made to adapt their style to the purposes of Christian architecture. Probably it would be difficult, for, in spite of their vast size and wonderful elaboration of detail, there is a grovelling character about them which indicates only too well the religion for which they are intended. Still a really clever architect would not be baffled by this, and in the case of Mohammedan architecture the Slave-Market Church at Zanzibar shows how much may be done to reconcile conflicting elements when the end to be gained is steadily kept in view.

Thus it will be seen that in all the different divisions of the subject with which this paper deals there is almost everything to do. There is not at present any sign of its being attempted. Christianity is content to remain an exotic in India, to come to the natives of that great country, as Keshub Chunder Sen so bitterly complained, in European coat and trousers. It does not touch the heart of the nation. There is a tendency even amongst the converts themselves to become Anglicized in their habits of life, and this among a people with such an intensely national spirit as the Hindus is to lose nine-tenths of their opportunities of influencing their countrymen. Sir W. Hunter, a keen observer of the movements of the people from the statesman's point of view, concludes the few pages of his work which he devotes to Christianity with the remark: 'No one who has studied the facts would venture to predict that it may not some day strike root as one of the popular religions of India.' If it is to do so it must aim at being popular in the truest and best sense of the word.

What have we to suggest? We are inclined to think that the study of the methods of evangelization should be carried on in a more methodical way than it is at present. We want something like the Propaganda at Rome, probably for the whole mission field, certainly for India, planted at some great educational and religious centre like Oxford. Oxford has its Indian Institute for secular purposes; why not one for religious purposes too? It should be a place to which Indian missionaries whose health and strength, but not their enthusiasm, is worn out could retire—it has always saddened us to think of the vast help which such a man as Dr. Kay might have been to the missionary cause had he not been buried away in a country parish; it should be a place where intending missionaries could learn something of their work before going out, and afterwards, if compelled by health to come home for a time,

might find counsel and refreshment amongst congenial minds ; above all, a place where selected native converts might be sent to carry on their education, and have their attention directed to the questions which require solution. It is from them that the real help must come, but it cannot come until there is a larger class of those who are well enough versed in the theology and history of the Church to be able to apply old principles to new needs. For this purpose certain endowments would be required, as it is seldom possible for these native Christians to bear themselves the great expense of a journey to England and residence there for a term of years. We would suggest this as a matter which might be taken up by the Convocation Board of Missions without interfering with the work of the old Societies.

It may be said that the Society of St. John the Evangelist meets this need. We should indeed be glad to see that noble society so strengthened that it could invade all India with its members, for our belief is that no missionaries have had a wider or deeper influence than those of that society. But somehow the religious life for men develops but slowly amongst us, and it may be that something of the kind that we have suggested would fill a gap and prepare the way for a more organized attack upon the still formidable ranks of Hinduism than has yet been attempted.¹

ART. VIII.—SAVONAROLA.

Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola. By Professor PASQUALE VILLARI. Translated by LINDA VILLARI. 2 vols. (London, 1889.)

PROTESTANT divines have counted among the joys of futurity a knowledge of the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. A Pope has expressed a similar hope with regard to Savonarola. 'In Heaven,' said Pius VII., 'I shall know the explana-

¹ Since this was written Sir W. Hunter has again spoken out very strongly on the work which is to be done by associated missions ; we would only add that such associated missions require a base in England. In the more recent controversies of last year we have looked anxiously for some guidance upon this subject, but have only found the general conclusion strengthened that the native element in ritual and liturgical practices requires to be much further developed.

tion of three great mysteries, the Immaculate Conception, the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the death of Savonarola.' War waged round Savonarola in his lifetime; it has never ceased since his death. Saint, schismatic, or heretic, ignorant Vandal or Christian artist, prophet or charlatan, champion of the Roman Church or apostle of emancipated Italy—which was Savonarola?

Savonarola was burned, says Petavius,¹ '*ob contumacias seditiosasque conciones*;' Poggio² wrote a treatise against the madmen (*delirantes*) who denied the Dominican to be *ritè et justè damnatum*; Polito Caterini maintained him to be *reum mortis*; Rastrelli³ attacked him with almost fanatical violence; Brucher,⁴ striving to rehabilitate the character of Alexander VI., maintains that he was justly punished. Protestant divines, from Luther⁵ to Reuss,⁶ have claimed him as a pioneer of the Reformation, and Germany⁷ decreed him a place on Luther's statue at Worms. On the other side his champions have been numerous. Dominicans like Benivieni,⁸ Benedetto,⁹ Burlamacchi,¹⁰ Bartoli,¹¹ Quétif,¹² Touron,¹³ Marchese,¹⁴ Bayonne,¹⁵ have asserted the orthodoxy of the '*Domini canis*.' G. F. Pico della Mirandola wrote his *Life*, an *Apologia*, and a *Defensio*, all of which will be found in Quétif's *Collections*. St. Philip Neri prayed constantly before the picture of the *Campione ammirabile*, St. Catharine Ricci¹⁶

¹ *Rationarium Temporis*, i. ix. 497. Paris, 1652.

² *Contra Delirantes*, 1498. *Refutatorium Errorum F. H. S.* 1498. *F. H. S. Spiritum Sanioris Consilii*, 1498.

³ *Vita del padre Girolamo Savonarola*. Ginevra, 1781. Published anonymously.

⁴ *Études religieuses*. Paris, 1874.

⁵ *Meditatio supra Psalmos*. Vitemberga, 1523, 4to. See Preface.

⁶ *Conférence faite à Strasbourg (Revue Chrétienne*, 5 Mars, 1876).

⁷ *Jérôme Savonarole et la Statue de Luther à Worms*, par le R. P. Rouard de Card. Paris, 1867.

⁸ *Trattato di Maestro D. Benivieni*. An abstract of it is given in the note appended by Quétif to Pico della Mirandola's *Apologia*, vol. ii. 46 (1674).

⁹ *Vulnera Diligentis* and *Cedrus Libani*. Printed in Marchese, *Archivio Storico*, app. 23.

¹⁰ *Vita*. Numerous editions. Lucca, 1764, and Venice, 1829, are the best.

¹¹ *Istoria dell' arcivescovo S. Antonino coll' apologia di F. G. S. &c.* Livorno, 1789.

¹² *Collections*. Paris, 1674.

¹³ *L'Histoire des Hommes Illustres de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique*. Paris, 1746.

¹⁴ *Scritti varii* (Firenze, 1860) and other works.

¹⁵ *Étude sur J. Savonarole*. Paris, 1879.

¹⁶ *Vie de Sainte Catharine de Ricci*, par le R. P. Bayonne, l. cvi.

attributed to him her miraculous cure, and Papebruck¹ enrols him among the most illustrious persons who figure in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Alexander VI.² himself said that he would not hesitate to place the great Dominican among the Roman saints; Paul IV.³ issued a decree in 1556 declaring that his writings contained 'nothing heretical, schismatical, or erroneous'; Benedict XIV. in 1751, in his work *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione*, includes him among the servants of God.

Another discussion which has raged round the name of Savonarola is whether he was, as Franck,⁴ Roscoe,⁵ and to a lesser degree Muntz,⁶ have maintained, a mediæval obscurantist, or whether Rio,⁷ Cartier,⁸ Montalembert,⁹ and Harford,¹⁰ are right in regarding him as the restorer of Christian art, through whose salutary influence painting received a fresh influence, and in the hands of Francia, Perugino, and Raphael entered upon a new and glorious course. Again, writers like Godwin,¹¹ Naudé,¹² and Bayle,¹³ treat Savonarola as a charlatan, who for his own purposes deceived the people by asserting himself to be a divinely inspired prophet, while others regard him as indeed the 'Prophet sent from God' of Bartolommeo's picture or Corniole's *intaglio*. Lastly, Professor Villari has painted him as the apostle of modern liberalism, and it was as the precursor of an emancipated united Italy that the Italian exiles maintained a newspaper in London called *The Echo of Savonarola*, and that Garibaldi recommended his career to the pen of his friend Victor Hugo. In the same spirit again the people of Rome in 1882 raised a memorial to Mazzini on which, side by side with Giordano Bruno, Campanella, and Cusano, appears the name of Savonarola; in the same spirit, also, a monument was erected in his honour at his native town of Ferrara, as the enlightened champion of Italian liberty and unity. It is this conflict of opinion which led one of the best

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, May 23.

² Burlamacchi.

³ Quétif, *Collections*, ii. 48.

⁴ *Réformateurs et Publicistes de l'Europe*. Paris, 1864.

⁵ *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*.

⁶ *Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance*. Paris, 1882. *La Renaissance en Italie*. Paris, 1885.

⁷ *L'Art Chrétien*, II. ch. xii., xiii.

⁸ *Esthétique de Savonarole (Annales Archéologiques*, Nov. 1847).

⁹ *Du Vandalisme et Catholicisme dans l'Art* (p. 114). *Fragments*, Paris, 1839. See also *Université Catholique*, Août, 1837.

¹⁰ *The Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, I. cviii. London, 1857.

¹¹ *Lives of the Necromancers*. London, 1834.

¹² *Apologie pour tous etc. qui ont été faussement soupçonnés de Magie*. Paris, 1625.

¹³ *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, s.v. 'Savonarole.'

of Savonarola's biographers, M. Perrens,¹ to present him almost as a moral monstrosity, a living contradiction of irreconcilable features, from which it is impossible to extract any consistent view. And yet, after all, Lacordaire² was perhaps right in his opinion that, though the life of Savonarola has been written from many points of view, the real one to take has still to be discovered.

Where doctors differ so widely, it is folly to dogmatize. The view put forward in the following pages mainly rests on the writings of Savonarola. Many interesting features of his career are necessarily omitted from a study of his character rather than of his life. For these the reader is referred to the admirably arranged and elaborate work of Professor Villari, which has been excellently translated by his wife, a lady who has already earned for herself a name in English literature. Though we are entirely opposed to the view which Professor Villari has adopted, it is impossible to praise too highly the care and industry which are displayed throughout his exhaustive volumes. On the facts of Savonarola's life he has probably said the final word.

Savonarola was born at Ferrara in 1452. His attitude as a moral and religious reformer was so entirely moulded by external causes, so absolutely free from doctrinal complications, that it is necessary to call attention to some of the leading features in the condition of the Church and society at this crisis of the Italian Renaissance.

No period is more fascinating in its many-sided interests and complex civilization than the epoch in which the modern world was born. Nowhere is the Renaissance more richly reflected in its political, social, artistic, and moral aspects than in Italy, and above all in Florence. Everywhere we see the feudal and ecclesiastical influences which had checked the spontaneous life of the middle ages challenged and overthrown by a stronger power, by an expansive energy which in the free political and commercial life of Italy early attained its freedom, by an intellectual liberty which found expression in art, literature, science, politics, and every field of human activity. It is the first period of which we know the internal character or the features of the actors; the first in which we move at our ease, because in habits of thought, modes of life, and general views, it is the first which is indefinitely but

¹ *Jérôme Savonarole.* Paris, 1856, 2me édit.

² See letter to M. l'Abbé Allix prefixed to the latter's translation of the *Triumphus Crucis* (*Triomphe de la Croix*). Paris, 1859.

essentially modern. Looking back upon the movement as a whole, it is possible to trace the previous preparation of its necessary conditions and external circumstances, to follow the manifold influences which presided at its birth, shaped its genius, moulded its career, checked or inspired its development. In its unbounded hopefulness, its unexhausted force, its unimpaired faculties, its fresh delight in the beauty of nature, its untempered joy in the possession of intellectual liberty, it may well be called the spring time of national life. It rises before us in all the insatiable zest and eager curiosity of youth, grows into the gorgeous splendour of manhood, and, in the midst of its strange anomalies of good and evil, improvement and degradation, civilization and chaos, dwindles into the showy and vitiated decrepitude of age. All the men who belong to this period are in some respects riddles to biographers. Savonarola forms no exception. At once a child of the many-sided Renaissance, and a true son of the narrow Middle Ages, his character presents a problem which to the nineteenth century may well appear insoluble.

The Church was in a degraded condition. The salt of the earth had lost its savour ; from head to foot the hierarchy was corrupt. Sixtus IV. trafficked in the holy things of the Church, squandered the proceeds on dissolute favourites, and defied the clamour for a General Council :—

‘ Venalia nobis

Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,
Ignes, thura, preces, cœlum est venale Deusque.’¹

Nepotism trebled the expenses of the Vatican, and the whole authority of the Apostolic See was concentrated on founding principalities for the so-called nephews. The character of the Pope must indeed have sunk low, when the clergy of Florence, stung by Sixtus’s interdict, apostrophised the Vicar of Christ as ‘leno matris suæ, adulterorum minister, diaboli vicarius.’ The evils were exaggerated under Innocent VIII. The Pope publicly acknowledged his sons, and Franceschetto Cibo was married to a daughter of Lorenzo de’ Medici. Sixtus had filled his coffers by simony ; Innocent opened an auction for the sale of pardons for murder. At his death the Bishop of Concordia addressed the conclave of Cardinals :—

‘The Roman Church, the mother and the root of the universal Catholic Church, falls day by day into deeper disrepute. The grief of the daughter of Sion is vast as the sea. To cure these deplorable evils, we must choose a Pontiff who is learned and of reverent character. The eyes of the whole Church are upon us. She expects

¹ Cf. Battista Mantovano, *De Calamitatibus Temporum*, l. iii.

a chief who by the sweet and pious savour of his name will draw all men into the way of salvation. She expects a chief as faithful as St. James, as orthodox as St. Paul, a chief who will bring back the Church from the Babylon foretold in the Apocalypse to the bright realms of the eternal.'

The Cardinals heard him, and sold the Papacy to Rodrigo Borgia, who ascended the throne as Alexander VI. The new Pope was a man of great ability and business capacity. He restored public order in the Pontifical States, and settled the finances on a sound basis. But his life, and that of his son Cæsar Borgia, were dangerous to the very existence of the Papacy. Plausible, insinuating, unscrupulous, he had bought the tiara, and he used it to acquire wealth for his personal pleasures or his natural children.

'Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum :
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.'

Avarice, sensuality, simony reached their height. The merciless use of poison, the infamous traffic in indulgences, drew upon Rome the moral indignation of Christendom. Isolated by his son Cæsar from all other influences, the Pope became a tool in the hands of a man who probably intended to secularize the States of the Church, and vindicate the proud motto of his family, 'Aut Cæsar aut nihil.'¹ The hatred which the Pope and his son inspired extended to the whole family, and created a popular legend respecting Lucrezia Borgia, who has been denounced as the Messalina of her age.² When Alexander died of poison which he had intended for Cardinal Corneto, all Rome flocked to 'gloat over the carcass of this serpent, who, by his unbounded ambition, pestiferous perfidy, monstrous lust, horrible cruelty, and unexampled avarice, selling without distinction things sacred and profane, had compassed the destruction of so many by poison, and was now become its victim.'³ Never at any time in the history of the Church was religion so vilely represented as it was in the person of the Pope who condemned Savonarola to the stake.

The same corruption pervaded every rank and order of the Church or of society. *Omnes viæ hac tempestate stercori-*

¹ Zeller, *Entretiens sur l'Histoire : Italie et Renaissance*. It is probable that these aims of Cæsar Borgia procured him the support of Machiavelli. 'He alone could draw the knife from the wound' and restore unity to Italy.

² Her character has been vindicated by the learned historian of Mediæval Rome. See *Lucrezia Borgia, nach Urkunden und Correspondenzen ihrer eigenen Zeit*, von F. Gregorovius (Stuttgart, 1874).

³ Guicciardini.

*zate sunt*¹ is the emphatic statement of Savonarola. The cultured classes entertained for the Church a feeling which was strangely compounded of aversion, acquiescence, and dependence. Neither the Bishops nor the Benedictines are attacked, except rarely, by novelists and satirists. It is on the holders of benefices, the canons, and above all the friars, that ridicule is poured. They are represented as living scandalous lives, deluding and plundering the people by spurious miracles. 'No man,' says Guicciardini,² himself for many years in the service of the Medicean Popes, 'is more disgusted than I am with the ambition, the avarice, the profligacy of the priests, not only because each of these vices is in itself detestable, but because each and all of them are especially disgraceful to men who declare themselves to be closely bound to the service of God.' The character of the secular clergy and of the friars necessarily shattered the faith of Italy. And yet from time to time individual preachers arose who by their saintly lives and moral fervour awakened the consciences of the people, triumphed over the prejudices against the mendicant friars, silenced the ridicule of humanists, and produced a marvellous though temporary impression. Such men were Bernardino da Siena, Jacopo della Marco, Giovanni Capistrano, Roberto da Lecce, Vincent Ferrier the Spanish missionary, and Girolamo Savonarola. All these moral reformers were cast in the same mould—men of lofty and commanding personality, whose very natures seemed on fire, and who stirred the consciences of their contemporaries by moral exhortation, full of practical application, and appealing to the most hardened consciences by the temporal ruin which is the result to each individual of an evil life.

The degradation of the Church reacted fatally upon the morality of the country. 'We Italians,' said Machiavelli,³ 'are irreligious and corrupt above all others.' Men had little faith in the Divine government of the world, and relapsed into every form of immorality; heresy and atheism abounded. No dissimulation was regarded as disgraceful as a means to an end; gambling was the passion of the age; the 'Court of Rome' was a lottery, where men varied the excitement of intrigues with the delights of hazard. Marriage and all its rights were deliberately trampled under foot. Hired assassins were the paid agents of every court or noble house. Luxury and extravagance had reached an incredible height. Savo-

¹ Sermons upon Genesis vi., from the text '*Corrupta autem est terra coram Domino.*'

² 'Ricordi,' n. 28, in the *Opere inedite*, i.

³ *Discorsi*, i. i. 2.

narola is not alone in attributing the vices of the age to the prevailing paganism. The glory of the Renaissance is the growth of the individual man. Individualism as opposed to discipline, to community of effort, to national or religious combination, is the feature of the movement. Men were not trained in any one-sided culture; to be the 'uomo universale,' to attain encyclopædic knowledge, to cultivate universal artistic genius, was the glory of men like L. B. Alberti, Lionardo da Vinci, Pico della Mirandola, or Andrea Verocchio. But in the moral world the victorious egoism of men of colossal outline produced monsters of iniquity like Braccio di Montone or Sigismondo Malatesta, men who delighted in absolute wickedness; defied the precepts of religion, outraged the laws of man. And if ordinary mortals did not attain to the same ideal of disinterested evil, they felt themselves independent of all laws and restraints, and in a conflict of motives formed their decisions independently, according to the dictates of passion, hatred, interest, or calculation.

Never had Italy more sorely needed the coming of an Elijah. And with the hour comes the man. Savonarola was born in 1452. He entered the Dominican convent of Bologna in 1475, and remained there till 1483. In that year, the year of Luther's birth, he went as a preacher to Ferrara, to Florence, to Brescia, and other Italian cities. In 1489 he settled permanently at Florence in the convent of San Marco, of which he became Prior in 1491. He had already produced a profound impression upon Florence by the eloquence of his tremendous denunciation of the vices which defiled the city, and the warnings which he delivered of impending calamities. In 1494 he definitively assumes the mantle of the prophet, and appears on the stage of politics as the founder of the Republic of Florence. From 1493 to 1498 he was the absolute ruler of the city, though his power was undermined by discontent within, by the intrigues of the Medici, and, above all, by his struggle with Pope Alexander VI., who suspended him from preaching, excommunicated him, and threatened Florence with an interdict if he was not punished. On May 23, 1498, he was first strangled and then burned at Florence. Such is a brief outline of a career which is divided, as will be readily perceived, into two broad divisions: the first including his life up to 1494, the second including his rule in Florence and his death. It is to the second period that all the grave and difficult questions of his career belong.

The first portion of Savonarola's career (1452-1494) presents little or no difficulty to the biographer. Ferrara was

at the date of his birth governed by the House of Este. Nowhere in all Italy were the anomalies in which the period abounded more strikingly displayed. Nowhere were presented in more vivid light the splendour and pollution, ferocity and culture, violence and perfidy which characterize Italian society. The father of Savonarola was a hanger-on of the court, and the son was familiar with the deeds which were perpetrated within the gloomy palace which still dominates the grass-grown streets of the city. Here a princess was beheaded for adultery with her step-son; here children, legitimate and illegitimate, were assassinated or imprisoned for life; here the bastard of a bastard strove to wrest the throne from the rightful heir; here a husband poisoned his wife, because he had discovered that she was about to poison him at her brother's instigation. And without the walls of the castle spectacles, shows, processions, games, followed one another in uninterrupted succession. The populace were maddened with an immoderate thirst for intellectual and sensual enjoyment, and, enervated by their passion for pleasure, sank into that nerveless condition which fits an effeminate generation for slavery. Tremendous taxes drained the life-blood of the State; all the necessities of life were monopolies; all the public offices were sold to the highest bidders. At the same time it was the pride of the Duke of Ferrara that his city was impregnable, that its houses were well built, that military violence was unknown, that the salaries of the professors of the University were punctually paid. Ferrara was a veritable Court of the Muses,

‘Nam tot Ferraria vates
Quot ranas tellus Ferrariensis habet.’

Tasso's tragic history does not obscure the splendour of the patronage that was offered to Ariosto, Boiardo, and Guarini; the University was renowned, and the Ferrarese painters stood at the head of the minor schools.

In this strange hotbed of vice and intellectual acquirement Savonarola grew up to manhood. The pollution of the life around him inspired him with such ineffable disgust and weariness that he determined to take refuge in a cloister from the sin-stained world. The struggle was severe.

‘Before I became a monk,’ he says, ‘I protested a thousand times that I would never enter the cloister. But from the moment when it pleased God to make me one, I was irresistibly impelled to join a religious order.’¹

¹ *Sermon on Amos*, April 13, 1496.

In a touching letter, addressed from the Dominican convent of Bologna, 'nobili et egregio viro Nicolao parenti optimo Ferrariæ,' he explains to his father why he had concealed his project from his parents.

'Be not then astonished,' he writes, 'that I have said nothing of it to you. I have left behind the books that rest upon the window-sill in my room a certain paper which will explain to you my conduct.'

The paper to which he refers is a short Latin treatise on *The Flight from the World*. The treatise is but little known to English readers. It was first published in 1868 by Count C. Capponi, from a manuscript discovered among the papers of the Gondi family. It was therefore unknown to Dean Milman in 1854, and Professor Villari, who mentions it, does not quote from it. So far as we are aware, it has never been translated into English. On other grounds the treatise is supremely interesting. It reveals the feelings with which the social conditions of Italy inspired Savonarola, and the germs of that interpretation of Biblical prophecy which blossomed into predictions of impending calamities. The Savonarola of 1494 is the Savonarola of this treatise; but his feelings have gathered depth and strength in the interval of twenty years.

'Come, my soul, what thinkest thou, and why delay, prolonging these profitless anxieties? See how many rude and ignorant men, how many poor women rise up and take Heaven by force. And we, with all our knowledge, are going down into Hell; we boast of our wisdom and are fallen into folly. Behold now how these rustic men and simple women teach us better by example than by words to despise the world and cleave to Christ alone. And we, who madly contend for the worthless prizes of this world, exhort others to flee from their pursuit; we proclaim that virtue is eternal, yet we seek only the things that perish. Children, young men, and maidens, convinced of the frailty of earthly treasures, flee the world and its lusts, while we pursue these very things with such zeal that any man seeing us would say that we have become the swine of Epicurus. Before men we argue about virtues, but at the bottom of our hearts we think with the cynics that physical pleasure is the sovereign good.

'Ah, unhappy creature that I am! What am I doing here? Why do I still linger and delay? Seest thou not that the world is filled with impurity, impiety, and every sort of iniquity? Seest thou not that the eyes of the nations are blinded, and the hearts of the people hardened? Seest thou not that the towns and the country are given up to robbers and marauders? Why then delayest thou, O my soul? Rise up! Blush not to be taught by children and by women! blush not to walk in their footsteps! Rise up, I say, and flee with them!

Ah ! flee these barbarous coasts, flee this inhospitable shore, flee the land of Sodom and Gomorrah ! flee Egypt and Pharaoh ! Flee this land where vice is praised and virtue mocked, where the student of the Arts and of Philosophy is called a dreamer, where the modest and chaste liver is styled a madman, where the man of faith and the believer in the greatness of God is treated as a fool, where he that trusts in Christ is made a laughing-stock, and he that is charitable is mocked as a woman ! Flee this land where he is called prudent who robs the poor, the widow, and the orphan ; he wise who thinks only of heaping up riches ; he reverend who spoils another with the greatest skill ! Everywhere is seen nothing but impiety, usury, pillage, atrocious blasphemy, rape, sodomy, impurity ; jealousy and homicide, pride and ambition, hypocrisy and lying, iniquity and crime abound everywhere. In this world vice is virtue, and virtue vice.

‘What shall I say then ? There is none that doeth good, no, not one. The torrents of rain, the earthquakes, the hailstorms, the tempests call the men of the world to repent, and they refuse to hearken ; floods, pestilences, malignant plagues, famine, each in turn cry “Repent !” yet the men of the world will not listen. The sacrilegious invasions of the insolent Turks raise aloud their terrible voices, yet still the men of the world remain deaf. The gentle voices of the preachers and servants of God beat against their ears, but the men of the world will not open them. In a word, it is vain that the voice of nature speaks to their hearts, vain that they are pricked by the needle of remorse and conscience.

‘O ye blind worldlings, pronounce your own sentence upon yourselves, and judge if the end of all things is not now at hand. Why then, O my soul, dost thou still delay ? Rise up and take thy flight ! Flee from Egypt and from Pharaoh, for his heart is hardened against the Lord ! Glorify God, singing with Israel—*Cantemus Domino : gloriose enim magnificatus est, equum et ascensorem dejecit in mare*, &c. (Exodus xv. 1-14).

‘So then, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace ; quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum ; lumen ad revelationem gentium, et gloriam plebis tue Israel.* Glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, from whom all graces flow. Amen !’

This short treatise, written when Savonarola was twenty-two, on the eve of his flight to the Dominican convent, is an epitome of his mental history for the next nineteen years, a proclamation of the principles which guided his whole career. Incessant study of the Bible, especially of the prophetic and apocalyptic books, deepened his sense of the sins of the world and strengthened his desire to rescue the people from the wrath to come. At first he had sought rest and individual purity. But his vivid perception of the evils of Italian society, his conviction that repentance alone could avert the

threatened punishment, his tender, warm hearted nature, at once horrified at the necessary doom and terror-struck at the apathy of his contemporaries, all combined to make him a moral reformer. The sincerity and intensity of these feelings transformed him from the subtle interpreter of Biblical warnings or shrewd observer of the signs of the times, into the inspired prophet who believed that he held direct communication with God, whose chosen vessel he was for the proclamation of His divine purpose. And already in this short treatise he strikes the keynote of his preaching. 'Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand' is the burden of all his outpourings, the flame which kindles his most fiery invectives against vice, the conviction which inspires the wistful eagerness of his appeals to virtue, the point on which he concentrates the profusion of his allegorical interpretation, the object which he illustrates with all his visions, dreams, and colloquies with Heaven.

With this treatise before us we can pass without difficulty from 1475 to 1494. The young monk was now a trained disputant, a powerful preacher, the Prior of San Marco, Vicar-General of the Tuscan Congregation of the Dominican Order, and, since the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, the foremost man in Florence. He had gained the ear of the city by his fervent piety, his personal purity, his intellectual power, his passionate eloquence, his tremendous denunciations of the coming wrath of God. He had not yet become the politician, or assumed the mantle of the prophet. In March 1491 he wrote to Fra Domenico da Pescia: 'I preach the renovation of the Church and the coming chastisement, not indeed absolutely, but always relying on the Holy Scriptures, so that no man can blame me except those who refuse to live Christian lives.'¹ He threatens Italy with scourge upon scourge as the punishment of her sins, with wars and famines and plagues.

'And there shall not be men enough to bury the dead; the dead shall be so numerous in the houses that the grave-diggers shall pass through the streets crying, "Bring out your dead!" and shall put them in carts and on horses and carry them forth to the mountains to be burned. They shall pass through the streets crying, "Who has any dead? Who has any dead?" And those within shall come and say, "Lo! here is my son, my brother, my husband." O Florence! O Rome! O Italy! the days of song and feasting are fled!'

He plays on the strings of terror, of hope, and of pity, and awakens with unerring touch responsive chords in the hearts

¹ Gherardi, *Nuovi Documenti*, &c. (Firenze, 1878), p. 178.
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of his audience. Frequently the faithful Violi¹ breaks off the notes of Savonarola's sermons with the words, 'Here emotion and tears prevented me from writing.'

None of the difficulties by which Savonarola's subsequent career is complicated had yet arisen. He was not now, nor did he ever become, the austere fanatic it is sometimes the fashion to represent him. But the more closely his writings are studied, the more attractive grows his personality. His face, as it is presented in the best known of his portraits, is harsh and ugly, yet singularly striking. His eye gleams from under thick eyebrows; his cheeks are emaciated by anxiety and macerations; his nose is large, long, and highly arched; his mouth large, his lips thick and compressed. The expression is energetic and yet profoundly melancholy. It is the face of a preacher whose impetuous eloquence wins unexampled triumphs; it is also the face of a man who inspires his disciples with intense and loving devotion. To all his followers, men and women, rich and poor alike, he is a true spiritual father, striving incessantly to make their path more easy and, himself always gay and tranquil, to inspire them with the joy and peace which reward believing Christians. His devotional writings prove him to be a man of intense and ardent faith, coloured by a strong tinge of poetic mysticism, yet controlled by common sense and broad intellectual sympathies. In the midst of engrossing labours, he shows himself an affectionate son and brother. 'Do you think,' he writes to his father from Bologna, 'that it does not cost me much to leave you? Never, since the day that I was born, have I endured more keen pain, more poignant anguish, than at the moment when I abandoned my own kinsfolk to go amongst strangers.' There is a world of tenderness in this letter to his mother: 'I intended to write you only a few lines, and lo! love has run away with my pen, and I have opened my heart to you in a way that I never thought of doing.'² Or in this of a later date: 'Do not fear that you can ever weary me by writing to me though it be difficult for me to write you every time a letter so long as this. I am so busy that I have been five times interrupted, before I could finish it. That must not hinder you from writing to me often, in the name of God, and I on my side will struggle always to send you an answer, short or long.'³ He finds time to sympathize with and console his friends in their

¹ *Prediche raccolte per Ser Lorenzo Violi da la viva voce del Rev. P. F. Hieronymo da Ferrara giorno per giorno.* See also Quétif, *Collections*, ii. 613 *et seqq.*

² *Appendice all' Archivio Stor. Ital.*, No. 35. ³ *Archivio*, p. 46.

earthly trials, to encourage them to persevere in their efforts after a moral life, to explain in simple language the deep mysteries of the faith. And yet in the busiest moments of a ceaselessly active life he never failed to maintain those habits of prayer and meditation which were the hidden sources of his strength and courage.

As Vicar-General of the Dominicans, the first use which he made of his power was to reform the order in Tuscany. In the midst of the luxury and vice of the period, the Dominicans had not escaped the general degeneracy. Ambrose of the Camaldoles, who was charged by Eugenius IV. to visit the mendicant orders, found them disgraced by such disorders that he can only describe them in the Greek tongue.¹ Savonarola set himself to restore the primitive simplicity of his order. He himself set the example. His object was not to establish a new rule of exaggerated asceticism, but to restore 'the ancient constitution'—as he explains to the prioress of San Domenico at Pisa—²

'founded by our fathers, who were infinitely superior in knowledge and holiness to the religious of our day, and in this spirit of reform to build simple convents, to wear garments of coarse stuff—old, if need be, and mended, to eat and drink sparingly according to the directions of the holy Fathers, to keep the cells bare and stripped of superfluous ornaments, to observe silence, to set aside hours for contemplation, to seek solitude and shun the world.'

In the same spirit he writes to Magdalena della Mirandola in 1494, who was about to take the veil, exhorting her to observe the vow of poverty, and to purchase no finely-woven robe, no richly illuminated books, no magnificent breviary.³ So again he urges his brethren to love poverty, to be so true to the vows of chastity as to avoid even legitimate amusements, to be humble towards superiors and even to equals and inferiors, to guard the tongue, to love solitude, to be frequent in prayer, communion, and contemplation. At the same time the common sense is strongly marked in his attitude towards study and asceticism. He urges them to avoid excess in fasts and abstinences, yet refuses to lay down any uniform rules which must apply to all irrespective of their different constitutions. Again and again he exhorts them to study as the great remedy against evil thoughts and pride.⁴ Under

¹ See Cantù, *Les Hérétiques d'Italie*, i. 393-7.

² Letter of September 10, 1493. Mansi, *Additions to Baluse*, i. 586.

³ Capponi, *Alcune Lettere*, No. 66. Firenze, 1858.

⁴ *Regulæ quæ ad omnes religiosos pertinent*. Venetiis, 1495.

his rule the Dominicans were not to remain an ignorant body.

Burlamacchi (*Vita*, Lucca, 1764, p. 39) describes a scene from the internal life of the convent of San Marco. Often the monks would go in a body to some solitary place. After their religious services they ate their meal, rested, and then gathered round their prior, who explained to them some text from the Holy Scriptures. Then after a short walk they would sit down under the trees; there the prior suggested to the monks some beautiful thought from the Holy Scriptures for their meditation, or asked the novices questions. At other times he would call upon his companions to sing hymns to the glory of Our Lord, or to recite some passage from the lives of the Saints, from which he would draw useful instructions. One day the brethren were passing under a fig-tree, and the prior gathered some small branches which were growing from the lower trunk. Out of the pith he made small white doves, which he distributed to his delighted companions, making them enumerate the habits and qualities of the dove, while he explained its spiritual signification. Such descriptions of Savonarola's domestic life help us to realize the intense simplicity of his character, a simplicity which is not inconsistent with a subtle and powerful intellect.

From the reformation of the convent, Savonarola passed to the moral renovation of Florence. This was the work which he had at heart; this was the aim on which he concentrated all his efforts. To this single end his politics and prophecies were entirely subordinated. A politician without personal ambition, a prophet without thought of self-glorification, believing himself to be God's chosen messenger and instrument for the reformation of Florence, he spoke and acted with the vehemence of his impassioned nature. A popular constitution was to him an agent for the purification of the city, and therefore the form of government ordained by God Himself. Strong in the knowledge of his own exalted motives, he failed to understand the opposition to which he was exposed, and resented the union of religious and political intriguers who, imitating his example of identifying religion and politics, achieved his ruin. There is no reason to suppose that Savonarola was not absolutely honest alike in his claim to inspiration and his defence of the Republic as the work of Christ. His conviction was genuine, his delusion sincere. And it is this which gives such pathos to his struggle. 'If Rome,' he writes to his brother Albert in August 1497, 'be

against me, know that it is not me she opposes, but Christ. It is against God that she contends.'¹

From all parts of Tuscany monastic bodies and individual men and women placed themselves under Savonarola's directions. The numbers of the brethren of San Marco rose from 50 to 230, and they included members of the noblest families. Penitents crowded the cloisters, and when the Prior walked in the streets he was followed by crowds of his disciples. Insensibly and unawares he was forming that party which, as the Piagnoni, was the support of his political position. But throughout all the changes of his life Savonarola was first and above all else a priest and a monk. Whether in the confessional, or in the pulpit, or in the council chamber, his object was to extend the triumphs of religion, and to found the kingdom of Christ in Florence. In the struggle which ensued he was brought into violent conflict with the Renaissance and with the Papacy. And it is thus that the four great questions of his life are brought into prominence. Was he a mediæval obscurantist or a Christian artist? a faithful son of the Church, or a schismatic, or a heretic? an inspired or a deluded prophet, or a charlatan? a mediæval figure, or the prophet of modern liberalism?

The accusation of Vandalism rests for the most part upon the famous 'Burning of the Vanities' in 1497 and 1498. Such conflagrations were common accompaniments of religious revivals in Italy. A lofty *talamo* was raised in the public square arranged in tiers. Below were masks, false beards, carnival disguises, masquerade dresses, lutes, dice-boxes, magical charms, and song-books; next came masses of false hair of white or yellow silk, ornaments, veils, beautifying waters, plasters, paints, and perfumes; above were volumes, printed or in manuscript, of novelists and erotic poets, whether of Italy or the ancient world; on the top was set a figure of the Devil. The materials were the outward signs of the most prevalent vices of Italian society. Savonarola added a number of pictures from the nude, mostly fancy portraits with classical names, or portraits of public women of the day. It is probable that the pyre contained several priceless works of art and some invaluable manuscripts. But, admitting this, the evidence is overwhelming that Savonarola was a man of extreme culture, of great sensibility, and of a sensuous equipment which was as rich as it was rare in cloistral ascetics.

¹ Marchese, *Appendice ali' Archivio Stor. Ital.*

The line which haunted his mind before he entered the cloister was the

‘Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge litus avarum’

of Virgil. It was by his advice that Camilla Rucellai established her famous school of painting in the convent of St. Catherine of Siena. In his own convent of San Marco he founded schools for sculpture, painting, architecture, and the study of Oriental languages. The mediævalist was opposed to any other version of the Scriptures except the Vulgate; but we find Savonarola not only encouraging the study of Hebrew and Arabic, but ordering, through his brother Albert,¹ six Hebrew Testaments, presumably for the use of the convent. It was to his enlightened liberality that Florence owed the preservation of the Medicean Library. He desired to banish Ovid, Catullus, Propertius, and Terence from schools; but he was willing to place in the hands of boys Horace, Virgil, and Cicero, provided that their deficiencies were supplied from the writings of Jerome and Augustine. In his youth he had prepared an abstract of Plato, though he burned it when he found that in matters of faith an old woman knew more of Christ than did the Attic Moses. It is the same feeling which prompts him to write: ‘All that can be said in praise of the masters and princes of philosophy, of whom pagans so loudly vaunt—Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and all the men in whom Nature has, they say, made her supremest effort to arrive at human perfection—may be said of our little children.’² Looking exclusively, as he did, on the moral and religious tendencies of art and literature, he found more to condemn than to applaud in the Renaissance. He was neither alone nor unreasonable in his opinion. Battista Mantovano³ classed the humanists among the seven monsters of the world under the head of ‘Superbia.’ Fra Giovanni of San Miniato had attacked the study of the classics on the ground that the pagan poets were full of danger for the young. Even Pius II. thought the movement was excessive when Sigismund Malatesta introduced pagan symbols into the church of Rimini. Nor was his opinion that the moral decadence of the times was due to the domination of the pagan spirit, altogether unreasonable. Morals, ideas, language, art, religion, were invaded, and, as he believed, corrupted, by Paganism. For the solution of every problem men looked, not to the

¹ July 21, 1497. Marchese, *Appendice all' Archivio Stor. Ital.* p. 56.

² *De Simplicitate Vitæ Christianæ.*

³ *De Calamitatibus Temporum.*

middle ages, but to antiquity. Scholasticism was thrust contemptuously aside ; Moses and St. Thomas Aquinas were degraded ; Plato was raised to a level with Christ. He saw Rome receive the homage of Italy, not as the seat of the Church, but as the former throne of the Roman emperors. He heard a bishop prefer the sight of his lady-love to the joys of the elect, the sacred elements called *ambrosia* and *nectar*, the mass *sacra Deorum*, the cardinals *senatores*, their dean the *princeps senatus*. Philosophers celebrated the birthday of Plato while they ignored that of Christ, and discoursed, not of the Creator of the universe, but of the eternity of matter and the soul of the world. If poets invoked the Virgin, they closed their strophes with an appeal to Venus. Painters in their imitations of antiquity were disloyal, as he thought, to the best traditions of their art. If preachers had Christ on their lips, they had, to use the phrase of Erasmus, Jove and Romulus in their hearts. Scholars lectured on the beauties of the erotic poets, or vied in lewd ribaldry with the most indecent of the classics. The people were infected with the same tastes. Their legends laid the scene of Christ's birth in a magnificent palace, not in a stable or a cave ; and they flocked to see the exhumed corpse of 'Julia daughter of Claudius,' as though its antiquity made it more beautiful than the highest type of modern beauty. He saw the pulpits invaded by married laymen, who delivered public lectures on scenes of festivity or of mourning. He heard children baptized by Latin names, and the usages of social life and official titles latinized. He saw love painted by artists and writers as sensual enjoyment, not as a deep and spiritual passion of the noblest kind. He heard the mistresses of princes sung by poets, or saw them painted by artists, and assume the position in general society of the Hetairæ of classical Athens. He saw the worship of historical greatness preferred to the Christian ideal of holiness ; the vices, in spite of which heroes became great, regarded with indifference ; and even the best resolutions of the highest minds adopted rather from a passion for fame than for the spirit of faith, or hope, or charity.

Possessed by one idea, the moral and religious reformation of Florence, it was inevitable that Savonarola should set his face against the extravagant passion for antiquity. Even from an artistic point of view it is difficult to say that he was wrong. The impulse which Giotto had given to painting had expired before the beginning of the fifteenth century. Artists conventionalized his first-hand observation. Types, attitudes,

expression, all were stereotyped. A fresh outburst of activity dates from the competition for the gates of the Baptistery of St. John at Florence, a competition which brings together Ghiberti, Brunelleschi, and Donatello. And the composition and casting of those gates,

‘so marvellously wrought
That they might serve to be the gates of Heaven,’

formed a school of design in which studied men like Paolo Uccello, Masolino, and, above all, Masaccio. The study of nature was at first the only inspiration, for art was not sufficiently its own master to comprehend the supreme value of ancient models. Science came to its aid. A marked advance is made in perspective, distance, relief, roundness, proportion, light and shade, colouring. The figures become more full of movement, the drapery more flowing, the attitudes more natural, the expressions more individual. All these characteristics are introduced in the painting of Masaccio, and the sculpture of Donatello and Ghiberti. In their work, art contracted a fertile alliance with nature and antiquity. Pagan civilization joined hands with Christian tradition, the desire to imitate nature with the striving to express an ideal. Men were enthusiastic admirers of classic art, and yet vigorous and independent in their originality. While the two converging forces of art remained equal in strength, painting achieved its greatest triumphs. Pagan anthropomorphism worshipped man and nature; mediæval art proscribed matter, and refused to consider the native nobility of the human form. The Renaissance in its early stage united the two principles of spiritual and physical realism. A Masaccio painted both the soul and the body. Others, of whom Fra Angelico is the master, held aloof from modern improvements, and clung to the older school. Dreamy in his landscape, mystic in the diaphanous softness of his forms, intensely devotional in his feeling, he represents the school of Giotto in its sincerity, simplicity, and faith. The saints themselves are his models, for his life was saintly.

But art begins to decline at Florence under Lorenzo de' Medici. The pedantry of later artists is at once disloyal to classical tradition and faithless to Christianity. If they paint a Venus or a Madonna, they paint a charming woman without the repose of the one or the modesty of the other. The vigour of conception and breadth of treatment, which distinguished the golden age, disappear. In ornament, style of architectural background, choice of subject, antiquity led

away captive Ghirlandajo, Filippino Lippi, and Botticelli. Painting is marked by all the refinements and mannerisms of an imitative age. Technical skill takes the place of inspiration. In their blind worship of antiquity, ideas and symbols are revived which have no foundation in the life of Italy, and the world applauds when artists illustrate the habits of the dwellers of Olympus.

It is against this degradation of painting that Savonarola takes his stand. Both Rio and Burckhardt believe that the Italian genius would have blossomed and borne abundant fruit without the study of antiquity. There is therefore a wide field of speculation as to the possible direction into which the ardent minds of the period might have strayed, if Savonarola had succeeded in stemming the torrent of classicism. Into this tempting subject we will not digress. Suffice it to say that Savonarola's æsthetic principles may be summed up in opposition to the degradation of art to a purely humanistic level, and in an ideal of Christian sentiment combined with natural expression. Ideal beauty, imitation of nature, simplicity of style, elevation of subject, these are his æsthetic principles, and it is difficult to say that Savonarola's instinct was at fault when he condemned the defects and suggested the cure of contemporary art.

His views are stated in his sermons and writings. The following extracts might be multiplied indefinitely :—

'Beauty does not consist in colouring alone. It is a quality which results from the proportion and harmony of the limbs and other parts of the body. You would not call a woman beautiful because she has a beautiful nose and beautiful hands, but because every feature and limb is well proportioned. What then is the source of this beauty? Look at it well and you will see that it springs from the soul. And in truth, the moment that the soul has disappeared, the body becomes pale and contemptible ; its beauty has fled.'¹

'You see then that the more incorporeal anything is, the more beautiful it is.'²

'How much more beautiful must the soul be than the body, seeing that the beauty of the body is derived from the soul ; and if the soul is beautiful in itself, how much more beautiful must it be when it also possesses the Divine grace ! How much more beautiful still are the souls of the elect ! And even their beauty is transcended by the beauty of the holy spirits and of the seraphim. And finally, reflect how far higher than all is the beauty of God.'³

'Look at a pious person, man or woman, one in whom the spirit sways the senses ; look at them when they are praying or have risen

¹ Sermons on Ezekiel, Lent, 1497, No. xxviii.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

from their knees, and see with how bright a ray of divine beauty their faces are illuminated ; you will see the beauty of God shine on their faces ; you will see the beauty of an angel. All those who in adoring humility partake of the Holy sacraments are so united to God that the presence of the divine light is manifest upon their faces.’¹

‘In the perfect Christian the principal virtues which produce an upright life and beauty of form are fervent faith and the love of our Crucified Redeemer. As faith and love deepen, so external grace and beauty increase until they become able to convert the hearts of men.’²

‘Take two women equally remarkable for corporeal beauty, one of whom leads a holy, the other an evil life. The first is more beloved than the second, and the eyes of all men—yes, even those of the most carnally-minded men—follow the virtuous woman. Take a holy man whose form is ugly : every one likes to look at him ; his holiness, in spite of his ugliness, lights up his face and gives it beauty.’³

‘The soul that is beloved of God becomes beautiful in proportion as it receives more of the Divine grace. Men say that at the sight of the Virgin, in the presence of her wonderful beauty, all men stood dumbfounded. But so great was the holiness which lighted up her face, that she never inspired an evil thought. ‘There was no one who did not feel the deepest respect for her.’⁴

But, idealist though he was, he by no means excluded the study of nature.

‘The charm of a work of art consists in its imitation of nature ; and the proof of this is, that the highest praise we bestow on a painting is “These animals seem alive ;” “these flowers are natural.”’⁵

‘Would you imitate God, whom you cannot see ? How are you to do it ? By looking at the designs, the models, the images, that have issued from his hands ; that is to say, you must imitate natural objects just as a painter takes a man or a tree and traces its image.’⁶

To seek the ideal and to study nature are two of Savonarola’s æsthetic principles ; the third is simplicity.

‘Ask a painter which is most pleasing, a figure in a strained or easy natural attitude. He will tell you that the best and most pleasing is the easiest and most natural.’⁷

So, adds Savonarola, is it with preaching. And finally, to become a master in Christian art, the painter himself must obey the laws of God.

Triumphus Crucis, II. c. x.

² *Ibid.*

Sermon on Amos, 3rd Sunday in Lent, 1496.

⁴ Sermons on Haggai (3rd sermon), preached November and December, 1494.

⁵ *De Simplicitate Vitæ Christianæ*, 3rd book, First Truth. Venice, 1547.

⁶ Sermons on the Psalms : ‘Quam bonus,’ Advent, 1493.

⁷ Sermons on Feast Days, May 20, 1496.

'Every painter paints himself. However varied his subjects, his works bear the sign-manual of his thought.'¹

He has been condemned for denouncing studies of the nude. No trace of this appears in his writings. What he did denounce was their exhibition in public. He is never weary of urging artists to paint scenes which breathe only virtuous sentiments, and above all to be jealous of the innocence of childhood. As to pictures which were to be placed in churches, he reminds artists that paintings are the books of the ignorant; he insists that no profane detail should be introduced which contradicted the simplicity of the Gospel, and that they should ever bear in mind the sanctity of the building for which they worked and the true end of Christian art.

'You painters act in evil fashion. You put all kinds of vanities in the churches. If you knew what follows, and what I know, you would not do so. You would do well to efface all immodest figures. You give to the Virgin Mary the costume of a courtesan. See then how the worship of God is profaned.'²

In this view he anticipates the decree of the Council of Trent: '*Omnis denique lascivia vitetur, ita ut procaci venustate imagines non pingantur nec ornentur.*'³

Whatever our opinion of these utterances may be, they are not the æsthetic no-principles of the Vandal. Savonarola's protests produced a prodigious effect. The field which he left open was wide enough. Within its limits mediæval painters had achieved immortality; to it Fra Angelico or Luca della Robbia had consecrated their genius. Many artists left the world and entered the cloister. The miniaturists Benedetto, Lapaccini, Eustachio; the architects Francesco del Prato and Domenico di Paolo; the painters Agostino del Mugello and Bartolommeo della Porta; and, finally, two of the Della Robbia family, became Dominicans.⁴ Another proof of his influence may be seen in the number of his devotional works which were illustrated by the first artists of the day. The 'Sancta Dei plebs,' as he called the people, were always dear to his heart; and one reason of his dislike to classicism was its anti-popular character. It divided by

¹ Sermons on Ezekiel, Lent, 1497, No. xxvi.

² Sermons on Amos, Lent, 1496, Saturday after 2nd Sunday.

³ Sess. xxv. c. i. 'De invocatione, veneratione, et reliquiis sanctorum, et sacris imaginibus.' See Marchese, *Artisti Domenicani*, i. 434. See also '*Canones et Decreta Sacrosancti Ecumenici Concilii Tridentini*. Ratisbonæ, 1869, p. 164.

⁴ Marchese, *Memorie dei più insigni Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti Domenicani*, i. 512 et seqq. (ed. 4).

sharp lines of difference the cultured from the uncultivated, and it severed the connexion between art and the people.

We have insisted at length upon Savonarola's attitude towards painting as an answer to the accusation of Vandalism. Another refutation of the charge is supplied by his friendship with the foremost humanists, historians, poets, artists, sculptors, architects, and engravers of the day. He was the friend of Pico della Mirandola, who could not live without him, and was buried in the church of San Marco. In the same church was buried Poliziano, who speaks of him as 'Insignis et doctrinâ et sanctimoniâ vir cœlestisque doctrinæ prædicator egregius' (*Ep.*, lib. iv. 2). He was praised and admired by the Platonist Ficino, who calls him a man 'sanctimoniâ sapientiâque præstantem,' and before his death recognized through Savonarola's teaching the way of eternal life. Benivieni, the Platonic poet, composed some of the lauds and psalms which were sung by the children in the carnival processions. Ugolino Verini dedicated to him his Latin verses on the monastic life, and in an interesting letter of thanks Savonarola expresses his views upon poetry. It is not the poetic art he condemned, but the abuses of which individual poets were guilty. He also says that he has himself recently written a treatise on the Art of Poetry,¹ although he had neglected the study of the *belles-lettres* for the last twenty-two years.² Sandro Botticelli³ wrote a life of him which has unfortunately perished. Lorenzo di Credi⁴ was one of his most zealous adherents, and valued as his most precious treasure the scapular of Savonarola. Fra Benedetto entreated that he might die with his prior, and solaced his grief with poems in his memory. Baccio della Porta, better known as Fra Bartolommeo, mourned his death so deeply that for four years he never touched a brush; neither art nor the world had any longer glories for him, and he retired to a convent in 1500. The sculptor Baccio da Montelupo was driven from Florence because he remained faithful to the memory of his master. Cronaca⁵ the architect could speak of nothing but his death. To the whole Della Robbia⁶ family he was a prophet and a teacher. Andrea adorned an altar in the church of San Marco with a virgin crowned with lilies and adoring the Infant Christ; two of his sons took the vows, and received the

¹ Published at Venice, 1534, but probably written in 1492 (*Opus perutile de divisione scientiarum, in poeticon apologeticus*).

² 1492. See Gherardi, *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 184.

³ Vasari, *Vita di S. B.*, v. 117 (ed. Le Monnier).

⁴ Vasari, viii. 207.

⁵ *Ibid.* viii. 126.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 71.

Dominican habit from the hands of Savonarola himself. Among the defenders of the convent during the night attack of 1498 there were three of the Della Robbias, and the best account of the scenes that were enacted was given by Fra Luca, known to the world as Marco della Robbia. After Savonarola's death they commemorated his name and the most famous of his visions by medals bearing on the one side the friar's head, on the other, a fortified city with the sword of the Lord descending upon it. The most perfect work of Giovanni delle Carniole is his *intaglio* of Savonarola. And, finally, Michelangiolo Buonarrotti read and re-read his sermons to refresh his mind when engaged upon the Sistine Chapel, and inspire him with their own religious awe, boldness of conception, and Dantesque imagination.

Savonarola was not an ignorant Vandal. Equally certain is it that he was not, as Protestant historians have asserted, the Luther of Italy, the scourge of the new Babylon, the sworn foe of the Roman Antichrist. In 1521 Luther was on his way to Worms. At Naumburg a priest met him, and held up before him a picture of Savonarola. Luther recognized fully the meaning of the action, but his courage was unshaken.¹ Two years later he published a translation of Savonarola's commentaries on the 'Miserere mei' and the 'In te, Domine, speravi.' In the preface² he speaks of him as a pure example of Evangelical faith and Christian piety, who trusted not to good works, but solely in the hope of the Divine mercy. Savonarola's resistance to Alexander VI., his denunciation of the vices of Rome, and his tragic death, together with the authority of Luther, gained him the sympathy of Protestants. They inscribed his name in their Martyrology, with a distich, which is quoted by Bayle³:—

'En monachus solers, rerum scrutator acutus,
Martyrio ornatus Savonarola pius.'

Theodore of Beza⁴ asks who would not wonder to see so much piety and zeal combined under the cowl of a monk and Dominican. In the present century Savonarola has been claimed as a Protestant by several writers, notably by Rudel-

¹ Audin, *Histoire de Luther*, ii. 87; Paris, 1850. D'Aubigné, *Histoire de la Réformation*, bk. vii. c. 7.

² *Meditatio pia et erudita Hier. Savonarolæ a papa exusti supra Psalmos 'Miserere mei' et 'In te, Domine, speravi,' cum præfatione Lutheri*, 1523.

³ *Dictionnaire*, s. v. 'Savonarola.'

⁴ *Icones*, &c. Geneva, 1580.

bach,¹ Meier,² Paul,³ and Hase.⁴ In the same spirit is written the dramatic poem of Lenau.⁵ Savonarola is painted in the great picture of 'The Age of the Reformation,' at the Museum of Berlin, among the precursors of Luther, and Rietschel gives him a place with Huss, Waldo, and Wickliffe on the pedestal of his statue to Luther at Worms.

But no one who reads the devotional writings of Savonarola, and above all his *Triumphus Crucis*, can doubt that he lived and died a loyal son of the Roman Catholic Church. He asked for nothing but a reformation of morals; he attacked no dogma or doctrine. His position is that of Gerson, not of Luther. His ideal of reform was that which was demanded by the Council of Constance and effected at the Council of Trent. In his treatise *De Simplicitate Vitæ Christianæ* (Preface) he expresses the hope that 'the reader will find nothing contrary to the instructions of the Holy Doctors and to the doctrine of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, to the judgment of which I have always submitted.' And the Roman Church has, as we have seen, solemnly decreed that his writings contain nothing 'heretical, schismatic, or erroneous.' What Savonarola attacks is the practice, not the precept, of Rome, and it is to a General Council that he looks for a reformation of the vices which defiled the purity of the Church. It is true that in the *Simplicity of the Christian Life* he bases his argument upon reason rather than upon the Scriptures. But this method of treatment is adapted to meet the humanists who sneered at the Bible as antiquated, and Christianity as obsolete. He accepts the challenge of those who, like Dante,⁶ insist upon reason as the distinguishing gift of men, or, like Petrarch,⁷ maintained that no authority is superior to reason. And the line of argument is quite consistent with Roman teaching. Rome has always rather overestimated than undervalued human reason, if her condemnation of the traditionalist philosophy of Louvain affords a fair test, when Bautain was called upon to subscribe to a series of propositions declaring *inter alia* that human reason can demonstrate the existence of God and prove the spirituality of the human soul. It is also true that he lays immense stress upon the study of the Holy Scriptures. But here it

¹ *Hieronymus Savonarola.* Von A. G. Rudelbach; Hamburg, 1835.

² *Girolamo Savonarola.* Von F. K. Meier; Berlin, 1836.

³ *J. Savonarole.* Par T. Paul; Genève, 1857.

⁴ *Neue Propheten.* Von C. A. Hase; Leipzig, 1861.

⁵ *Savonarola.* Ein Gedicht. Von N. Lenau. Zweite Auflage, 1844.

⁶ *Convito*, ii. 8, 9; iii. 14; iv. 7.

⁷ *Petrarch's Leben und Werke.* Von G. Koesting; p. 517.

must be remembered that he was combating the ill-disguised paganism of his contemporaries, and that he could appeal to the example of Gerson and of D'Ailly,¹ who sought in the study of the Scriptures the simple and apostolic teaching.

His attitude was essentially practical and, it may be added, essentially Italian. The Italian mind is rather ethical than metaphysical, grappling with concrete realities rather than abstract inquiries, dwelling on conduct, not on scholastic disputations. It regards moral philosophy as the mother of the sciences. Its principal study in the Middle Ages was law; its chief topics of discussion are the relations of spiritual and temporal powers, of the Papacy and the Empire, of universal monarchy and civic autonomy. Great heresies are therefore rare in Italy. The fires were seldom lighted for errors of faith; it was for necromancy that Cecco d' Ascoli was burned in 1327, and for sorcery that Nicholas of Verona was condemned in 1452. And it is this fact which lies at the root of the difference between the movements of reform with which Savonarola and Luther are respectively identified. The spectacle of the profound moral corruption of the Church and of society tortured him, and he devoted his life to the combat against evil. To warn Italy and the Church, to effect a moral and disciplinary reform of the one, to stimulate the other to a purer life, and to save both from impending ruin—these were his only objects. Savonarola never conceived any other project of reform than that which the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle vainly attempted to effect, and which was the ideal of Gerson's treatise *De Reformatione Ecclesiæ in Concilio Universali*, or D'Ailly's *Monita de necessitate reformandæ Ecclesiæ in capite et in membris*. His words recall the language of Nicholas de Clémangis,² who exhorts the Church to waken from her apathy and her delusions, and to recognize in the prophetic denunciations of her sins a warning, and in the Apocalypse a picture of her impending fate. In his attitude towards the Papacy he distinguishes the individual Pope from the Vicar of Christ. Gerson³ had adopted the same argument when he says that obedience towards superiors is limited, and that the obligation ceases 'when the actions are notoriously evil and a scandal to the Church.' So, too, D'Ailly,⁴ replying to the arguments of the Canonists, had said that Peter on earth was not impeccable, and that therefore it is error to speak of the Pope as holy because he is Pope. So, again,

¹ *Recommendatio Sacræ Scripturæ.*

³ *De Reformatione*, c. 24.

² *De Ruinâ Ecclesiæ*, c. 41.

⁴ *Monita*, c. 1.

Pico della Mirandola¹ explains in the same spirit the true meaning of the maxim 'Sententia Pastoris, sive justa sive injusta, timenda.' Lastly, it is worth noticing that Savonarola's contention that a simoniacally-elected Pope was not a true Pope received what may be called a retrospective confirmation when Julius III. decreed that any Papal election vitiated by simony was void *ab initio*.

Savonarola, in our opinion, was neither a bigoted opponent of the Renaissance nor a precursor of the Protestant Reformation. Was he then a charlatan and an impostor? Was he, as the inscription runs on his best-known portrait, a prophet sent from God? To us Savonarola appears as a man of exalted faith who in transports of ecstatic mysticism lost consciousness, and became subject to hallucinations which the feverish excitement of his life rendered chronic. He heard voices whispering in his ears; he saw angels rising from earth to heaven or descending from heaven to earth, naked swords flash across the sky, flaming crosses blaze through the night, armless hands outstretched to bless or threaten. He believed that the private history of nations is written in the Bible, and that he was inspired to decipher the mystical meaning of its pages. But he did not confine himself to interpretation; he claimed direct inspiration. Nor was there anything remarkable in the claim. It was in harmony with the traditions of the Church, with the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, with the fashionable Platonic philosophy. The prophecies of St. Hildegard² were examined and approved by the Council of Trèves (1147), and were an established authority in the Middle Ages. The prophecies of Abbot Joachim³ were widely known in Italy. St. Brigitta,⁴ who died in Italy 1373, left behind her a collection of revelations which obtained her canonization. St. Catharine of Siena heard voices which revealed to her the secrets of political life, and on the authority of these revelations guided Urban VI. during the great Western schism.

In the *Compendium Revelationum* and in his treatise *Della*

¹ *Apologia*, bk. i.

² Numerous editions have been published of these prophecies. The translation of a portion is applied to the Jesuit Order: *The Nunnes Prophecie* (London, 1680).

³ The Abbot Joachim of Fiore was a prophet who predicted political events respecting emperors, kings, and the religious orders, as well as foretold the coming reign of the Spirit: *Abbas Joachim magnus Propheta* (Venetiis, 1520). See also *Histoire de l'Abbé Joachim* (Paris, 1745).

⁴ The revelations were violently attacked by Gerson. They were, however, defended by Cardinal Turrecremata. *S. Brigitta Revelationes, olim a Turrecremata, nunc a Duranto recognita* (Antwerp, 1611).

Verità Profetica Savonarola asserts and defends his prophetic claims. In the strange colloquy which he holds with the Tempter in the former work, the Tempter suggests that Savonarola has copied the prophecies of St. Brigitta or Joachim. He indignantly denies the suggestion, saying: 'I solemnly protest that I have never taken pleasure in this kind of reading, and I have never read the revelations of St. Brigitta and few, if any, of Abbot Joachim.'¹ He himself defines a prophet as one who has 'a special and divine inspiration.' But when he is asked on what grounds he distinguishes between a true and a false prophet, he replies by the question, 'How does the eye distinguish colours and feel certain that what it sees is white, black, green? It derives this certainty from its own nature, from the faculty of sight.'² Again, he is asked by one of his seven interlocutors in the treatise *Della Verità Profetica* whether he deceives the people or himself. But throughout the whole treatise, though the conviction and sincerity of the writer is manifest, the proof is absolutely wanting. Unable to demonstrate to others what was a certainty only to himself, he relies upon the strong assertion of his claim. 'If I am deceived, then God Himself has deceived me.'³ 'If an angel of God came and contradicted what I have said, believe it not, for it is God Himself who has spoken.'⁴ 'For me individually my prophecies are as authentic as the Scriptures.'⁵ And by means of these prophecies he built up his Florentine Republic, as well as effected his moral and religious reformation. And thus it was that he approached every day nearer to his inevitable doom.

'Helenus, Bishop of Heliopolis,' he says, 'encountered a heretic who persisted obstinately in his opinions, and, having no other means of persuasion, he cried, "Light a fire and let us enter into it; the fire will burn him who is in error!" The fire was lighted. The bishop entered it without flinching, sat down in the middle, and chanted praises to God for half an hour. When the Faith can be defended in no other way, we must resort to feats like that.'⁶

Eventually he was taken at his word; the miracle which he anticipated was withheld, and the single-hearted, courageous reformer met the fate which he himself had challenged.

We have seen that in the name of Christian morals, Christian religion, Christian art, Savonarola opposed the ex-

¹ See Quétif, *Comp. Revelat.* i. 272.

² Sermon on Job, March 1495.

³ Sermon on Job, April 9, 1495.

⁴ Sermon on Ezekiel, Feb. 17, 1497.

⁵ Sermon on Amos, Feb. 18, 1496.

⁶ Sermon on Amos, March 8, 1496.

clusive domination of paganism ; that, inspired with fervent religious zeal, he consecrated his life to a reformation of the discipline of the Church and the vices of Italian society ; that, absorbed in this single object, he claimed and believed that he exercised the gifts of an inspired prophet. It only remains to examine the conception of his character which Professor Villari has apparently, and the founders of modern Italy have certainly, adopted—that he was the precursor of modern liberalism. We say that Professor Villari appears to adopt this view, because, though we believe we have rightly interpreted his meaning, the sense of the following passage is studiously obscure. Savonarola

‘was the first in his age to urge humanity towards the goal that, even at this day, is still unattained, but towards which we are straining with redoubled effort. He endeavoured to conciliate reason with faith, religion with liberty. His work may be ranked with that of the Council of Constance, of Dante Alighieri, of Arnaldo of Brescia. He aspired to the reform of Christianity and Catholicism that has been the constant ideal of the greatest minds of Italy and of certain leaders of thought in other parts of the civilized world.’¹

This view seems to us to be based upon a misconception of Savonarola's character. Neither in what he planned nor in what he executed is he really a man of modern ideas. His ideal of government is explained in his *Trattati circa il reggimento e governo della città di Firenze*. Like that of Dante, it is the reproduction of that heavenly theocracy which is the archetype of earthly governments. His treatise is based upon Aristotle's *Politics*, on the *De Regimine Principum* of St. Thomas Aquinas, and probably on Dante's *De Monarchia*. It is no slight proof of Savonarola's independence of mind that, while he starts with Aristotle's principles and translates many of his sentences, he arrives at very different conclusions. In theory, the government of one man is best, because it approximates most closely to the heavenly type. But human perfection is not to be found. For Florence a tyranny is the most crying evil, and an oligarchy is scarcely more tolerable. A popular form of government is the best practicable rule. But though Savonarola was the founder of a republic, he was neither a democrat nor a demagogue. He dreaded the turbulence and the caprice of popular assemblies. Out of a population of eighty thousand souls only three thousand two hundred *benefiziati* were eligible for his Grand Council, and the members were never convened together, but were divided into

¹ Villari, ii. 421.

three bodies sitting alternately. As a further precaution against popular excess, the power of initiating laws lay in the Signory, and of discussion in the Eighty, while the *gonfaloniere* was to be elected for life. Thus the liberalism expressed in Savonarola's system of government was of a very modified character. Nor in what he planned can he be regarded either as the apostle of the revolutionary principle or of Italian unity. He was not an enemy of the temporal power of the Pope; he never regarded the Papacy as the accomplice of foreign oppressors or the principal obstacle to the union of an emancipated Italy. Nor was he a champion of the separation of Church and State.¹ No trace of the feeling can be found in his writings. The idea never crossed his mind of achieving the temporal unity of Italy by restricting the powers of Rome to spiritual concerns. He scarcely seems to have entertained the dream of Dante's universal empire, still less does he sanction the revolutionary projects of Arnold of Brescia. In other points there is little sign of modern ideas. He clings to the traditional and fatal policy of calling in the aid of foreign princes, and from the national standpoint his support of Charles VIII. might be stigmatized as unpatriotic. He never conceived the plan which could alone have given external strength to Florence—the confederation of the Tuscan cities. On the contrary, his attitude towards Pisa is that of the conqueror to the conquered: the rebel must at all hazards be crushed. As a moral reformer he endeavoured to reunite morality with religion, from which it had been divorced by the pernicious example of the priesthood. But he set his face against the infusion of new elements of religious vitality, and his ideal of reform is the revival of mediæval orthodoxy. He had no conception of the idea that the enlargement of the spheres of human thought and the treasures of the new-born antiquity might be adapted to the use of religion, and splendidly confirm the reign of Christianity. In the face of relaxed morality and religious torpor his reforms assume a tinge of monastic severity. He wished men to attend only to those things that make for salvation.

The true key to his character seems to us to lie in the fact that he was a man absorbed in one overmastering idea, pursuing its realization with undivided aims. First, above all things, and entirely, he was a religious and moral reformer. He founded his republic on the basis of the fear of God; his devotional works were composed to fit the Florentine to be

¹ This view is put forward by Madden, *The Life and Martyrdom of Savonarola*, &c., London, 1853.

the citizen of a theocracy. 'Instaurare omnia in Christo' was the motto of his thoughts, his actions, his whole existence. His inmost soul speaks in the inscription placed upon the Palazzo della Signoria, 'Jesus Christus populi Florentini creatus Rex.' It was to further this religious reformation that he prophesied, that he led his crusade against paganism, that he rebuked the immoralities of the Church and of society. It was with this object, and this alone, that he entered political life, and towards this one end all his political reforms were directed. On December 12, 1494, when, after the expulsion of the Medici, the republic of Florence was constituted by his efforts, he prefaced his sketch of the new government by these words:—

'O my people, ye know that I have never intended to meddle with affairs of State. Do ye not believe that I would not even now interfere if I were not forced to do so for the salvation of your souls? Our reformation must begin with the things that concern the spirit. These are superior to temporal matters—nay, they are their very rule and life.'

Those who, holding this key in their hands, do not attempt to read into a simple pious character, cast in the mediæval mould, the complexities of modern motives, will find that Savonarola ceases to be a riddle. It explains the influence which he exercised over his contemporaries, the attitude which he adopted towards the Renaissance, the resistance which he offered to the Papacy, the grounds on which he based his prophecies. And, finally, it contradicts the theory that he wrote, preached, prayed, and suffered for the triumph of principles which involved the destruction of much that he held most sacred. It is unnecessary to speak of him as a heretic, or a Vandal, or a charlatan, or a modern liberal. He was none of these. The spirit in which he lived was that of the following passage from his Sermons:—

'You, at least, my friends, who are the elect of God, you for whom I weep day and night, have pity upon me! Give me flowers, as the Canticle saith, *quia amore langueo*, because I faint for love of flowers, that is, of good works. I ask nothing else than that you should please God and save your souls alive. But what, O Lord, will be the reward hereafter of him who issues a victor from such a struggle as mine? Eye cannot see it, nor can the ear hear it told: it will be bliss everlasting. And the reward in this life? "The servant shall not be greater than the master," saith the Lord. "Thou knowest that I preached and was crucified: thy fate, too, is martyrdom." O Lord, I beseech Thee send me then this martyrdom! O Lord, grant that I may shortly die for Thee, as Thou hast died for me!'

ART. IX.—RECENT HYMNOLOGY.

Supplemental Hymns to 'Hymns Ancient and Modern.'
(London, 1888.)

CONSIDERABLE fault has been found with recent developments of ecclesiastical hymnology. We do not care to dwell on complaints against hymns which emphasize the Divinity of our Lord, or adopt the Scriptural language as to the efficacy of His death, or which incur the displeasure of two classes of critics on account of their alleged 'sacerdotalism.' Objections of this class proceed from peculiar theological standpoints, and to discuss them would carry us far away from the subject of hymns. But it is worth while to consider the validity and the scope of a charge which comes with much more weight from a thoroughly ecclesiastical quarter—to the effect that our hymnology has become far too subjective. Ancient hymns, it is truly said, were much more simply occupied with the contemplation of God Himself, His glory, His perfections, and His revealed action. Modern hymns dwell much more on human feelings, wants, aspirations. 'Look,' says Dr. Liddon, 'at a modern hymn: it is, as a rule, full of man . . . full of his religious self, if you will, but still of himself.'¹ A very different writer went so far in a Church periodical as to condemn, with a view to use in church, all hymns expressive of personal feeling such as did not correspond to the type of *heavenly* worship. This, we are persuaded, is mere rigorism; but let us confine ourselves to the more measured statement of the difficulty. We grant, then, that modern hymnody differs in this respect from ancient; and we not only grant, but would insist, that it is in many cases excessive in its subjectivity. But we cannot admit that the difference *as such* is condemnatory; and we think it only reasonable to bear in mind that our conditions, so to speak, are not altogether identical with those of primitive worshippers. To say, 'The ancient Latin hymns are austere, reserved, impersonal, unexuberant,' is not to prove that modern hymn-writers are bound to take this characteristic as a model. That momentous operation of Christianity on the Latin races which has been so exquisitely described by Dean Church in his lectures on *Some Influences of Christianity upon National*

¹ *Easter Sermons*, i. 200.

Character—the operation which opened for those races the great wellspring of the affections, as it had never been opened before—had not been fully accomplished in the age of St. Ambrose, nor even in that of ‘Gregory, our father, who sent us baptism.’ We modern Christians, especially we of the Teutonic blood, require a richer and larger hymnological utterance for the religious affections than contented the men of a different race at a very much earlier period; and to restrict us to their standard of devotional speech would be a case of putting new wine into old wine-skins. Moreover, English people in this age are inevitably more ‘self-conscious’ than our earlier predecessors in the faith. Doubts and anxieties, and misgivings and moods of depression, are part of our experience—we may say, of our allotted portion. They result from the atmosphere of our time, from the complicated conditions of our life. We want to be braced up, comforted, satisfied; and therefore it is natural for us to ‘pour out our hearts before God’ with a freer exuberance than was needed by a simpler generation. After all, hymnody must be real for those who use it; one of its purposes is to provide expression for the affections in question beyond what liturgical forms can supply; it must, therefore, be more fervid, more expansive, more ‘subjective’ than those forms. Tie it down rigidly to the recitation of, or the meditation upon, revealed facts, and you close up a vent which is meant to be open, and stifle a craving which has a right to be satisfied; and, so far, you chill what ought to be aglow. It is sometimes forgotten by the advocates of what we will venture to call ultra-objectivity that the Psalter, which has been through so many ages perpetually on the lips of the Church, makes its own provision (in Dr. Liddon’s words) ‘for the soul’s various moods of hope and fear, of penitence and exultation.’ It would be purely arbitrary to say, ‘You ought to be content with that provision.’ One might as well insist that Christians should be content with the Psalmist’s utterance of simple adoration or praise. The Psalter is confessedly insufficient for Christian purposes in the latter respect; it is not less insufficient in the former. We want hymnody in explicitly Christian language for both of these requirements. As for the contention that we ought to ‘forget self’ in our worship, it is flawed by transparent ambiguity. To ‘forget self’ may mean to banish from the area of worship all low or unworthy aims, all meanly narrow interests; but, as here used, it suggests what is impossible, the forcible suppression of wants and aspirations inseparable from our personality as seen in the

light of our relation to the Giver of all good. Not less unreasonable is the remark 'Worship in heaven is pure adoration;' for, not to say that the saints at rest are believed to plead, with personal yearnings of loving anxiety, for those whom they have left behind in this troublesome world, we who use hymns are sinners and pilgrims, and to affect to worship as if we were not would be a presumptuous self-deception, which ought to be impossible for those who daily recite the Psalms, or who daily offer up the Lord's Prayer.

But then, when this is granted, the necessary cautions and safeguards come in; the 'subjectivity' which must be recognized and allowed for in modern hymnody must be kept within due bounds. What sort of hymns, then, should be excluded from public use on account of an unregulated subjectivity?

First, we should say, any hymns which represent exceptional states of personal religious feeling, such as the ordinary worshipper, always supposing him to be earnest, devout, and fairly intelligent, cannot be reasonably expected to appreciate and to make his own. The wonderful verses ascribed to Francis Xavier, and exhibited in our last number, are clearly of this class; and, although some of our readers may be shocked, we feel bound to place 'Lead, kindly Light' beside them. No English composition is stamped with a more incommunicable individuality than the lines written in a Sicilian orange-boat, during a week of becalming, on the very eve of the Church revival; and if the matter were not so serious, there would be a grotesque incongruity in the notion of an English congregation appropriating those autobiographical hints about a previous 'love of the garish day' and still earlier musings on 'angel faces.'

But, further, we should reject those hymns which express even ordinary religious feeling in forms of unhealthy exaggeration or morbid sentimentalism, such as should be avoided in private as well as in public approaches to God. We repeat what was said in this Review five years ago, that every compiler of a hymnal would do well to keep before him the lines in the *Lyra Apostolica* (by the author of 'Lead, kindly Light') beginning, 'Prune thou thy words.'¹ The facile admission of verses which offend in this respect has done serious harm to the devotional habit by encouraging persons to think that a luxurious indulgence in the pleasure of religious emotion is safe for the soul, and amounts, in effect, to a 'religious exer-

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, xviii. 96.

cise,' or perhaps to 'evidence of' an 'exalted spiritual state.'¹ It is a kindred danger to that which a correspondent of the *Guardian* not long ago pointed out as attaching to very elaborate musical performances in churches: they 'encourage,' he said, 'the subjective tendencies of modern religionism,' which have to be 'strenuously counteracted' in view of the 'fashionable rationalist philosophy which declares that adoration of God consists in the production in the mind of certain devotional impressions and feelings.'² And again, these sentimental hymns are more than distasteful to the male mind, which is not seldom, we believe, repelled by their 'gush' or nauseated by their clamminess, and may even be tempted to think that hymnody thus characterized is 'only fit for women.' We know that the term 'sentimental' is difficult of definition, and that, to some peculiarly cold or reserved temperaments, any warmth of language in prayer or hymn will be as uncongenial as 'all impassioned religion, whether of fear or love,' was to Blanco White, who, as Dr. Mozley tells us, denounced the 'insinuation of the element of human feeling into the worship of the Deity' as *ψυχικόν* and unspiritual.³ But we are not thinking of exceptional natures, in which the English inexpressiveness on matters of feeling is abnormally and unhealthily developed. We are persuaded that, setting them aside, religious Englishmen do find in not a few popular hymns something very like a religious stumbling-block.

We need hardly add that any language which even appears to be wanting either in reverence or in humility, which is tainted by an aweless familiarity or a presumptuous over-confidence, ought to be as strictly excluded from a hymnal as from a manual of prayer.

Another defect of a less serious kind in our popular hymnology consists in a certain thinness or poverty of thought and a carelessness or meanness of diction. Some 'hymns,' so called, are to the last degree commonplace, devoid of significance, not to say of intensity; there is exceedingly little stuff in them; they suggest little or nothing; they in no sense enrich our store of religious ideas; they are merely strings of verses in sacred terminology, such as (to quote from our former article) anyone 'familiar with certain texts and fairly accustomed to deal with metre' might supply to order with much ease, 'stans pede in uno.' We name no names at this point, but we must say that some whose compositions appear in the first and second editions of *Hymns Ancient and*

¹ See the warning in Newman's *Parochial Sermons*, i. 118.

² *Guardian*, May 15, 1889.

³ Mozley, *Essays*, ii. 119.

Modern were versifiers as distinct from poets, and that, as the unmistakable 'odour' of poetry is absent from their 'cask,' so the loss is not compensated by any of that condensed force which genuine thought can form into rude lines.

It may be said that we ought not to be too exacting in regard to the artistic merit of hymns—that very homely verses will often touch souls too simple to be fastidious. But simplicity in a hymn, as in a prayer, is a different thing from poverty or feebleness either of thought or of language; and a hymnal ought to educate the religious sense of beauty, and certainly to present no violent contrast with that 'noblest service, every single word of which has been previously weighed with the most scrupulous and thoughtful reverence.'¹ Doggrel, or even prosiness or dullness, is out of place in an Anglican Church Hymnal.

On the occasion above referred to, we said that *Hymns Ancient and Modern* would be none the worse for some rather vigorous pruning. We called attention to some 'astonishingly careless rhymes,' one of which is apt to afflict us when Easter brings back 'The strife is o'er.' We noticed the strange infelicitousness with which well-known hymns had been altered, and the presence of 'some really prosaic matter'—of verses 'tame, puerile, or vapid.' We could have wished that the committee of compilers had seen their way to a revision of the book, with a view to the removal of such defects from a collection which has done excellent service to the cause.² This, apparently, has been found impracticable, and the result of their recent deliberations consists simply in the addition of one hundred and sixty-five hymns to the four hundred and seventy-three of the second edition.

Now we are glad to find that the compilers have taken the opportunity of inserting several hymns which ought to have long ago found a place in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Such are the following: 'Come, Holy Ghost, eternal God' (from the Ordinal), 'Children of the heavenly King,' 'There is a land of pure delight,' 'Love Divine, all loves excelling,' 'Glorious things of thee are spoken,' 'O for a heart to praise my God,' 'O Thou, before the world began,' and 'Victim Divine, Thy grace we claim' (two Eucharistic hymns of

¹ Thackeray.

² In speaking of Hymnals which have thus done service, we would take the opportunity of mentioning the beautiful collection made by Canon W. Cooke and the late Mr. Benjamin Webb, while at the same time we are disposed to think that its title of 'Hymnary'—unfamiliar to modern ears—and the ornateness and refinement which characterize its pages, may have somewhat impaired its fitness for popular use.

Wesley), 'With Christ we share a mystic grave,' 'O God of Jacob,' 'O Spirit of the living God,' 'Safe home, safe home in port,' 'The foe behind, the deep before,' 'Lord, it belongs not to my care,' and perhaps one or two others. There are some which we welcome gratefully as valuable additions to the store of English hymnology, such as Hymn 510, of which we quote three stanzas, representing a truly Athanasian theology :—

'Hail, Father, whose creating call
Unnumbered worlds attend ;
Who art in all and over all,
Thyself both Source and End ;
'In light unsearchable enthroned,
Whom angels dimly see,
The Fountain of the Godhead owned,
First-named among the Three.
'From Thee, through an eternal Now,
Springs Thy coequal Son ;
An everlasting Father Thou,
Ere time began to run.'

A new Eucharistic hymn, 'Lord, enthroned in heavenly splendour,' contains the following :—

'Though the lowliest form doth veil Thee,
As of old in Bethlehem,
Here as there Thine angels hail Thee,
Branch and Flower of Jesse's stem ;
Alleluia,
We in worship join with them.
'Paschal Lamb, Thine offering, finished
Once for all when Thou wast slain,
In its fulness undiminished
Shall for evermore remain,
Alleluia,
Cleansing souls from every stain.'

Another is an expansion of 'Ave verum Corpus : '—

'Hail, Body true, of Mary born, and in the manger laid,
That once, with thorn and scourging torn, wast on the Cross
displayed.
' . . . Still Thou art there amidst us, Lord, unchangeably the same,
When at Thy board with one accord Thy promises we claim ;
But lo ! the way Thou com'st to-day is one where bread and wine
Conceal the Presence they convey, both human and Divine. . .
'How mighty is the Blood that ran for sinful nature's needs;
It broke the ban, it rescued man : it lives, and speaks, and pleads,' &c.

Two Eucharistic stanzas represent the Invocation of the Holy Spirit on the Elements :—

‘O may His overshadowing
Make now for us this bread we bring
The Body of Thy Son our Lord,
This cup His Blood for sinners poured.’

But ‘bring’ suits the offertory rather than the consecration.

Another hymn for Communion of clergy or Church workers is remarkably terse and vigorous ; it compresses into a few verses the thoughts which naturally link themselves with a Eucharist celebrated under such circumstances for those who had ‘come apart to rest awhile’ :—

‘The courts of heaven were lost to view,
The world had come between ;
But here the veil is rent in two,
We see the things unseen,’ &c.

Schools and colleges are furnished with two hymns which were originally contributed to the Rugby Chapel Hymn-book by the Rev. H. J. Buckoll, a master at Rugby School under Dr. Arnold ; and theological colleges are enriched with Keble’s magnificent hymn, ‘Lord of life, Prophetic Spirit,’ composed for the students of Cuddesdon. The *Si quis valet numerare* is represented in some stately and inspiring stanzas beginning, ‘Who the multitudes can number.’ Cowper’s well-known lines, ‘There is a fountain filled with blood,’ are among the hymns provided for mission services ; but, after all allowance made for the peculiar conditions of such services, we should deprecate the utterance by those who attend them of the stanza beginning, ‘Dear dying Lamb.’ Next to this hymn come Faber’s exquisitely touching verses, beginning, ‘Souls of men, why will ye scatter ;’ and it is well indeed that Anglican worshippers should know the lines—

‘For the love of God is broader
Than the measure of man’s mind,
And the heart of the Eternal
Is most wonderfully kind.

‘Pining souls ! come nearer Jesus,
And, oh ! come not doubting thus,
But with faith that trusts more bravely
His huge tenderness for us.

‘If our love were but more simple,
We should take Him at His word,
And our lives would be all sunshine
In the sweetness of our Lord.’

This, again, is followed by the beautiful poem 'Weary of wandering from my God,' of which the concluding stanza begins—

'Ah, give me, Lord, the tender heart
That trembles at the approach of sin.'

The hymns for burial do not contain any such equivalent to the *Requiem æternam dona* as occurs in the third stanza of a Saturday evening hymn :—

'For Thy children gone before
We can trust Thee and adore ;
All their earthly week is past,
Sabbath-time is theirs at last ;
Fold them, Father, to Thy breast,
Give them everlasting rest.'

Neale's verses, beginning, 'They whose course on earth is o'er' (hymn 538), brings home with great force and simplicity the consolatory belief in the intercession of the Church expectant ; it might very appropriately be used at a funeral. Archbishop Benson's hymn for Rogation days is a fine composition, associating all the operations of nature with the heavenly reign of the glorified Christ.

But in contrast with such gems of hymnody there are compositions which cannot be said to commend themselves by any intrinsic merit, and we are left to conjecture the reason for their insertion. A Nativity hymn, a translation, beginning, 'Christians, sing out with exultation,' says nothing which is not much better said in those with which we are already familiar. It was not at all *wanted* ; and we should be disposed to say the same of 'Welcome, happy morning ! age to age shall say,' which is recommended for Easter, and still more of 'The Lord is risen indeed ; Now is His work performed,' &c. The hymn for Whitsuntide, 'Bounteous Spirit, ever shedding,' is inferior, we think, to Neale's or Worsley's renderings of the majestic Pentecostal utterances of Adam of St. Victor. 'Before Jehovah's awful throne' is well enough known, but rather grandiose than noble. The stanzas beginning 'The voice of God's creation found me,' with their adaptations of Job xxiii. 3, introduced by 'And I said' in each case, have a forcible conclusion, but are not appropriate for congregational use. A set of verses beginning, 'Sons of labour, dear to Jesus,' is prescribed for a 'working men's service' ; but it has little real merit, although it might take hold of minds which would be caught by the swing of the double rhymes and the accumulation of trite Scripture phrases. A hymn for temperance meetings (605) is quite clear of

fanatical rigorism, but is little better than a series of such phrases combined without a touch of real poetry. In the version of *Sponsa Christi* we encounter a false rhyme, 'sit' and 'feet'; and so we find 'crown' and 'own' in Hymn 583, 'spoke' and 'book' in Hymn 599. The 'Litany of the Seven Words' is poor and vapid. Even Mr. Stone's energetic hymn 'for Church defence,' beginning—

'Round the Sacred City gather
Egypt, Edom, Babylon,'

has one stanza marred by the introduction of an unpoetic word :

'God the Spirit dwells within thee,
His *Society* Divine ;
His the living word thou keepest,
His thy Apostolic line.
Ancient prayer and song liturgic,
Creeds that change not to the end,
As His gift we have received them,
As His charge we will defend.'

Another hymn, probably intended for similar use, is in point of composition mere jingle, set in that dancing anapæstic metre which it is so peculiarly difficult to adapt to a solemn purpose. A graver objection consists in the iteration of 'we will' and 'we will not,' insufficiently guarded by recognition of the necessity of grace. Thus—

'We will watch ready armed if the Tempter draw near,
If he come with a frown or a smile ;
We will heed not his threats, nor his flatteries hear,
Nor be taken by storm or by wile.
For the world's love we live not, its hate we defy,
And we will not be led by the throng ;
We'll be true to ourselves, to our Father on high,
And the bright world to which we belong.'

Few could hear this sung by a congregation, however strongly stirred into fervour, without being reminded of 'Though I should die with Thee, yet will I not deny Thee,' and of what followed.

Two or three more criticisms, and we have done. Is it necessary, or is it desirable, that worshippers should interpolate into a so-called hymn on the Church (No. 532) the following anathema ?

'Woe to the hands that dare,
By lust of power enticed,
To mingle with the doctrine there [*i.e.* in Scripture]
The frauds of Antichrist.'

Is this a sop to the 'Protestant' adversaries of *H. A. and M.*? For we presume that the Roman Church, or the Roman system, is struck at; and the presence of such lines in such a book is not less inopportune than that of the suffrage about tyranny and detestable enormities in the Litany under Edward VI. And in the translation of *Rebus creatis nil egens*—a translation less graceful than one in the old St. Andrew's hymnal—we could have wished that one stanza had not concluded with the assertion (not required by the original) that at the close of the present dispensation 'God the Father' shall 'reign alone.' The sense of the mysterious context, 1 Cor. xv. 24–28, does not receive full justice from so curt and unqualified a proposition, which might mislead untheological readers into supposing that the subjection of the Son would refer to His Godhead, and that His Kingship as Divine would after all 'have an end.' In a hymn for Festivals of Apostles the Holy Twelve are called 'Nazareans.' What idea will that convey? Possibly a confusion of Nazarene with Nazarite. And the prayer in the same hymn—

'Let dread of final judgment
To faith and love give way,'

is too absolutely worded in the face of such texts as 2 Cor. v. 10, 11.

We have said enough to indicate the character of this new supplement. It is certainly not so good but that it might have been better; and it would, for one thing, have been better if the committee had more resolutely and repeatedly put the question, 'Is this hymn really wanted? does it intrinsically claim acceptance?' In regard to some which have been admitted (for reasons which, of course, we know not) that question could hardly have received an affirmative reply. When the Hymnal of the future draws materials from the now completed *H. A. and M.*, the pieces thus accepted will, we are persuaded, be marked, in examiners' phrase, with *non satis*.

[ART. X.—LUCKOCK ON THE DIVINE LITURGY.]

The Divine Liturgy: being the Office for Holy Communion Historically, Doctrinally, and Devotionally set forth in Fifty Portions. By H. M. LUCKOCK, D.D. (London, 1889.)

THIS book is intended, as the Preface informs us, to be a help to the clergy in the instruction of communicants' classes, but also for public reading 'in place of written sermons,' according to a suggestion made by the late Bishop Woodford, who desired that this 'experiment should be tried in the first instance with Sacred History, but looked forward to its being followed up by the publication of expositions of a distinctly doctrinal character.' We may perhaps be old-fashioned, but we cannot consider this expedient likely to commend itself as a satisfactory fulfilment of the duty of a preacher. We quite agree, however, with the respected author of the volume before us (who will attract many readers by the dedication of his work *Edvardo Episcopo Lincolnensi*), that the vast increase of Celebrations in recent years may well fill us with wonder, but that it is matter of question 'whether the instruction of communicants in the principles of the service has quite kept pace with the multiplication of their communions.' In urging the desirableness of Communicants' Classes, he says well that

'Of course, the teaching of our Service books' (*i.e.* the commenting on the Prayer-Book) 'will always be subordinated to the teaching of the Word of God; but the true ideal of instruction for Churchmen is the blending of the two, according to the proportion of the faith; and the class that will often possess the greatest attraction for the young is one in which the Bible and the Prayer-book lie open together, and the teacher never wearies of explaining how Sacramental doctrine is Scriptural truth.' (Preface, p. xiii.)

Dr. Luckock's plan, however, involves him in some difficulties. His volume professes to be an exposition of the English Communion Office; but, by going through the various parts of that Office *seriatim*, he obliges himself to defer until a comparatively late period in his course of instruction the doctrinal considerations which in fact are of primary moment. Thus he repeatedly assumes, in earlier chapters, that conception of the Holy Eucharist which he vindicates theologically in the later. And, moreover, he does not strictly adhere to his

programme ; for he inserts a chapter on the Mixed Chalice, and another on the Sign of the Cross, subjects which are not brought forward by the text of the Office, and had better have been dealt with in notes at the end. There is also a certain want of sequence in the precedency given to the doctrine of the Sacrifice (p. 286 ff.) over the doctrine of the Presence (p. 310 ff.), whereas the former, in its highest aspect, is dependent on the latter. Of the Presence he says, after discussing various theories :—

‘After Consecration the elements are not a mere sign of the absent Body and Blood of Christ, but, whilst undergoing no change of substance, they have become, not in grace and efficacy alone, but verily and indeed, though spiritually—that is, in accordance with the laws of the spiritual world—the Present Body and Blood of Christ. The substance of the outward part is not fused with nor changed into the substance of the inward ; but, though remaining distinct, the two parts are, in a manner incomprehensible to finite minds, sacramentally united, so that what we receive is bread and wine, and is at the same time Christ’s Body and Blood’ (p. 314).

He means, we presume, that the life-principle, or, as we might say, the essence, as distinct from the material organism of the Saviour’s glorified ‘corporeity,’ is supernaturally united to, and imparted with, the elements. This has nothing to do with the mediæval theory about substance and accidents, on which, probably, Roman divines would not now care to insist, as it rests on an obsolete philosophy.

Again, in discussing the so-called ‘Black Rubric,’ he says that while “natural” was an unfortunate term to use, because . . . our Lord has no “natural” body in the sense affixed to the term “natural” by St. Paul, as opposed to the “spiritual” body of the resurrection,’ yet the Bishops of 1661–2 were endeavouring ‘to express, not very happily, by the word “natural” the difference of condition between the sacramental presence and the presence of our Lord’s Body before His death, *or* its presence now in heaven ;’ and he contends that the passage, as it now stands, ‘contains no censure of any such worship of . . . His Body, present under conditions peculiar to the Sacrament, mystically and invisibly, and after a wholly different manner from that in which His Body is present at God’s right hand’ (pp. 402–4).

In treating of various hypotheses which he rejects, Dr. Luckock appears to regard the Calvinistic theory as affirming that the elements were enabled ‘to communicate Christ’s Body and Blood to the worthy recipient’ (p. 311). We venture to doubt whether this does not go beyond the theory in ques-

tion. In words, no doubt, Calvinism would assert this real communication (*e.g.* in the Irish Articles of 1615); but its real meaning seems rather to have been that, contemporaneously with the act of devout reception on the part of the elect communicant, a special operation of the Holy Spirit united his soul to the Person of his Redeemer, and that this might be called a communion of Christ's Flesh and Blood, although they actually had no direct relation to the benefit thus conveyed. Dr. Luckock very opportunely remarks that Christ's influence on the hearts of the faithful 'is constantly being exercised, and it did not require the institution of a sacramental mystery to secure it' to them. He might have advantageously enlarged upon this point, for it will probably be found that nothing so assists the advance of a consistent mind from 'Virtualism' to the belief in the Real Presence as the consideration that the former view destroys, in effect, the *uniqueness* of the Eucharistic gift. He treats the case of unworthy communicants (pp. 188 ff., 317 ff.) by a distinction between 'eating of the Sacrament,' *i.e.* of both the outward and the inward parts, and 'eating spiritually, or beneficially,' or partaking of Christ in the sense of being 'brought into spiritual union with Him,' and by a reference to the different condition of those who, in the days of His flesh, touched Him simply, and those who so touched Him as to draw forth healing virtue. He means, evidently, that faith is necessary for the active reception and assimilation of the 'heavenly food.'¹ But we must observe that the passages to which he refers in St. Augustine apply the phrase '*res Sacramenti*,' not to an invisible objective gift, but to perseverance in the '*societas sanctorum*.'

After describing the sacrifice on the Cross as 'full, perfect, and sufficient,' and commenting on those terms, Canon Luckock refers to the symbolism of the Day of Atonement as illustrating the continuous presentation of that sacrifice; our ascended Lord's pleading of His death being the antitype of the sprinkling of the victim's blood on the altar, and being by its own nature continuous, in *this* sense the sacrifice of His death is continuous. 'As long as He is in heaven He is offering the memorial of His Passion, exhibiting His sacrificial wounds, and interceding in His high-priestly office by the merits of His blood' (p. 290). But to say that 'it is one sacrifice

¹ It has been suggested that health is necessary for the digestion of bodily food, and that a person out of health, who could derive no sustenance from what he ate, 'would be practically as if he had not eaten at all.'

for ever,' is inexact as a representation of Heb. x. 12, which really says that He 'offered in perpetuity one sacrifice for sins'—that is, offered it so that it should be available throughout all time, in contrast with those sacrifices which were repeated year after year. Dr. Luckock contends for the sense of 'celebrate *or* offer this,' as belonging to *τοῦτο ποιείτε* (p. 309); but it is obvious that the ideas represented by the two words are not precisely co-extensive, and that the former might be expressed by 'Perform this rite,' while the latter regards *τοῦτο* as 'this thing.' Referring to the prayer, 'O Lord and heavenly Father,' as now placed after the Communion, he 'accepts it as a prayer of oblation,' and gives to 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' the sense of a memorial of Christ's death, the counterpart of His own heavenly memorial, but does not, apparently, deny that, viewed in that light, the prayer has suffered a 'dislocation,' such as Bishop Overall took the freedom to redress by reciting it before the Communion. He points out that the ancient elevation of the consecrated elements was intended, not to exhibit them for worship, but as 'a symbolical uplifting of the earthly oblation in order to bring it sacrificially before God on the heavenly altar,' as a Christian form of the Jewish 'heaving and waving' (p. 308); even as the *Jube hæc perferri*, in the fourth prayer of the Roman Canon, asks that the elements may be 'carried to the altar on high.'¹

Dr. Luckock quotes the Invocation in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, and adds that in all the liturgies of the East 'the prayer for an operation of the Holy Spirit on the elements was combined with a prayer for a beneficial reception,' while, at the same time, these Liturgies 'testify distinctly to the objective presence of Christ' (p. 292). (This is clear enough from the Liturgy of St. James, although it has not the clause, 'changing them by Thy Holy Spirit.') He goes on to say that the Roman form, 'ut *nobis* Corpus et Sanguis fiat,' is 'consistent with the theory of a presence which is only subjective,' though 'it does not exclude the doctrine of the objective presence, for this was universally taught in the Roman Church at this time. It is by no means improbable that the direct language of the East' (*i.e.* 'make this bread the Body,' &c.) 'was purposely avoided, lest it should seem to traverse the

¹ We have seen it suggested by a thoughtful liturgical scholar that the idea of the elevation of redeemed and worshipping man into the heavenly places is parallel, so to speak, to the idea of a Divine *illapse* on man and his worship; and that this Western prayer represents the former, as the Eastern Invocation represents the latter.

Roman belief that the Sacramental change was wrought by the recitation of the Words of the Institution' (p. 295).

Here we may observe that the *nobis* of the ancient Roman Canon is often much misunderstood. It has, we are persuaded, no merely 'relative' import; it means, 'for our benefit,' as in the words of a 'Leonine' collect, which, by the way, of itself testifies that the early Roman Church acknowledged the agency of the Holy Spirit in the consecration; 'Mitte, Domine, quæsumus, Spiritum Sanctum, qui et hæc munera præsentia nostra tuum *nobis* efficiat sacramentum, et ad hoc percipiendum nostra corda purificet.'¹

The absence of the Invocation proper from the Roman Canon was never, Dr. Luckock well remarks, objected to, as an essential defect,

'during the first six or eight centuries. We may rest fully assured, then, that there is no essential feature wanting in the consecration by the English Office. We may have a full conviction that the agency of the Holy Spirit is instrumental in producing the Sacramental change, and yet not deem the omission to express this conviction in the office fatal to its validity.' Yet 'we need not hesitate to point out how much would be gained by restoring the ancient recognition of the work of the Holy Ghost in the highest Service of the Church. On the one hand, it would bring our Office into closer accord with the Offices of the earliest Churches; . . . on the other hand, it would help to remove a reproach that is often brought upon us in perfect good faith by religious Nonconformists. Believing, as they do, the Holy Spirit to be the One quickening power in the spiritual life, they not unnaturally feel difficulty in realizing the fact that the Church is apparently contented to ignore His influence in her highest act of worship. We may sympathize with their objection. . . . The true motto of the Church, alike in public worship and private devotion, must always be "It is the Spirit that quickeneth"; and if ever she has power to revise her Service-books, untrammelled by the control of a Parliament not necessarily Christian, there can be little doubt that the use of the Invocation will be one of the first restorations' (p. 299).

It must be needless to express our entire and cordial concurrence in these observations; a recovery of this most venerable rite would materially strengthen and vivify the convictions which Churchmen entertain as to the operation of the Holy Spirit in the 'Sacramental system' of the Kingdom of Grace. Dr. Luckock in the next 'instruction' takes

¹ Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i. 372. Bishop Dowden truly observes that the Eastern petition for beneficial results, following immediately on the petition for a Divine operation on the elements, is 'the Greek equivalent for the *nobis* of the Roman Canon.'—*Annotated Scottish Comm. Office*, &c., p. 214.

up the subject of the rehearsal of the Institution, as at least an element in the consecration of the Eucharist. We might have wished that he had noticed the difficulty caused by the omission of it in Cyril of Jerusalem's account of the service; but he very appositely cites the Russian Catechism in proof that the present Eastern Church acknowledges it to be of primary, though not of sole, necessity for consecration. At Florence, he says, 'the representatives of the East accepted the Roman view, and explained the necessity of the Invocation to prepare the communicants' (p. 298). Advocates of a 'purely relative' presence (a notion to which, indeed, it is illusory to apply the term 'presence' at all) have sometimes, we believe, cited Bickell as interpreting the Eastern Invocation in a merely subjective sense; but they forget that Bickell, as a Roman Catholic, was strongly tempted to do so.

We have dwelt so long on Dr. Luckock's treatment of these very important points that we must be the briefer in noticing minor matters. We cannot agree with him in approximating, at any rate, to Dr. Neale's imaginative view of St. Paul's quotation in 1 Cor. ii. 9 as referring to a primeval Liturgy (p. 5); and when, a few pages later, he tells us that 'when St. Augustine landed in England he found the Gallican Liturgy in use' (p. 7), we cannot but remember that he found no British Church at all existing in Kent, but only a foreign Gallican worship maintained in one church for Ethelbert's Frankish queen. It seems to us that Dr. Luckock pronounces somewhat too positively as to an Apostolic transference of the Eucharist to an earlier hour (p. 14); in Acts xx. 11 ff. it is surely clear that the breaking of the bread would have taken place in the evening, but for the length of St. Paul's preparatory discourse; it is not actually in evidence that he gave any 'decision' as to such a question, and St. Augustine's assertion that fasting communion was prescribed by the Holy Spirit through the Apostles is merely his inference from the great antiquity of its observance. The 'sacramentum' in Pliny's letter ought not to be rendered a 'sacrament' in our sense of the word; it means a sacred pledge, and it is only a very just inference from the context that he is referring to what was, in fact, an early celebration. In urging the desirableness of fasting communion (pp. 15-18), Dr. Luckock perhaps applies the word 'infirmity' with a certain largeness, when providing for the case of the many who, having no early celebration within reach, are unable to go through a Sunday matins and a subsequent celebration without some

food.¹ He might be understood to recommend that all celebrations should be early (p. 21), but we do not suppose him to intend anything so unpractical. When he says that “no priest” (*sacerdos*) “no Church,” was the judgment of the reformers every bit as much as of St. Jerome, we fear he is outrunning his evidence if he is speaking of ‘the reformers’ in general. In regard to the position of the celebrant, it is not quite accurate to say that the Bishops at the final revision left untouched the direction about the north side (p. 62); in point of fact, they altered it into ‘north part,’ and the old reading was restored under pressure, as a concession to the Puritans, after the book had ‘passed,’ as Mr. Parker says, ‘from the hands of Convocation.’² The same was the case as to the position of the Table.

In regard to titles of the service, ‘Liturgy,’ as used in the East, can never be current among us, and ‘Eucharist,’ which Dr. Luckock prefers, has nearly as little chance of becoming popular. There is really no ‘obscurity’ about the ‘origin’ of ‘Mass’; it is the service as connected with the dismissal of catechumens.³

We agree with Dr. Luckock in wishing that the Communion Office began less abruptly: ‘The Lord be with you’ and the *Kyrie* might well come in there; but to find irreverence in the insertion of the Lord’s Prayer at this point, because of old the first part of the Liturgy was open to the unbaptized (p. 69), does seem to us rather hypercritical. In the same chapter the removal of the *Gloria in Excelsis* to the Postcommunion is called ‘unfortunate’; in a subsequent passage we read, ‘Though it would have been better to leave it in its old place, the alteration admits of vindication’ (p. 371). Certainly Western precedent is against it; Eastern precedent is out of the question, for Eastern Liturgies do not contain this glorious hymn in its entirety. Dr. Luckock might here have quoted on his side the author of *The Principles of Divine Service*, who calls the transposition ‘most infelicitous,’ and ‘a clear

¹ Since the volume appeared, Dr. Luckock has shown his candour and carefulness by substituting a reference to the recognition of exceptions to the rule of fasting Communion, in the thirteenth session of the Council of Constance, for the statement that St. Hugh of Lincoln ‘compelled certain persons who ministered at the altar to take a modicum of support before communicating’—it being clear from the original passage in the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* that the case was that of clerics who scrupled even to serve him at Mass otherwise than fasting (p. 140, Rolls Series).

² *Introduction to Revisions of Book of Common Prayer*, p. 455.

³ In connexion with a well-known passage of St. Ambrose, in which he says, ‘missam facere coepi,’ for ‘banners’ (p. 25) should be substituted ‘curtains,’ the token of an imperial claim.

departure from the ancient method,' which connected the hymn with the Introit. But Mr. Freeman also admits that, even as we use it, 'it cannot but serve an excellent purpose,' and that 'none can fail to be alive to the fitness and beauty with which' it closes 'our great action of Eucharist and pleading, of festal joy and sacrifice' (ii. 320, 470); and it is yet further contended by the learned commentator on the Communion Office in the *Annotated Prayer Book*, that 'there is so striking an appropriateness in the present position of the hymn as an act of Eucharistic adoration, that there is reason to rejoice at the alteration rather than to regret it'; and that, coming when it does, it exactly meets and satisfies the aspirations of those who have just received their Lord; while, prefixed to the Collect for the day, it would come before they could so fully enjoy it.

We demur to Dr. Luckock's absolute adoption of the rule that at the altar all prayers should be addressed to the Father, according to a famous canon of Carthage (p. 93). It was not the rule of the East, nor of Gaul, nor of Spain;¹ it has its meaning and value in regard to the actual prayers of consecration and oblation, but to press it beyond these would be to mutilate the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and to infer from it that a Collect addressed to Christ (in the so-called Ante-communion) is at best a pardonable anomaly, does seem to us a piece of sadly jejune formalism. For our part, we rejoice in the possession of three Collects thus worded; we do not at all agree with Dr. Luckock that one of them (for St. Stephen's Day) is 'somewhat ambiguous.' We regret that the Collect for the Fourth Sunday in Advent, with its 'Come among us,' and that for the Sunday after Ascension, with its 'King of Glory,' cannot be classed with the three referred to.

Instead of saying that the recension of the Nicene Creed, so familiar to us, was '*recited* at the Council of Constantinople' (p. 124), we should say that there is considerable reason for thinking that it received the sanction of that synod. And it was not the Semi-Arians, but the Acacian or Homœan Arians, who swayed Constantius and triumphed at Ariminum in 359. As to 'Oblations,' we agree that it cannot be limited to the elements, although 'these were primarily in the thoughts of the revisers' (p. 167). It has been suggested that Cosin, by inserting the word, meant to remind people of the ancient practice of a congregational offering or contribution of the bread and wine; and, as these are provided by the parish,

¹ See Liddon, *Bamp. Lect.* p. 397.

they may be regarded as thus invariably referred to under the word 'Oblations,' although it would include any contributions for religious objects which do not come under the head of 'alms.'

We agree with Dr. Luckock on the principle of a 'penitential' introduction to 'the Divine Mysteries' (p. 173); but we presume that he would hardly insist on carrying it out by making the Litany a necessary prelude to every Communion. Such a prelude is, in fact, secured by the Decalogue with its reiterated entreaties for 'mercy'; and although the appeals in the Litany to the virtue of the Incarnation are in full accord with the idea of the Holy Eucharist, and although, moreover, as containing a prolonged supplication to Christ, it is of the highest devotional value, yet its great length, as compared with the old Eucharistic Litanies and the old preparatory confessions, is surely a point to be considered, and to say that it is out of place on a Sunday afternoon or evening is, we think, to go too far.

Dr. Luckock has some good remarks in reply to the objection that the absolving power granted to the Apostles was an extraordinary *charisma*, involving miraculous knowledge of the interior mind of the penitent.

'Such a view,' he truly says, 'manifests an entire misconception of the object for which miraculous powers were conferred on the first generation of the Ministry. They were to be the credentials of the Apostles' Divine mission before an unbelieving world. . . . They could be appealed to . . . as giving ocular demonstration of the existence of the powers which were claimed. All this was possible in healing the sick, raising the dead to life, and casting out evil spirits . . . but it was quite impossible in the absolution of the penitent. No one could verify the Apostles' claims in this matter. . . . Yet further, we are quite at a loss to find out any object which could have been answered by confining the gift to the Apostolic age: no temporary purpose to be served has ever been conjectured' (p. 231).

He might have added that it is a mere vulgar error to interpret 'discerning of spirits' as equivalent to 'reading of hearts.'¹

We are quite at one with him in his interpretation of the words 'The priest standing at the north side of the Table,' and 'before the Table.' A rubric of 1552 might refer to a Table set lengthwise, when the north side would mean the long part parallel with the northern wall: but a Table set altar-wise again would, properly speaking, have no north side,

¹ See Bishop Ellicott on 1 Cor. xii. 10; and compare 1 John iv. 1.

but only a north end ; its only accessible side would be the west. And whether the Table were set lengthwise or altarwise, to stand 'before it' could not naturally mean to stand at one of its ends ; while it would be mere surplusage to insert such a direction, if it only referred to the act of arranging the bread and wine. As to breaking the bread before the people, Dr. Luckock thinks (after Bishop Wilberforce¹) that the point intended was the publicity and solemnity of the Fraction, as excluding the carelessness which had allowed it to be performed 'by a subordinate official in the vestry before the service' (p. 282).

On the subject of non-communicating attendance, Dr. Luckock indicates a decided view. He urges that there is no warrant for any person's departure from the church before the conclusion of the Liturgy proper. 'It is a mere arbitrary practice, arising out of individual caprice, and wholly unauthorised' (p. 201). This language, we confess, appears to us so stringent as to be unfair. For surely, as a rule, persons who do leave the church when they are not intending to communicate are not actuated by 'caprice,' but by a belief that the actual Communion Service supposes an intention of communicating in all who take part in it. Nor can it be denied that the short address is for those only who have this intention, and that it is taken for granted in the prayer of access, and in one sentence, at least, of 'O Lord and Heavenly Father.' At the same time, we hold that persons in the habit of communicating, and especially those who have communicated at an earlier celebration, and also those who are being prepared to become communicants, may in various ways profit by 'attendance,' provided always that they regard themselves as for the time on a lower level than the actual communicants, on the principle indicated by the direction of 1549 that they should 'depart out of the quire.' They cannot fully join in the Eucharistic sacrifice. Dr. Luckock thinks they can join in it as the antitype of the burnt-offering and the sin-offering. But the self-dedication which represents the idea of the former appears in closest connexion with the 'partaking of the Holy Communion'; and the relation of the Eucharist to the expiation of sin is, at any rate, most clearly exhibited in and realized by the reception of that Body and Blood which were given and shed for the remission of sins. It can be only in a modified sense that one who is only attending can make the oblation his own.

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 298.

In the next edition, which may reasonably be expected to be shortly within prospect—for the book will be felt, by many of the younger clergy, to supply a real want—two or three small oversights might be corrected. For ‘treacherous (Jews)’ at p. 86 we should read ‘unbelieving.’ We find ‘the Council of Trullo’ more than once. The highest class of penitents were those who *stood*, not sat (p. 198) with the faithful. Bishop Forbes, the co-editor with Bishop Falconar of the present form of the Scottish Communion Office, was never ‘Primus’ of the Church in Scotland (p. 368). He was Bishop of Ross and Caithness from 1762 to 1775. It was Falconar who was Primus from 1761 to 1784. In p. 90 Dr. Luckock inclines to, and in p. 279 he positively adopts, the notion that the words ‘all kneeling’ in the rubric in the morning office as to Collects do not include the priest officiating. This appears to us to be a mere evasion of the grammatical force of the passage. The supposed parallelism in the rubric as to administration of the elements is obviously unreal; and we own to a conviction that great mischief is done by attempting to explain away the clear meaning of a rubric, in order to justify a practice which foreign standards of ‘ritual correctness’ recommend. If the priest, in the daily office, is not to kneel down for the Collects, why give any direction like ‘all kneeling’? The people have been kneeling ever since ‘Let us pray.’ If ‘all kneeling’ excludes the priest at the Collects, why does it not exclude him at the *Kyrie* and the Lord’s Prayer? and if it does exclude him there, the rubric before the versicles is stultified.

The book, in our opinion, might not unprofitably be condensed. It contains a certain amount of matter which, for the purposes announced in the title-page, is irrelevant. These suggestions are offered with sincere respect, and with a view to increasing the practical utility of the treatise.

ART. XI.—HUTTON'S ESSAYS.

1. *Theological Essays.* By RICHARD HOLT HUTTON, M.A. Third Edition, revised. (London, 1888.)
2. *Literary Essays.* By RICHARD HOLT HUTTON, M.A. Third Edition, revised. (London, 1888.)
3. *Essays on Some of the Modern Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith.* By RICHARD HOLT HUTTON, M.A. (London, 1887.)

THE 'able editor' stands in Carlyle's diction for the embodiment of the spirit of the time. Certainly there can be no class of men whose interest requires more careful study of the wants of the age, or whose vocation gives them more opportunities for the process, than the successful conductors of important journals. But it is not often that we know much of the private thoughts of such men. Their journals are themselves, and we can get no further. They think in print. Nothing that cannot be dished up in a palatable form for a careless public is matter for their concern. And what they write is not meant to be a possession for ever, but to perish in the using. But there are exceptions to this description, and one of them is before us.

Mr. Hutton is one of the most successful pressmen of the time. There is no journal which has made for itself a higher position, or one more solidly founded, than that which he conducts. It is therefore with a peculiar interest that we regard these Essays, which lead us into his more private thoughts, more largely and more deeply expounded than they can be in his daily journalism. The views of life and its mysteries which have been formed by one to whom so many look as an expositor of the questions of the day have a great attraction for us; and especially when we know that at a time when so many literary personages regard the abandonment of orthodoxy as a part of their professional equipment, this capable man of letters has been led to adopt it in exchange for a different faith, to which early education had bound him.

The preface to the new edition reviews the progress of opinion since the Essays were first collected, eighteen years ago. And certainly no one can accuse the author of underestimating the unsettlement of belief when he says that in that period 'the ablest and sincerest of English thinkers'

have perhaps rather increased their distance from his position than diminished it. 'No man, however firm his personal convictions, can be or ought to be entirely unmoved by signs which appear to indicate that the most thorough and earnest thought of the time is drifting in a direction opposite to his own.' In estimating the general condition of religious faith we confess that the ablest and sincerest thinkers mean for us only those who think most ably and sincerely about religion. We care not much if their thoughts upon other questions be able and sincere unless they give us evidence that they have really applied their powers, matured and exercised in other spheres, to the religious problem. And if it seems to us that their successful devotion to other pursuits has served to render them insensible to the importance of religion, and incapable of considering it in its true aspect, we shall venture to doubt whether their deliverances upon the subject belong either to their own ablest and sincerest thought or to the ablest and sincerest thought of their time. A deep and sincere thinker upon medical questions may be an extremely superficial adviser upon law, and a man whose opinion we should be ready to trust upon a question of science may be quite worthless as a guide in religion. The great Darwin allowed it in his own case. And though Professor Huxley is far indeed from recognizing any defect in his own capacity as a spiritual teacher, we believe that readers of his recent articles will only wonder how even as a man of science he could be so perfectly insensible as he appears to the peculiar and characteristic claims both of morality and religion.

Therefore we hold that Mr. Hutton more justly gauges the worth of the sweeping negations which are prevalent when he says :—

'The more I study and appreciate, or appear to myself to appreciate, the scope and significance of these negative tendencies, the more they seem to me to bear the character of those violent exaggerations of one-sided principles which are apt to catch the imagination in such times as ours, when ecclesiastical authority is pushing its claims to the very uttermost on one side, and on the other side science, by its new and rapid strides, is assuring itself on very untenable grounds that there is no presumptuousness in claiming the whole realm of certainties for its own, and in relegating religion to that region of the arbitrary emotions which has no sure relation with positive fact' (p. viii).

Mr. Hutton proceeds to point out the weak points of the extreme positions and the probability that man's moral reason will rest in an intermediate standing ground. And first for the craving after Infallibility. Although he views the sacer-

dotal principle as on the whole mischievous, yet he can well allow that the intellectual dependence which the Roman Church invites may afford to the spiritual affections that 'guarantee of serenity' which leaves them free to work. But his point is that divine doctrine cannot be infallibly conveyed by correctness of formulæ, could that be ever so completely assured. Doctrines are but 'the secondary result of reflecting on the glimpses God has given us of Himself.' And that is no true message from God which comes to men uninvested with the moral and spiritual accompaniments which appeal not to his intellect alone but to his whole moral nature. The teaching of the Saviour was given, not in formal lessons of the mind alone, but in a life of purity and goodness. Men saw the Father in Him, not alone by the correctness of His instructions, but by the divine righteousness of His life. And how then can His revelation be completely represented by a scheme in which truth and holiness are separated and the divinely appointed organs of the one may have no share whatever in the other. 'An infallible Church needs moral infallibility.' And this is no mere speculation; for it was the divorce between doctrine and righteousness which was the true source of the revolt against Rome at the Reformation; seeing her divested of the one divine gift, men could not believe her possessed of the other which is so closely allied. Nor does the claim of Rome appear most plausible when she is the most proudly regardless of her deficiencies. Manifest failures and obvious weakness have ever made her the better guide; she shows worst where she has everything her own way, and best when she has to struggle with criticism and opposition. This is true, and the fact is not consistent with the claim of Rome to represent the absent Lord. The more absolute a man's faith in Him, the more complete a man's self-surrender to Him, the better was His teaching conveyed and the more powerfully it roused the spiritual faculties. But where submission to Rome is nominally absolute it becomes too often apathetic, and its moral results are disappointing. That can hardly be the universal teacher which requires the presence of dissentients to enable her to teach at her best.

From Rome Mr. Hutton passes to the Anglicans, and we read his criticism on our own position with the utmost desire to profit by it. He believes that we, like our Roman brethren, have received a severe and awakening shock from the propagation of the decree of Papal Infallibility and the extreme difficulty in which its adherents have ever since found themselves to make thinking persons believe or even understand

what the decree means. He may be right. That unfortunate decree has no doubt vividly presented to all men the difficulty of bringing the authority of the universal Church practically to bear upon the controversies of the time, and the improbability that Christendom will ever be so united that the Church will speak to us all with a voice which we all shall recognize. The Anglican appeal to Church authority upon questions of faith has therefore, Mr. Hutton supposes, little practical power of realizing its principles in action, and comes but to this—that

‘if you have once established the divine origin of a faith, you must not measure its meaning and contents by your own mind, but must watch its whole effect and work in the world, and treat it morally and spiritually to some extent as you treat, intellectually, the secrets of nature—that is, as something far above you to which you must conform yourself so far as you can enter into it, and not something which you can define, analyse, and exhaust’ (p. xx).

We are not ill content with this description of our spiritual tendencies, nor do we deny the connexion which Mr. Hutton proceeds to establish between this desire of our faith to attain the largest applications of Christianity to human nature, and our wish to embody this idea of a great system, independent of our choice, in the laws of life and worship to which we yield obedience. The kingdom of this world into which we are born testifies its grandeur and antiquity in institutions and habits with which the lowest of its subjects come in daily contact. And a spiritual kingdom as old (in one form or other) as humanity itself will naturally claim our obedience in sacramental rites, in forms of prayer, in music, and in dress, which commend themselves rather by antiquity and wide use than by novelty of fashion or adaptation to the choice of the passing time. But we venture a humble protest when Mr. Hutton imputes to ‘the High Church party’ that they prefer petty mystery to large mystery, and insist more on punctual ritual than on the growth of the religious affections,

‘or, to express as much as possible by a single sentence, that they are thus far untrue to their own conception of Christianity as an infinite power shed abroad in the world, whose genius and life deserve humble and reverent study and treatment, that they bury its spirit under an arid mount of dreary minutiae, exhaust faith on a multitude of what are at best pious conjectures, and fritter away the great river of living waters by dividing it into a delta of a hundred mouths, where it loses itself in the sand’ (p. xxi).

Faithful are the wounds of a friend, and we shall by no means deny that there may be those among us who deserve this re-

proof, or that all of us would do well to guard against the dangers of ceremonialism which it so vividly describes. But surely when Mr. Hutton has allowed the grandeur and truth of the great idea upon which 'the High Church party' builds, he ought not to visit with such unsparing condemnation the only attempts which are made among us to embody the idea in practice. We should really hope that the High Church party as a body is not liable to the accusation of insisting more on punctual ritual than on the growth of the religious affections. Surely our devotional literature, whatever be its defects, displays a certain value for these affections. If Mr. Hutton will remember the immense importance of forms as the symbols and instruments of corporate worship, and how very little is done by any other party except the High Church to exhibit their value, he will be more merciful to our attempts, imperfect though they be. It is better to run the risk of occasional ceremonialism in an individual, or even in a congregation, than to hold the idea of Catholicity without making any attempt to embody it in Church worship and Church life.

The school which next passes under Mr. Hutton's review is one which exemplifies in the most extravagant degree the absurdity of holding a theory and yet refusing to embody it in a practical form. Rationalism, Mr. Hutton remarks, is full of belief in the destinies of the world. 'The consciousness of the whole,' says M. Renan, 'appears up to the present time to be very obscure, and does not seem to exceed much that of the oyster or the polyp, but it exists; the world goes on to its end with a sure instinct.' But whoever attempts to regard this instinct as proving a divine source from which it springs, whoever asserts that it is founded upon any providential facts is, according to the rationalists, little better than a fool. M. Renan makes one of his interlocutors declare that 'reason, which has hitherto had no part at all in the progress of things, which has come about quite blindly, will one day take the great work in hand, and after organizing humanity will organize God.'

We experience a real emotion of thankfulness to a writer who expresses the spirit of rationalism with such terse exactness. It is a universal organizer, everywhere and on every subject. Therefore rationalism requires to have floating before it the belief that something is true in the subject of which it treats, and that it is of use to know what this something is. For if there were nothing true or nothing ascertainable, or if it did not make the least matter whether we found it out or not, rationalism would have cut the ground

from under its own feet. For why should it rationalize in the air. On the other hand, the truth for which rationalism seeks must not be of the nature of definite truth. For when once we have reached a definite truth, our freedom of rationalizing is at an end ; we must submit, we have found our master. The oyster and polyp view of the prospects of man is therefore just what suits rationalism. That gives something to rationalize about, yet not so definite a something as to impose any intellectual fetters. And just so it is with Christianity. What can justify all the trouble which the rationalists spend upon Christianity except the supposition that there is something in it—something which may be known and which it concerns us to know? And they universally allow that there is something in it. Yet, after all, if this something cannot be stated in a comprehensible and practical form, capable of ruling consciences and guiding lives, then, whatever their success in the negative part of their task, they have failed in the positive. They have not organized Christianity. And a peasant may instruct them that it is better for men to retain the most imperfect ideas of God and of religion than to set about organizing these great conceptions, and conclude by failing to persuade even themselves that there is a God or a religion to organize.

The first of Mr. Hutton's Essays is upon the Moral Significance of Atheism. We entirely go with it in its leading thought: that there is an atheistic way of shuddering at atheism. Human unbelief does not, as some weak believers seem to imagine, cause God to become non-existent for those who deny His existence. They cannot by the mere act of repudiating Him abolish the testimonies to His Being and His Work which they bear in the constitution of their nature ; nor yet divest themselves of the inheritance which they carry in their souls from many generations of believing ancestors, or of the irresistible influences of a believing society round about them. But the more firmly we believe in God as a real existence, the more are we struck by that which Mr. Hutton justly calls the startling fact : that denial of Him should be possible to His children. Why does God allow this possibility? Because, replies Mr. Hutton, faith fosters the growth of our moral nature and sight would arrest it. He goes so far as to hold that there may be conditions of individual and social life in which the absence of faith might alleviate instead of aggravating the danger of moral evil. And we are with him so far as to believe that where the virtue of a man or of a society depends upon religious professions which

have become wholly unreal, it were better that these pretences should be cast aside and recourse had to the arguments and supports of morality which atheism can furnish ; miserably inferior to the moral power of true religion, yet better than that which hypocrisy can boast. And where a man or a community have fostered the moral characteristics which are proper to atheism—namely, self-confidence and materialism—it may be God's just chastisement and the truest means of amendment that the pit of atheism should open beneath their feet, and they should see in its proper horror the conclusions into which they are allowing themselves to be carried.

But the rationale of all this is that it is not sight nor is it even intellect alone that constitutes our organ of belief, but also conscience and feeling. And the deeper and more spiritual any belief is, the more does it require of us the exertion of our whole inward nature, and refuse to be bound down to the conclusions of one part of it alone.

This is true even in human relations. It requires sight alone to tell me that my friend has a human form ; but that knowledge stops far short of the knowledge I have of my friend. My friend in his real self is hidden from sight and even from mind, and is reached only by the power of sympathies, feelings, and experiences which sum themselves up in the one word, faith. There is no way of knowing him but this way, and if he were more easily knowable, he would in the same proportion become a different man, and less worth knowing to me. Yet this same need of sympathy in order to know one another draws with it the consequence that, to those whose sympathies are dormant and unexercised, their neighbours in their truest being have no existence. Nor is it merely the case that men's best and most real qualities are wholly hidden from some of their fellow-men. Even those who know them vary in the amount of their recognition, according to the variations of their own humours. In our own best moments our friend is all that is good. Our faith is all alive and he never fails to answer its call. But let some dark suspicion spring up, let some whisperer have come between us, and all is changed. The friend that I knew vanishes from my belief for the time, and is as though he were not. But do all his influences vanish from my nature with his image ? On the contrary, it may be these which, though detached for the time from their proper source in consciousness, are the most powerful deterrents from wrong-doing which I possess. And some day I may come to my senses, and perceive that in separating myself from my friend and telling myself that I

did not believe in him I was not only making a mistake as to fact, but also a mistake as to the true reading of my own nature, which was framed to believe in him, although I checked its impulses.

We are wonderfully liable to misinterpret our own beliefs to ourselves. Every variation of feeling and inclination carries with it for the time some corresponding difference of belief. In the moment of anger we do not believe concerning one another the same that we believe in moments of affection. These variations of belief escape our notice when they are but the reflection of passing emotions. But when they are linked to deeper and more permanent feelings they are themselves deep and lasting intellectual changes; so closely mingled is the creed which we hold about our neighbour with the state of our affections towards him. And as these affections are greatly the result of moral tendency, and a good man is loved by the good and not by the evil, we consider the faith or disbelief which results to be itself fit subject of praise or blame. We think it morally culpable that a man should have been in close contact with some exemplary person, yet never have really known him or thought of him as he is. But we do not consider the moral blame which such a condition requires to be wholly attributable to the person in whom the disbelief is manifested. Ill advices from slanderers or idle talkers may lighten the blame for him by transferring some of it to them. We may even consider him wholly absolved, the victim of untoward circumstances and unworthy companions who have blinded his mental vision to a friendship which would have been a source of moral health to him, and for want of which he remains upon a moral level far below that of which he was capable.

And all this meets its parallel in the connexion of man's religious creed with his character, his circumstances, and the influences by which he is surrounded. We do not venture to apportion the blame which an atheistic creed deserves between the individual who possesses it and the circumstances and persons that have guided him so wrongly. We may even regard him with praise for the honesty with which he has ventured to call the condition of belief in which he found himself living by the right name; we may far prefer him to those who have lived without God in the world, yet never dared to say 'this is atheism.' The connexion between false belief, perverted affections, and wrong conduct is constant. But we need not assert that the whole sequence is acted out within an individual life or that it is necessarily a man's own

sins that make him blind. As in the history of families or of nations, the generation upon which ruin falls may be often less guilty than those which have caused it ; so the spiritual losses of human souls may be due to the sins of others rather than their own. We dare not judge them.

But, though intellectual mistakes about God are neither infallible indications of personal sin nor yet absolutely and immediately destructive of those spiritual and moral results which are the result of religion, yet they have, like similar mistakes concerning men, a tendency to destroy the religious character ; and if they were to prevail in a society upon a very large scale and for a very long time, they would doubtless in the end eradicate all the benefits which religion has conferred upon the conscience and the affections. What would they substitute ? Mr. Hutton states the question, 'What is the atheistic type of character ? What is the type of character which a fully realized disbelief in the existence and influence over us of any spiritual nature higher than our own tends to produce ?' (p. 9).

Atheism, he replies, in proportion as it is fully realized, cannot but tend to weaken, and even shatter, the authority of conscience, to sow despondency both as to personal and human progress, to cast the personal affections in a much narrower and more selfish type, and to dispel all the highest fascination and grandeur of the conception of Truth (p. 21). Each of these gloomy items of loss is traced by Mr. Hutton with deep sympathy, and such extreme care to avoid exaggeration that we doubt whether he expresses the absolute and radical change in the moral standpoint which the prevalence of atheism would make. The existence of God is a proof alike to the highest human virtue and lowest human vice of the reality of a goodness which the one may aim at and the other fear. It supplies a moral motive to all. And where is the universal moral motive if this one were lost ? There is none ; and, as Mr. Mallock has well shown, it is but a cowardly agnosticism which denies the fact.

Our diminishing space warns us to pass over the essay, interesting as it is, upon 'Atheistic Explanations of Religion.' That which follows is upon 'Science and Theism.' Its conclusion is familiar to us now : that the Darwinian explanation of the laws of organic progress makes for the theistic argument and not against it. 'The evidence that the world is weeded of its lower organic types by the success of the higher is no explanation of the growth of life out of that which is not living, and is no explanation of the growth of love out of that which

is not loving' (p. 55). In which conclusion Mr. Hutton is entirely at one with the distinguished man of science who divides with Mr. Darwin himself the honour of discovering the law of the origin of species. The special faculties of man, says Mr. Wallace in his recent book, 'clearly point to the existence in him of something which he has not derived from his animal progenitors'; and there are, he maintains, 'at least three stages in the development of the organic world when some new cause or power must necessarily have come into action.' The first stage is

'the change from inorganic to organic when the earliest vegetable cell, or the living protoplasm out of which it arose, first appeared.' 'The next stage is still more marvellous, still more completely beyond all possibility of explanation by matter, its laws and forces. It is the introduction of sensation or consciousness.' 'The third stage is the existence in man of a number of his most characteristic and noblest faculties, those which raise him furthest above the brutes and open up possibilities of almost indefinite advancement. These faculties could not possibly have been developed by means of the same laws which have determined the progressive development of the organic world in general, and also of man's physical organism.'¹

'Popular Pantheism' is an article upon a forgotten work: nor is the form of thought which it treats very prevalent among the beliefs of to-day. But the succeeding essay, entitled 'What is Revelation?' displays to us the beginnings of the great debate of agnosticism, which is still proceeding. Mr. Hutton in this able treatise plays the part of junior counsel, with Mr. Maurice as his leader, against Dean Mansel. And we are bound to say that, if Mansel really meant to assert so absolute an impossibility of direct communication between God and man as is here imputed to him, we should be wholly against him. But the subject is one upon which by its very nature it is easy to talk at cross purposes. We are told in the Bible that it is life eternal for man to know God; and we argue therefore that God cannot be unknown or unknowable. But we are told again that no man hath seen God at any time; and we ask therefore, How then can God be known? The experience of Christians in all ages has reconciled the apparent contradiction. They have recognized that it is impossible for the finite mind to comprehend the infinite, for the creature to understand the Creator. They have confessed it impossible to say or to think anything concerning God which is adequate or complete. And yet they have felt that God

¹ *Darwinism*, by Alfred Russel Wallace, 1889, pp. 474-5.

was closer to them and in more constant and effectual communication with them than any other being or thing can be. The knowledge of God was the high privilege of their reason, their affections, and their conscience, while the failure was of the constructive intellect, which could not mould into a system the sum of what was felt and experienced concerning God : and even fails after the same fashion in theorizing about earthly objects of love and faith.

Mr. Hutton quotes Mansel's statement that 'a presentative revelation implies faculties in man that can receive the presentation : and such faculties will also furnish the conditions of constructing a philosophical theory of the object presented.' And we agree in the criticism which he makes:—

'With the first part of this sentence every one must agree ; if God can be present, as I believe, to the human mind, there must be faculties in us which enable us to discern that presence. But the latter assertion, that such faculties will also enable us to construct "a philosophical theory of the object presented," seems to me a most amazing and gratuitous assertion. A philosophical theory is possible when we stand above our object, not when we stand beneath it. The learner has faculties by which to learn, but if what he studies is inexhaustible, he will never have a "philosophical theory" of it' (p. 88).

But it must be remarked that Mansel does not assert, as Mr. Hutton makes him assert, that our faculties of receiving the presentation will 'enable us to construct' a philosophical theory of their object, but only that they will furnish the conditions of constructing one, by which he may have meant only that the conditions under which the presentation reaches us must limit the construction of our theory. It is impossible to read the defences in which Mansel replied to Mr. Maurice and Professor Goldwin Smith without perceiving that part at all events of the difference between them is due to the different points of view which the parties respectively take, and that the possibility of those various points of view is inherent in the nature of the subject. They persistently assail him as denying the possibility of a direct knowledge of God, and he as persistently replies that he only declares it impossible to make a theory about God. And he adduces proof that he does not deny spiritual connexion between God and us ; for instance :—

'We are compelled by the consciousness of moral obligation to assume the existence of a moral Deity, and to regard the absolute standard of right and wrong as constituted by the nature of that Deity . . . the moral nature of man, as subject to a law of obligation, reflects and represents in some degree the moral nature of a Deity

by whom that obligation is imposed' (Lect. iv., quoted in first letter of Professor Goldwin Smith, p. 4).

But the controversy between these eminent men is not a pleasant subject of retrospect, so hot was the language upon both sides. For ourselves we should be content to maintain, on the one hand, that the knowledge we have of God is real knowledge, and, on the other hand, that we can never know either Him or ourselves as He knows Himself and us.

The sixth essay treats of Christian Evidence. It opens with a statement of the inability of the popular mind to weigh evidence; hundreds of people, says Mr. Hutton, firmly believe that the verdict in the Tichborne case was wholly mistaken. And how, then, can such persons judge of the evidence of facts like those of the Christian revelation, which carry us back into a remote age and into a country far removed from ours—into a social condition and mental habits the spiritual results of which scholars can with difficulty gauge, while the people make no attempt at imagining them? And yet Mr. Hutton holds that he who should attempt to diminish the force of this difficulty by alleging that the evidence of spiritual things is spiritual is a mere juggler. If any one could prove the charge that we believe the resurrection of the Lord on evidence on which we should not accept a fact not affecting our spiritual hopes at all, he would have made out his case that our Christian faith rests on no secure ground.

Mr. Hutton then proceeds briefly to sum up the state of the external evidence without concealing or exaggerating anything. It is a most able and suggestive statement. First we have the patent undoubted fact that the resurrection was believed, in the years immediately succeeding its alleged occurrence, by large numbers of persons who supposed themselves to have ocular evidence of it—and believed, 'as only those things are believed, on their faith in which people recast their whole lives.' The written records, indeed, differ in respect of the particular circumstances and accompaniments of the resurrection. But, though these differences compel us to admit that the

'condition of the merely external evidence is not of the kind which any one would wish for the purpose of establishing by direct testimony a very marvellous and unprecedented event, yet every candid person will admit that it is just the sort of evidence we might expect if there had been no attempt to take records at the time—a good number of accounts (narrated by different persons) of different appearances in different places, a certain amount of local prepossession

in favour of Galilee as the appropriate place for Christ's renewed intercourse with His disciples, and a complete conviction that Christ after His resurrection had been seen so often and by so many persons that there was no real dispute about the matter' (p. 155).

To corroborate this evidence from the general conviction of the early Christians we have the record of the doubt and disbelief with which the resurrection was at first received by the disciples, and the complete moral change which passed over them in the few days or hours during which their belief in the great fact was established. And these spiritual results of the belief have none of the characteristics which mark those variations of mind which come from excitement and from fancy ; it continues and grows stronger with time, and is made the foundation of great social changes, of a total new birth in large multitudes of men, and of important institutions which abide to bear witness even at this very day.

To this is to be added the fact which the Gospel records prove beyond question—that the resurrection and the events which led to it were prophesied beforehand. And of all the prophecies which the Lord uttered, the most wonderful, the most confident, was that which was conveyed in the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, and still exists to testify to us of the knowledge which the Lord possessed of His death, and of His life in His Church for ever. All this, and the authority with which He gave the predictions, the Divine prescience with which He foresaw that with twelve very ignorant and faithless men He would effect the establishment of a Church that should grow like a grain of mustard-seed, and draw into it of every kind, belongs to the class of popular evidence which can be felt by the multitude.

And there is no doubt that this is true. The multitude, though they be poor judges of technical evidence and very liable to be led astray by passion, yet have an instinctive power of grasping that sort of evidence which depends on personal character, and seldom give their trust without reason.

Yet, when we have finished Mr. Hutton's estimate of the evidence, and admired its force and its thoughtfulness, we ask ourselves whether he has indeed replied to the question with which he began. Are these the circumstances which enable the multitude at large to convince themselves of the truths of Christianity and forbid us to despise their conviction? We doubt it. We think that in any attempt to answer the question how God intended to open the minds of the vulgar to a reasonable faith in the truth of the Gospel,

great weight must be given to two species of evidence which Mr. Hutton here omits, though we are sure he must recognize their importance: first, the evidence of spiritual adaptation to the wants of the soul, and, secondly, the testimony of the Church. Upon the first we must say that we doubt if it be right to deny absolutely that the evidence of spiritual things is spiritual. And we rather suspect that if so sweeping a sentence had come from Dean Mansel, Mr. Hutton would have found himself easily able to prove how inconsistent it was with the accounts in the New Testament of the conversions which followed upon the preaching of the Apostles.

Let us take an instance: the conversion of Damaris and Dionysius the Areopagite on the occasion of St. Paul's sermon at Athens. Was their belief justifiable on rational grounds?

These persons were in an intellectual position not essentially differing from our own. They were surrounded by a society as sceptical of the supernatural as ours; there was no question here of habits of mind in which religious imagination overbears worldly experience. They received their information from one who had but seen the risen Lord in a vision, and it does not appear that cross-examination on their part could have drawn out from St. Paul any very important corroboration of his testimony which a careful consideration of his history may not supply to us.

The 'evidences of Christianity' on which Dionysius and Damaris acted may perhaps be enumerated as follows. First, there was the impressive spectacle of a man like St. Paul, absolutely sure of the truth of what he was preaching, and displaying in his confidence and moral strength the greatest contrast with the wordy, ineffective systems about which the philosophers disputed. Next, there was the simplicity and completeness with which the religion of St. Paul filled up all the wants to which the heathen religions bore testimony and solved its guesses about the Divine nature and the connexion between the Divine nature and the human. These people had known by lifelong experience what it was to feel after God; they knew that man must have a religion, and that their own would not do. They did not, then, cleave to Paul without sufficient evidence. They had considerable external evidence in the testimony of the Apostle. But the chief evidence was internal and of that practical kind which can hardly be formulated, and which so often in life impels us to very venturesome decisions to our great and lasting benefit. A movement of the moral nature and of the will goes in such

cases along with the acceptance of the evidence. Nor can that movement of the will be traced to any earthly source. 'Whose heart the Lord opened' is the account which is given of another conversion not different in its circumstances from these.

Compare the presentation of Christianity to the multitude of simple people to-day with the case we have been considering. Instead of St. Paul as the preacher, we have the Church of the present. Instead of the self-devotion and moral power which impressed his testimony, we have the long tradition of the Church's holiness and its visible connexion with the best virtue of the time. Instead of the vividness with which he bore his witness as one who had seen the Lord Jesus Christ, we have access to the New Testament and its record of the universal and consistent testimony of the Apostolic Church. Instead of the long experience of a heathen religion, which served but to keep alive the sense of religious needs, but never satisfied them, we have the immemorial inheritance of the Christian faith, than which no better religion can be produced, nor has any feeling or suspicion ever spread that it does not satisfy every religious want that man can feel. Perhaps the balance of advantages and disadvantages in respect of evidence is not ill-distributed between the ancients and the moderns; and all the evidence that we have enumerated is perfectly accessible to the vulgar. But neither among ancients or moderns, among educated or vulgar, will evidence produce its effect without the spiritual impulse of practical decision arising from the attractions of Christ for the soul whose condition is healthy and natural. Of course this spiritual attraction is not sufficient to prove alleged facts and events of history. But it so mingles itself with the evidence of the facts that one scarcely knows how to give it its proper weight without putting some qualification upon Mr. Hutton's round condemnation of the principle that the evidence of spiritual things is spiritual, as a juggle. We find, therefore, that his essay upon Christian evidences is most valuable and suggestive to reflective minds; but we can hardly think that it gives us a complete account of the relations of Christianity to popular belief.

We next come upon a treatise on the 'Historical Problems of the Fourth Gospel.' It contains much thoughtful criticism, but we shall pass it over in order to bring the succeeding article into connexion with that upon which we have just enlarged.

This eighth essay seems to us the best in the volume, and

has a peculiar interest from its personal character. It treats of 'The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence,' and recounts for us the reasoning by which the author was enabled to accept the great central truth of the Catholic faith. If the essay upon Christian evidences should appear to treat the acceptance of Christianity as too purely dependent upon historical proof, this one restores the balance. For without ever wandering into sentiment or losing hold of the historic basis of the faith, the author places his great theme in its true spiritual position in respect to the needs of humanity and the nature of religion. He begins by urging that we err greatly when we make our beginning in religion with man and man's experiences. Its true commencement is with God, and man must regard himself as accepting and welcoming, and that in the most imperfect way, what his mind is capable of receiving of the revelation of God. The child does not reach the thought of its parent from the thought of itself, but feels itself encompassed by the parent's wisdom and love, and is conscious that it knows and feels but a little in comparison to what is known and felt for it.

The principle which Mr. Hutton here lays down is equally true and important. It is so far from being a recondite or speculative distinction that there is not a thought of man's life which is not affected by the question, whether he regards himself as an independent centre of power and knowledge or as an imperfect receiver of the infinite store which is found in the author of his being. And we cannot help observing, by the way, how entirely the principle which Mr. Hutton so admirably states falls in with the system which 'the people called High Churchmen' (if we may parody Wesley's designation of the Methodists) give themselves to advocate. St. John lays it down: of His fulness have all we received. St. Paul regards it as the basis of the Church's existence: she is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. To regard the Church as the depository of God's self-revelation to men is, upon the one hand, to repudiate the attempt to construct for the Church an independent earthly system complete in itself, as Rome has been too eager to do; upon the other hand, it is to regard the Church as holding a parental relation to her children, who receive from her according to their capacity that which she receives from God. And as she is but a learner from Him, and has but imperfectly realized what He has to impart, much more must each individual in her body regard himself as an imperfect partaker of the Divine light and life. The Church's doctrine of the Sacraments and of her

own authority alike exemplify the principle. Carried out into practical use, it is the very condemnation of Protestant self-sufficiency, which is to itself a centre and a source, and measures the grace of ordinances by what it can understand.

This great principle will of necessity have an important bearing upon the sense which the word evidence bears to us. We must not regard ourselves as jurymen to try the case of a supposed revelation from God. The claim of revelation is that it is a great reality, which encompasses us like the atmosphere. We may indeed subject it to experiment, and state, in a form which can be conveyed by argument, proof enough of its existence to convince ourselves or others. But this formal argument is far from comprehending the whole relation of the great fact to our nature, or the whole claim which it makes upon our acceptance.

'When we say,' writes Mr. Hutton, 'that all belief ought to be upon evidence, we only mean, or ought only to mean, that there should be *real* powers and influences and reasons constraining our belief and worthy to constrain it. We do not, or ought not to mean that all which legitimately affects our own convictions can be so translated into language as to have at secondhand the same influence over others which it had at first hand over ourselves. This is less and less true in proportion as the object of belief is raised above us. Probably the widest and highest part of the influences which oblige men to trust in a Personal God has never been expressed in human speech at all, though many not inadequate efforts have been made to indicate the directions whence these influences come' (p. 246).

When once it is understood that an inquiry into the evidence of the Incarnation is to be conducted on principles like these, believers in the doctrine will have good hope of the result. They know that for themselves there is the strictest parallel between the reasons for believing in God and the reasons for believing in the Incarnation; the same mixture of spiritual attraction with formal proof; the same combination of a multitude of details into one great harmony; the same power to explain facts of life otherwise inexplicable, and give meaning and hopefulness to faculties and tendencies otherwise futile. But nothing can be more edifying than to watch the operations of the influences which, to use his own words, 'compelled' a thinker of Mr. Hutton's calibre 'to accept the Incarnation as the central truth of the Christian revelation after having rejected it, first through the force of education and subsequently from conviction, during many years of anxious thought and study.'

To begin with, Mr. Hutton states the great difficulty which

everyone must feel in accepting the truth of the Incarnation. It is a difficulty which we suppose may have presented itself more vividly to those brought up as Unitarians, yet Churchmen cannot be ignorant of it—that whatever its spiritual value may be, the doctrine depends upon historical facts which must be proved with at least the rigour that any ordinary fact requires. Has it never, for instance, struck the reader in some desponding moment that the truth of the doctrine of the Incarnation depends upon the truth of the miraculous birth of our Lord, and that for the latter fact the Gospels were used by the compilers of the Creed with a presumption of their absolute historical exactness which, as we now know, cannot justly be made? Mr. Hutton chooses a formidable opponent indeed to put the objection when he quotes the words of Dr. Martineau:—

‘For knowledge of the Divine events, taken one by one, we are not less dependent on human attestation than for the biography of an emperor or an apostle, and it is vain to treat them as if they were deducibles of the primary spiritual truth, and were to stand or fall with it’ (p. 248).

Certainly, replies Mr. Hutton, we could not believe the Incarnation if it were not embodied in sufficiently attested historical events. But when we ask what is sufficient attestation, we at once remember that, while all asserted events stand upon the same ground in requiring external evidence, some of them are accepted upon a far smaller amount of external evidence than others. Anyone is a fool who spends largely because he has determined in his own mind that his loving and provident grandfather has made a will and left him a legacy. But that man is also a fool who starves himself though informed on reasonable grounds that a relation of whose affection and foresight he is well assured has provided for him, declining to believe the fact or act on it until he has the proof of it that he would require if the legacy were asserted to come from a stranger or an enemy. The wish is father to the thought; yet, if we have to do with powers which consult or originate our wishes, the wish, if a wise one, will probably anticipate the event. What account, then, shall we take in weighing religious evidence of the well-proved, widespread, and deeply-felt wants to which the religious history of mankind bears witness? You should take account of them, replies Strauss, but always against the supposed facts which seem fitted to fulfil them, because the very fitness of these facts to answer human wants and wishes supplies a

reason why they should have been invented or imagined. They are too good to be true. And other writers, without going so far as this, maintain that we should at least carefully shut out from consideration all assistance which wishes and wants may supply to the evidence, and sternly weigh the case under the dry light of legal requirements.

Mr. Hutton's reply to these proposed rules of evidence is that, though in one sense the evidence to a fact is best when it comes from one who is absolutely without any opinions on the use or tendency of it, yet there are advantages attending the knowledge of the meaning of what we observe which outweigh the possibility of prejudice which such a knowledge involves. The remark is true, and may be illustrated from medical diagnosis. In spite of all a physician's attempts to avoid prejudgment, it happens not seldom that his observation of the phenomena of a case is influenced by his anticipations of what is to be expected from the supposed disease. And ignorant persons who have no anticipations may be, so far, better observers. But the physician's knowledge what to observe and his quickness to remark points which escape the uneducated are universally held to outweigh this disadvantage. We know that, though he has the temptation to form a theory and wrest facts to meet it, yet it is a principle of his training that facts must be real and certain, in order to give value to the theory built on them. Conscientiousness in observation is a moral duty of his profession, and his responsibility as a guardian of human life is constantly before his mind. In the same way religious anticipations on the part of those who recorded the history of revelation, and on our part who judge their testimony, do indeed involve the possibility of imagining or of accepting on imperfect proof, facts which seem to correspond to these desires. But the disadvantage is quite counterbalanced by the power of observing spiritual facts which comes with religion and is wholly wanting in the materialist, and by the desire to be thoroughly truthful, which, however it may be absent in superficial religion, is a first requisite of any real godliness. And the correspondence of a series of facts with spiritual wants which are not of a vulgar or obvious kind may be so very consistent and wonderful, and they may be related with such simple truthfulness, that the notion of invention may pass as utterly away as in a case where a physician should relate in simple truthful style a series of phenomena as numerous and minute, and which support his view in hundreds of ways which he never could have guessed beforehand.

To satisfy me, says Mr. Hutton, of the truth of the Incar-

nation two distinct and coincident forces must be exerted on my mind. First, there must be the proved historical fact that a Christ existed, and claimed to be in some unique sense the Son of God and Lord of men, and then 'I must be satisfied as matter of the deepest inward conviction that those hopes and wants and prophetic forecasts which stirred the nations of antiquity before Christ came, and which have stirred still more deeply the nations of the modern world since the cross was set up on Mount Calvary, are not only adequately satisfied, but purified and strengthened by Christ's Incarnation, and are not adequately satisfied without it' (p. 255). We hold that this demand is neither strained nor unreal, but indicates a truly philosophical view of the religious history of mankind as developed under the guiding hand of God.

The latter of his two demands Mr. Hutton treats first. And he tells us that he long thought that there was no such spiritual importance nor such helpfulness to the soul of man in the Incarnation above what might be had in a view of Christianity which excludes it as might warrant us in weighting religion with so tremendous a mystery; and also that there was in the theory of the union of the Godhead and manhood in one person an absolute metaphysical contradiction which it is impossible to accept. But now he has learnt that the social nature of God in Himself and His essential love is taught by the Catholic doctrine as it never can be by the Unitarian. 'If Christ is the eternal Son of God, God is in deed and in essence a Father; the social nature, the spring of love, is of the very essence of the eternal being: the communication of His life, the reciprocation of His affection, dates from beyond time' (p. 257). He has learnt also how indispensable to human morality is the belief in a Divine source of goodness who unites us with Himself and helps us in our access to the Father; Himself along with us looking up to Him as Father.

'What we want is some universal fountain of Divine life within us, which shall yet not blind us in any way to the truth that we ourselves are not by our own right children of God, but only become so through one who is. We need a reconciliation of the fact of the unhealthy egoism of our own individualities, with the equally certain fact of a Divine Light struggling with that egoism and claiming us as true children of God' (p. 263).

The metaphysical difficulty which Mr. Hutton once thought formidable seems to him now no difficulty at all.

'When we note how little the powers which we ourselves possess, and which seem to belong to us, are identified with our personality—

how by a stroke of paralysis, for example, a man of genius appears to be stripped of all his richest qualities of mind, and reduced to a poor solitary *ego* . . . it seems to me to be simply the most presumptuous of all presumptuous assumptions to deny that the Son of God might have really entered into a finite being, a Jew of Jewish thoughts and prepossessions, liable to all the intellectual errors which distinguished the world in which He lived' (p. 269).

Whether this sentence bears minute examination; whether, theology apart, the Lord was as matter of fact liable to all the intellectual errors of His time, we shall not stop to inquire. There can be no doubt that Mr. Hutton is right in maintaining that the Incarnation is no more inconceivable than the wondrous constitution of our own nature.

Returning upon the first of his two requirements, Mr. Hutton inquires into the historical testimony to the Incarnation, in which he assigns the first place to the Lord's own claim of 'a spiritual and eternal sonship, which was the true and universal ground of all men's filial relations to God' (p. 271). He had long held, with the best Unitarian critics, that such a claim was undeniably made by the Lord; what he has now learnt is, to admit that the claim is true.

In the concluding portion of his essay Mr. Hutton shows that historical evidence bears in respect to the Incarnation the very same proportion to the inward testimony of the soul which it does in respect to the being of a God. Without historical facts to bear us out we could not trust our inward nature; but with them we can. And many arguments which are directed against the truth of the Incarnation are as easily applicable in disproof of the existence of God. Thus, Dr. Martineau declares the supposed fact that a seeming man was truly God to be absolutely incapable of proof by human testimony. 'Witnesses few or many are useless here; they can tell us only what they have seen and heard; and this is a thing neither visible nor audible, and traceable by no characteristic and exclusive signs. Unless, therefore, those who affirm it can make good a claim to know what humanly is unknowable, the doctrine must be left to its place among the developments of religious faith'—*i.e.*, remarks Mr. Hutton, of religious fancy. This reasoning, as he proceeds to note, is capable of precise application to the knowledge of God. The very word unknowable which occurs in it is, he might have reminded us, the very watchword of agnosticism; and Dr. Martineau makes short work of agnosticism. To be sure, no phenomenon of nature, and no fact in the recorded history of the Lord's life, is capable in itself of leading us within the veil.

But in the one case as in the other the earthly fact is capable of being made the vehicle of revelation by a Being willing to make it, and to beings capable of receiving it.

‘And now, to come to an end,’ proceeds Mr. Hutton, ‘let me ask myself, and answer the question as truly as I can, Whether this great, this stupendous fact of the Incarnation is honestly *believable* by any ordinary man of modern times who has not been educated into it, who has no leaning to the “orthodox” creed as such, but has very generally preferred to associate with heretics, who is quite alive to the force of the scientific and literary scepticisms of his day, who has no antiquarian tastes, no predilection for the venerable past, who does not regard this truth as part of a great system, dogmatic or ecclesiastical, but merely for itself—who is, in a word, simply anxious to take hold, if so he may, of any hand stretched forth to help him through the excitements and the languor, the joy, the sorrow, the storm and sunshine of this unintelligible life? From my heart I answer, Yes—believable and more than believable in any mood in which we can rise above ourselves to that supernatural spirit which orders the “unruly wills and affections of sinful men”—more than believable, I say, because it so vivifies and supplements that fundamental faith in God as to realize what were otherwise abstract, and, without dissolving the mystery, to clothe eternal love with breathing life’ (p. 289).

With this sacred passage, which we could not resist transcribing, we must conclude our detailed account of these admirable Essays. There still remain some noteworthy reviews in the theological volume which our space does not permit us to notice : one of ‘Renan’s Life of Christ,’ in which a good deal of wholesome nourishment is extracted out of that unhealthy compound ; one of the same author’s ‘St. Paul,’ in which that volume is shown to be immeasurably inferior to its predecessor ; one of ‘The Hard Church,’ in which the Whatelyan school of dry logic and contemptuous self-assurance receives severe castigation ; and one of ‘Romanism, Protestantism, and Anglicanism,’ into which the latter name had better not have been introduced, so extraordinarily inadequate and unjust is the account which is given of it.

It is to us a matter of genuine wonder that the Anglican position should meet with so little appreciation from this large-minded and sympathetic critic. Perhaps the reason is that the habits and the history of Mr. Hutton’s life have led him to assume the attitude of a critic—albeit a kindly and earnest one—in too exclusive a degree. We are critics ourselves in our small way, and we feel the dangers of the employment. We know that what makes a Churchman is not criticism alone, but temper and habit, character and life. The mingled

freedom and submission of the Anglican position expose it to the attacks alike of those whose thinking is unrestrained by reverence, and of those whose self-surrender is, or tries to be, forgetful of the necessary burden of human independence. But it is well fitted in these days of doubt and strife to meet the wants of those who seek, not merely a good critical position or a deliverance from responsibility, but a spiritual home. In a true home mutual submission prevails side by side with independence; and, whatever theorists may say, we find these excellent and truly Catholic possessions in the Church of our fathers. We can be very thankful for such teaching as Mr. Hutton gives us, without professing to find in him all that makes religion a help to life, or failing to perceive that his attitude of mind involves great dangers of error.

We cannot touch the volume of literary judgments, full of excellent criticism though it be; nor yet that in which the author gives us his estimate of some modern guides of thought in matters of religion: Carlyle, Newman, Matthew Arnold, George Eliot, and Maurice. We hope that we have given specimens of Mr. Hutton's qualities of mind enough to assure the reader that all his criticisms will be full of thoughtful and kindly appreciation. The expectation will not be disappointed.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Catholic Answer to Mr. Gore's Book (The Roman Catholic Claims): What are the Catholic Claims? By the Rev. AUSTIN RICHARDSON. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. Luke Rivington. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1889.)

THIS small volume, if not displaying any profound acquaintance with theology (being obviously compiled from stock text-books of the seminaries), displays at any rate some shrewd knowledge of one rooted tendency in human nature—intellectual laziness. It is framed on the calculation that nine out of ten people who read it will not take the trouble to verify the references and look out the original authorities for the historical assertions, but will accept the allegations as matters of fact, and therewith the arguments based upon them.

Mr. Richardson may very possibly be ignorant of the misrepresentations and misstatements which abound in it, and, as there is no evidence whatever of original research, may have been misled by trusting to books recommended to him by a superior authority. But a verifica-

tion of the original sources will lead any acute reader at once not merely to complete rejection of this particular book, but to a more unfavourable estimate of the Roman Catholic claims than he was likely to have previously entertained. Truth is the one quality inseparable from a Divine revelation, and the only possible ground on which men can be reasonably asked to accept the Roman Catholic system is, that the system is true, and indeed the only perfectly true religious code in existence. But when the evidence tendered in its favour is an ignoring or a distortion of historical facts, and when its credentials are found to swarm with assertions that are not true, nothing but revulsion is possible to any who retain their respect for truth. The laws of space do not permit us to expose all the errors of Mr. Richardson's book in detail ; but we will direct attention to a few points, of which three are emphasized by Mr. Rivington in the concluding paragraphs of the Introduction, as amongst those where the original documents supply the amplest refutation of his statements.

Mr. Rivington asserts that 'it is not an established fact that Liberius signed anything heretical.' Mr. Rivington seems either to be utterly ignorant that the fact of the fall of Liberius has never been called in question till a comparatively recent date ; or to reckon the assertions of modern writers, namely, the Jesuit Stilling (*Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. t. vi., on 'Liberius'), Franz Anton Zaccaria (*Dissert. de Commentitio Liberii lapsu*), and Professor Palma (*Praelect. Hist. Eccles.* t. i. p. 11, Romæ, 1837), of more weight than the evidence of contemporaries and other writers who lived nearer to the times. That Liberius signed a confession that was heretical is proved by his own words in his letters to the Orientals : 'I do not defend Athanasius ; I have been convinced that he was justly condemned'—words which are in exact compliance with the demands made on him by the Emperor through the eunuch Eusebius, and recorded by St. Athanasius (*An Epistle to the Monks*, c. v. 2, p. 249, Oxford, 1843), 'to subscribe against Athanasius, and to hold communion with the Arians.' We refer Mr. Richardson and Mr. Rivington to the Arian Philostorgius (Ep. iv. 3), Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 15), St. Jerome (*Chron.* A.D. 357), and St. Hilary (*Ex Opere Historico*, Fragment. iv. v. vi.), whose works are easily accessible, reminding them that this 'Historical Fragment of Hilary' is accepted as genuine by all Roman Catholic historians excepting Hefele and the Jesuit Stilling. The testimony of antiquity proves indisputably, to use Cardinal Newman's expression, 'this miserable apostasy.' And if these be not sufficient authorities, we refer them to the old Roman Breviary in use before the Pian revision (Venetiis, 1523), 'In Festo Sancti Eusebii Confessoris,' on which day one of the Lections records : 'Eusebius presbyter Romanus claruit tempore Constantii Augusti et *Liberii papæ hæreticorum*. Qui vir Catholicus et doctrina præclarus, dum fidem Catholicam constanter defensaret, et Constantium Augustum et *Liberium* urbis Romæ *hæreticos prædicaret*,' &c., and to the third Lection in another Old Roman Breviary (Venetiis, 1559) of the same Festival : 'Beatus Eusebius presbyter cum præsentē Constantio fidem Catholicam constantissime defensaret et *Liberium papam* doleret Arrianæ [*sic*] perfidiæ consen-

sisse,' &c. The evidence is so strong that even Bellarmine and Hefele admit the fall, though they endeavour to extenuate and excuse the guilt of it. We commend to Mr. Richardson and Mr. Rivington the question of *Auxilius* (*Lib. I. de Ordinationibus*), quoted in the Note of the Benedictine edition of St. Hilary (vol. ii. p. 680) : 'Quis nesciat quod Liberius, heu proh dolor ! Arrianæ hæresi subscripsit ?'

Mr. Rivington is equally unfortunate in the assertion which Mr. Richardson also makes, that 'Honorius never taught the Church anything contrary to the true faith.' We would ask them whether this utterance of his is the Catholic Faith :—'Unam voluntatem fatemur Domini nostri Jesu Christi' ? (Mansi, xi. 539). Unfortunately for these two, his champions, we have these and other words of his, which signify his full agreement with the novelties of Sergius, as well as the answer he gave in reply to a question referred to him by three of the remaining Patriarchs, wherein he formally defined heresy. We have his condemnations as a heretic in the First Council of Lateran under Pope Martin I. ; in the Sixth General Council in 681, of which acts were signed by the legates of Pope Agatho, and at which the clause, 'Καὶ Ὁνόμιον τὸν γεγόμενον Πάτριαν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης κ.τ.λ.' was thrice added to the list of the anathematized (Mansi, xi. 556, 622, 666) ; a clause which was made more emphatic by Leo II., who, in his acceptance of the Council, anathematized 'et Honorium qui hanc apostolicam ecclesiam non apostolicæ traditionis doctrinis lustravit, sed profana prodizione im-maculatam fidem subvertere conatus est' (Mansi, xi. 731). We would ask these two ardent controversialists, why, if Honorius never taught the Church anything contrary to the true faith, was he thus anathematized by the Council and the Pope ? Why, again, if he had not betrayed the faith, was each new Pope called upon in the profession of faith to be made at his coronation, to anathematize 'Auctores vero novi hæretici dogmatis Sergium, Pyrrhum, Paulum et Petrum Constantinopolitanos, una cum Honorio, qui pravis eorum assertionibus fomentum impendit' (*Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum* : 'Scriptor. Ecclesiæ. Opuscula,' M. J. Routh, S.T.P., p. I. ii. p. 153) ? or why was he thus annually held up as a heretic before the eyes of the clergy in the old Roman Breviary (Venetiis, 1559), in the Festival of St. Leo II., pope and martyr, 'in quo Synodo condemnati sunt Cyrus, Sergius, Honorius, Pyrrhus, Paulus, et Petrus' ? We are of course aware, as any one must be who has studied this controversy, of the monstrous assumptions and ingenious evasions by which Bellarmine, Melchior Canus, Baronius, and a few others have attempted to maintain the orthodoxy of Honorius ; but though these may be a comforting salve to those who are galled by the fetters of the decree of the Infallibility of the Pope, to those who are free from these fetters, and are at liberty to examine evidence and history, they all appear, what Bower (*History of the Popes*, Agatho) has described one of them to be, shifts to which nothing but despair could have driven the authors.

We will deal with only one more of Mr. Rivington's emphatic approvals of Mr. Richardson's assertions ; 'The 28th Canon' [of

Chalcedon] 'was not received by the Church.' It is true that Pope Leo I. refused to acknowledge that canon, and that consequently it was not received by the Roman Church. But it was acknowledged by the whole Eastern Church. The protests of the Papal legate, Lucentius, 'were received into the minutes, and the commissioners closed the business with these words, "*What we previously proposed, the whole Synod has agreed to*;" that is, the prerogative assigned to the Church of Constantinople is, in spite of the opposition of the Roman legate, decreed by the Synod' (Hefele's *Hist. of the Councils*, Clark's ed. vol. iii. 428). No heed was paid to the Roman protest, or to the letters subsequently written by Pope Leo. And, what is more, Rome had at last to give in upon the point, by joining in the enactment made in the pseudo-general Council of Constantinople in 869, in its 21st Canon, which was in reality an acceptance and affirmation of the 28th Canon of Chalcedon, that Constantinople should hold the second place after Rome, and take precedence of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and this acceptance and affirmation was renewed by Innocent III. in the Council of Lateran in 1215.

If space had allowed, we should have compared with the statement of contemporary historians, Mr. Richardson's assertions concerning the disputes between the Churches of Carthage and the Papacy, and should have dealt with his misrepresentation of the relation of the Church of England to foreign Protestantism. But we have said enough to prove that neither Mr. Richardson nor Mr. Rivington is to be relied upon for an accurate statement of facts, and with their inaccurate statements, of course, fall to the ground the inferences that they draw, and their defence of the Papal system. We think it to be a fair inference on our part, that a system must be bad which needs such a defence.

Sermons preached in St. Thomas's Cathedral, Bombay. By L. G. MYLNE, D.D., Bishop of Bombay, (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889).

BISHOP MYLNE'S sermons are very interesting and suggestive. We naturally look in the first instance for what an Indian bishop has to say about missions; and we find that, in one discourse, the cross of a Church Missionary in India is described as the temptation to sink the preacher of Christ in the philanthropist or the educator, to escape from the disappointments and criticisms which attend on mission work by simply endeavouring to 'engraft the higher morality of the Gospel on the virtues of Heathenism,' and to expect the 'reward' of such 'liberality' in being acknowledged as a moral and social benefactor by 'a people who can be elevated as Hindoos, though they resent any attempt to make them Christians. "All these things will I give thee,"' &c. This temptation, it is added, must be cast behind the missionary, who is the advocate, not of a system, but of the Person of Jesus Christ. Another sermon warns against the easy-going depreciation of missions as a failure. High Churchman as he is, the Bishop rebukes the ungenerous 'sneering' which fastens on Low Church phraseology as its game. 'If you associate missionary effort

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with such conventions, then ask yourself what this really means. It means that Evangelicals did the work when others stood still or attempted little.' If representatives of a different type of self-devotion are not to be found in anything like numbers, 'do not withdraw your sympathy and your support from those who are doing what they can.' The Bishop naturally warns against 'the fallacy of making the duty of preaching the Gospel depend upon visible results.' As a teacher of educated Anglo-Indians, he is necessarily brought face to face with Agnosticism; and one of the most valuable sermons in the volume insists on a vital realization of Christianity as 'the safeguard against' this desolating theory in its intellectual and moral aspects.

'If we do not actually keep touch with the supernatural by the appropriation of "the" great facts (of the death and resurrection of Christ) into our lives, then be sure that our ultimate tendency is towards the negations which I have indicated. . . . For if Christianity . . . imply to us no personal contact with things of another order than the earthly, . . . then we become living examples in our persons of all that its depravers assert of it—namely, that it is a system which has had its day . . . that it is no longer a living power in the world. . . . Regarded simply as a speculative system, I believe Agnosticism absolutely to break down. I join issue upon the first principle with which it deals, as to the derivation of all knowledge from sensation. Still, regarded as a speculative system it is at least arguable. . . . It is when you approach it from the side of the spirit that it so utterly and so irremediably breaks down' (pp. 198 ff.).

Another 'apologetic' sermon is 'A Living Belief the Gift of the Holy Spirit.' The trial of modern Christians, says the Bishop, consists in the intellectual difficulties now urged against a belief which was once a matter of course; we find that revelation does not possess that 'character of irresistible cogency' which 'at the first start' we expect it to claim; that we have to 'accept upon its spiritual adequacy a system which, apart from that evidence, has no credentials of absolute demonstration to make its acceptance irresistible.' You must enter into and assimilate Christianity if you are to appreciate its evidences. 'Does not this beg the question? . . . I allow that the process were inadmissible in dealing with any other subject. . . . But where the subject is the Infinite and the All Holy, the province of understanding is only this—to apprehend the bare indications which are vouchsafed as material for faith.'

We would also specially refer to a sermon on 'Time and Eternity' as boldly suggesting that the mediæval ideal, which made the thought of the next world almost absorb the thought of the present, 'was in some ways at least farther from the mark' than the modern standard, inasmuch as it frequently produced a terrible recklessness, and fostered a hard indifference to suffering.

'Let us live for the other world by all means, but let us remember that living for the other world means, before all things, exactness and diligence in discharging the duties of the present. . . . Only by remembering how the Crucified of earth is waiting to welcome us in Heaven . . . can we bring the two worlds into that intimate relation to one another which

will round off the ideal of the perfect, so missed in opposite directions by the mistakes of different ages' (pp. 179 ff.).

These quotations should be enough to send our readers to the original. They will find other matters, some of them less profound and critical, handled with clearness, sympathy, and a peculiar pointed energy which condenses much thought into few words : e.g. 'It is the conversion of means into ends . . . which mars half the lives that I know.' 'A man who can enjoy life while he owes money is a man who has degenerated through his misfortunes.' 'Perdition is nothing else . . . than what it is called, in the grave speech of Scotland, a being eternally left to ourselves.' 'Sentimentality and real sympathy are the polar opposites of one another.' 'We begin by not speaking of what we feel deeply : we may end by ceasing to feel what we never speak of.' Sometimes a stern irony intensifies the censure of some fashionable misjudgment, as in the reference to modern secularist morality : 'Thou shalt serve and love society with all thy heart, all thy soul, all thy strength, all thy mind, for thou and thy neighbour live now, and thou knowest not what shall be hereafter,—such, I think, is the first and great commandment of much of our modern morality.'

Like other forcible preachers, Bishop Mylne repeatedly has recourse to anecdotes, and also to quotations from such poets as Browning. He has his eye on actual living currents of opinion ; he knows what men in 'lay' life are saying ; he attacks betting and gambling with ardour, although we may doubt whether he has quite succeeded in the difficult task of defining the sinfulness of those practices in themselves, apart from their too certain results. He shows with what appears to us unanswerable force that the demand, 'becoming yearly more imperious 'in Europe, in Australia, in America,' for greater and greater facility of divorce, is in effect a demand for the abolition of marriage. The sermon in which this point is pressed home begins with a quotation from the recent *Lambeth Encyclical*. We conclude by observing that Bishop Mylne quotes a remark as to the Bishop of Lincoln, that in him sympathy amounts to a 'form of genius' ; which, we are glad to think, appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review*.

From World to Cloister ; or, My Novitiate. By BERNARD. (London : Kegan Paul & Co., 1888).

THIS work has already been received with a good deal of favour by a portion of the press, and there is in it no doubt a great deal of matter that must interest anyone who has ever thought about the 'religious' life. But there are some things in the book that strike us as strange. Knowing how much of the time of the 'religious' is taken up by the recitation of the Psalter, our author yet makes no preparation for this in the spending of his time after he has thrown up his occupations in the world and before he is received in the religious house as a postulant. The recitation of the Breviary does not find a place in the prayers and studies that we are told of in

Chap. II. We read of Mass in the morning and Rosary and Benediction at night. So entirely, it would seem, has the habit of 'devotions' and extra-canonical prayers, introduced by the children of St. Philip Neri, turned aside the ancient liturgical recitation of the Psalter and reading of Holy Scripture contained in the Breviary.

There appears also some confusion in the idea of a monk and a friar. On the very first page we are told that the writer is going to become a monk; and this idea is kept up in the following pages (pp. 15, 17) until we are suddenly told on p. 87 that the community was one of '*Frati*, or begging friars.' Yet the writer of these pages says he has passed several months, if not years, as either monk or friar; does he still think that a friar can be a monk?

On p. 123 we are told that during the Lauds of Christmas Day three of the fathers 'arose and departed, for they were to be the sacred ministers of the Mass.' We have long ceased to be surprised by any liturgical eccentricity; but in most rites, monastic or diocesan, the first Mass of Christmas Day is said between Mattins and Lauds; the liturgical phenomenon recorded by our author adds to the anxiety that we have to know the name of the Order in which this friar-monk served his novitiate.

Is the whole book a romance written by one who has never been inside a religious house?

The British Empire. By Dr. GEFFCKEN. Translated by S. J. MACMULLAN, M.A. (London: Sampson Low, 1889.)

It is more than twenty years since Dr. Geffcken became a familiar figure in English society, when he was spending some years in London as Minister for the Hanse Towns. This post became unnecessary after the war of 1866, but, though no longer settled in London as a diplomatist, Dr. Geffcken ceased not to make a careful study of English people, English habits, and English institutions in his frequent visits to this country. Last autumn many of us were astonished to hear of his arrest on a charge of high treason for publishing the Diary of the late Emperor Frederick; and though the courts ultimately set Dr. Geffcken at liberty, yet the suffering inflicted by such an imprisonment on so sensitive a nature must have been very great.

The old proverb tells us that it is always a good thing to see ourselves as others see us, and in these pages of Dr. Geffcken's the English people will find themselves viewed with no unfriendly eye, but at the same time with an eye that does not refuse to see and note faults when they are visible. It is just as well to have as a critic one who from his position in the political world had special advantages for obtaining accurate information as to persons and things, and for forming sound opinions on them, aided as well by the culture of a German professor. The first subject that Dr. Geffcken deals with is the vast British Empire, and the reflections which first follow the reading of Dr. Geffcken's essay are certainly melancholy. The contemplation of the enormous Empire built up by Englishmen in the generation that is but just gone may well overwhelm us with anxiety.

Dr. Geffcken tells us that we have three hundred million fellow-subjects, and of these not one-third are even Christians in name. What heavy responsibilities does the government of a quarter of the world's inhabitants bring with it ! But putting aside the political pride which the founders, and it is to be hoped the maintainers, of so huge an edifice may feel, there comes the thought, which should be exhilarating to us as Churchmen, of the magnificent opportunity that now lies before us, if the Church will only rise to the occasion. Here is a *pax Britannica* for the like of which we must go back to the *pax Romana* of seventeen hundred years ago ; here is the English language spoken throughout the Empire and beyond its bounds, in the United States, in China and Japan. Such an opportunity can occur only once in the life of a Church. If she will only use it, the Anglican Communion will become the great Catholic society of the future, the centre around which the broken parts of Christendom may re-unite, as De Maistre foretold of her. The Empire has prepared and opened the road for the Church ; surely she will not falter in her mission.

Dr. Geffcken's work closes with some very interesting and thoughtful sketches of prominent English politicians, of which we will say no more than that the characters of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone are drawn in very dark outlines. Prince Albert is pronounced to be 'the first British statesman of his age,' though it is admitted that the advice which he gave to Prussia on several occasions was bad, owing to the long residence in England which made him unfamiliar with German affairs.

Dr. Geffcken in his article on 'Church and State in Germany,' in the May number of the *Nineteenth Century*, asks for a certain measure of independence for the Evangelical Church ; in these pages he expresses rather a harsh judgment upon those who are trying to gain the same thing for the Church in England ; the great contention of late years of those whom he miscalls *Ritualists*¹ has been that the Church should be free to settle her own doctrine and discipline. And if anyone were now to enunciate the quotation that Dr. Geffcken gives us from Luther, he would be set down as a decided High Churchman. 'According to the Gospel, the episcopal power is a power and command of God to preach the Gospel, to forgive and retain sins, and to offer and to administer the Sacraments' (*Nineteenth Century*, May, p. 678). Luther here shows himself little better than one of the law-breakers hated of the Church Association ; and we are confident that if Dr. Geffcken were to make a study of the

¹ A foreigner makes a very excusable mistake in speaking of extravagant High Churchmen as Ritualists, when nineteen out of twenty Englishmen would do the same. But as a matter of fact a Ritualist really means a scientific student of liturgies ; and the word connotes nothing as to his opinions. Dr. Geffcken, therefore, should not have made Lord John Russell speak of the Ritualists as 'traitors to the English Church' in 1850. Up to 1862 Ritualist certainly meant only a liturgical scholar ; and it was about 1867 that it began to bear the corrupt signification that it now has.

subject he would have little sympathy with such acts as the prosecution of the Bishop of Lincoln. It is, however, strange to notice how little is really known about the English Church by well-informed persons on the Continent. A specialist like Roskovány fails; and only last April we pointed out a blemish in Mgr. Darboy's English information. An interest based upon really sound knowledge we have only met with amongst the Bollandists at Brussels; but in that wonderful society learning and intelligence have always gone hand in hand.

We will end these notes with a quotation which Dr. Geffcken gives us:

'True investigators know how limited is human Reason. We owe Reason no great deeds—deeds that are the milestones of human affairs and of human progress. It was not Reason that besieged Troy, that drove the Saracens into the desert, in order to conquer the world, or that inspired the Crusades, or established the Monkish orders, or produced the Jesuits; above all it was not Reason which created the French Revolution' (p. 241).

A History of Scotland, chiefly in its Ecclesiastical Aspect. By M. G. J. KINLOCH. Vol. I. Second Edition. Vol. II., with Index to Vols. I. and II. (Edinburgh: R. Grant and Son, 1888.)

IN the criticism of Dr. Bellesheim's *Scottish Church History*, set forth among the short notices of our latest issue, we had occasion to refer to the above work by Miss Kinloch. It is only by accident that our notice of the book has been delayed, for the publication of its first volume preceded by some years that of Bellesheim, and the second volume was at least contemporary with his.

The design of the author is set forth in a brief preface furnished by the late Bishop of Brechin, Dr. Forbes. That lamented writer shows how the seemingly over-bold task of re-treading the path of Sir Walter Scott in his charming *Tales of a Grandfather* is justified by two considerations. The first is the success of the researches in tracing and editing original sources of Scottish history made by such historians as Tytler, Grub, Skene, and others, and by such antiquaries as Stuart, Cosmo Innes, and Joseph Robertson. The second is the far greater justice accorded to the civilizing influences of the mediæval Church, since Scott's time, by foreign Protestants such as Voigt and Hurter, as well as by French and English students of history, even on the liberal side (we might mention Guizot and Michelet, Arnold and Palgrave), as contrasted with the tone of authors who though, like Scott, opposed to the tone of the French encyclopædists, had been brought up under their influence.

Accordingly, Miss Kinloch has striven, and in our judgment with no small measure of success, to fulfil the promise of her title-page. Moot-points, which do not fall within the special province of Church history, she has to a considerable extent left to take care of themselves. Thus, for example, the question whether the King of the Scots did or did not, from early times, owe a certain measure of fealty to the Anglo-Saxon *basileus*, is in these volumes left open. Sir Walter

is generally regarded as an extreme partisan in favour of the Scottish view of this problem ; but it must, we think, be admitted that the late historiographer royal, Mr. J. H. Burton, did much to support Scott's view of the case, although the student who would fain exhaust the matter is bound to take into account the opposing arguments of Dr. Lingard and Professor Freeman, and the concessions made by the late Lord Crawford.¹ But the origins of Scottish Christianity (possibly a little clearer than those of England) ; the achievements of those saintly missionaries, Ninian and Kentigern, Columba and Margaret ; the various orders among the monastic bodies ; the relations of the Church to the sons of St. Margaret, and afterwards to Wallace and to Bruce—themes pleasantly but lightly handled by Scott, or (as sometimes happens) almost wholly ignored—all find their due place in the pages of the work before us. Lighter subjects, connected with private life and social intercourse, also have their place, adding liveliness to the picture, and relieving the strain which a monotony of graver topics might produce.

And what is to be said regarding impartiality and candour ? Well, on the one hand, a Roman Catholic journal, the *Tablet*, while admitting the general fairness exhibited by the author towards the mediæval Church, maintains that too much weight has been allowed by her to the accusations of that Church's enemies. On the other hand, not only Scottish Presbyterians (who have hardly produced a single work worth naming respecting mediæval Christianity), but some also of our fellow-Churchmen in the North, seem to think Miss Kinloch too favourable to the Roman Catholic cause in Scotland.

The first of these charges cannot, in our judgment, be sustained. Lay on one side, if you will, all accusations proceeding from the lips or pens of supporters of the Reformation, a Patrick Hamilton or a John Knox, and listen only to the admissions of adherents of the Roman cause ; and it will still be found impossible to avoid the conclusion that ecclesiastical affairs had in Scotland sunk down into a specially bad condition, and were at a lower ebb than in many other lands, certainly a lower one than in England. Our fallen nature does not seem able to bear the concentration of power too exclusively in the hands of any one or two classes. In some countries the rise of commerce, and the consequent wealth and power of cities, made a real counterpoise to feudalism. But the Scotland of pre-Reformation days knew but little of this antagonism, and its kings and nobles were able to bestow wealthy abbeys on their younger sons, or on descendants with the *bend sinister*. Lingard, as we observed in reviewing Dr. Bellesheim, fully and frankly admits all this. Lingard also implies, what few can doubt, that the satire of a Sir David Lindsay told so terribly ; because, after making due allowance for the high colouring

¹ ' See Lingard's observations, *Hist. of England*, tom. iii. p. 276—observations which in my youth rendered me indignant and furious ; but *the great lesson of life is to face truth*. ' I still indeed think Dr. Lingard's representation of Edward's conduct and character too favourable.' (*Lives of the Lindsays*, by the late Earl of Crawford, then Lord Lindsay, vol. i. p. 36 note.)

incidental to such poetry, there remained a substratum of essential truth on which his vivid portraiture is based.

On the other charge brought against Miss Kinloch, namely a too great leniency towards Rome, a critic trained in scholastic lore would probably say *Distinguo*. If it is meant that these volumes conceal the actual condition of matters ; that they depict a golden age in the Scotland of the fifteenth century ; that they speak only of the fascinations and the good gifts of Queen Mary, and only of the brutality of her enemies, then the charge must be pronounced distinctly unfair. Not only could we cite whole pages from Miss Kinloch's volumes expressive of her strong convictions respecting the corruptions of the Scottish mediæval Church, or of the faults of that 'eternal enigma of history' as she terms the famous queen whom Elizabeth doomed to death ; but we should find it difficult to name a book in which the hard lot of the few literary champions of Rome is more strikingly portrayed. Ninian Winzet is the representative man on the side of the Roman controversialists who wielded the pen against Knox. His ability and courage demand respect, but his real difficulty—and it is most forcibly brought out in Miss Kinloch's pages—lay not in want of argument against the extreme form which the Reformation in Scotland was taking, but in the lack of serious support from his own co-religionists, and inability to deny the practical, as distinguished from the doctrinal, corruptions around. In answering Knox, Winzet seems at times to be almost re-echoing the oft-quoted lines of the Latin epic :—

‘Non me tua fervida terrent
Dicta, ferox ; Dii me terrent et Jupiter hostis.’

If, however, it be meant that Miss Kinloch appears not only to regret the turn which events took in Scotland, but to indicate that a chastened and purified Romanism would have been a less evil to her native land, and to Christendom at large, than the success of Presbyterianism, then we think that the critics of this able and candid history may find some grounds for their opinion. For our own part, without attempting to dogmatize on themes beyond the limits of demonstration, we are not wholly prepared to follow in this matter the extreme partisans of either side. On the Presbyterian side its supporters use language of this sort :—Look at this northern nation. Consider its achievements in mental science, in mathematics and physical science, and in literature and art. Consider the lists of Scoto-Indians, of Scoto-Oxonians and Cantabrigians ; or follow the fortunes of the Scottish emigrant in Canada, in the United States, and in Australia. Remember that Englishmen outnumber these North-Britishers in the proportion of six or seven to one ; and then you will get some idea of what Presbyterianism has achieved for the Scottish nation.

Throughout this line of argument there runs one assumption—the assumption that Christianity was primarily intended to promote the temporal well-being of nations ; and that the relative value of its varied forms is to be estimated solely by this criterion. It is a

very common assumption. The average Anglo-Saxon, travelling through Switzerland, if he finds that the Protestant cantons are cleaner, better drained, and more fertile of active business-men than the Roman Catholic ones, is apt to regard the whole question as settled ; though now and then a deeper thinker, such as the Presbyterian Mr. Laing, may suggest to him that there is another side to these problems.

As regards Scotland the less partial critic might ask in reference to its past—for the moment we put the living out of sight—whether there has not often been displayed too much of the endeavour to make the best of both worlds, too much preaching of what has been called ‘the gospel of getting on.’ Sanctified intellect is a noble sight. Does any sane man deny it to the Church of that epoch which produced a Jerome, an Augustine, a Chrysostom—to the mediæval ages, which nurtured Anselm, Aquinas, Dante ; to that insular communion which can point to a Hooker, a Pearson, a Cudworth, a Butler, a Heber ? But until the present generation Scotland had little to show in this direction ; and if it be urged that the living are in some degree likely to atone for this deficiency, it must be pointed out that they belong to a generation which, both in preaching and in worship, has largely broken with the Presbyterianism of the past, and which even talks of relegating the Westminster Confession to the position of an interesting, but bygone, historic document. Nor would it be easy to prove the existence of any close alliance between Scottish Presbyterianism and art. A far more plausible case might be made out on behalf of the presence of a settled enmity between the two. A living Scottish artist, a man of celebrity, who seems to speak somewhat as a bystander, declares that he would gladly see an increase, not only of Episcopalians, but even of Roman Catholics among his countrymen, because he considers that the Presbyterian form of Christianity, with all its merits, has done so much to accentuate the faults of Scotsmen, and to foster the prevalence of a disputatious and undeveloped temper. And then as regards Scottish literature. The query has often been put—but it has never in our hearing received any reply—whether it is easy to name ten Scotsmen of literary rank who have been hearty Presbyterians. Many have fallen below it ; many have (as we should say) risen above it. David Hume, Robert Burns, Thomas Carlyle, were all three of them Deists ; Walter Scott, Lockhart, Alison, Aytoun, with many more, became, more or less avowedly, Episcopalian. And yet, with all these drawbacks—and we might point out many more—we have no wish to deny that for many of her excellences Scotland has to thank what must still be called her national religion. It is an illustration of Döllinger’s *dictum* that even in defective forms that which is Christianly will effect an incalculable amount of good.

And though Lord Macaulay, in his well-known essay on Ranke, may have made progress in wealth, comfort, and general civilization too prominent, not to say too absolute, a test of the superiority of this or that form of religion, we must not rush into the opposite extreme.

There is, we know, a sense in which it is lawful to declare that godliness has 'promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.' Defenders of the faith point to the admission of Gibbon, that the Christian nations are the first in arts and arms, confessedly the superiors of the non-Christian races. To judge fairly between a nation which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, accepted Presbyterianism and Calvinism, and one which, like France or Spain, fell back either on a modified or on an extreme type of Romanism, is no easy task. Mr. Buckle, we all know (accepting Coleridge's favourite proverb, 'Extremes meet'), avowed his conviction that Spain and Scotland had a good deal in common; and the wrath of Scotsmen at this assertion is not precisely the same thing as a reasoned and effective reply. We cannot now pursue the discussion further. But history, as Carlyle observed, is the history not of what might have been, but of what has been. Miss Kinloch's own pages, all the more so from their very merits, leave on our minds the impression that the Scotland of the sixteenth century did not, humanly speaking, contain the materials out of which, as in France or Spain, a rejuvenated Church of the Roman obedience could have arisen. But, as we have before observed, if our author has not wholly solved the difficult problem, why the overthrow of Scottish mediævalism was so rapid and complete, she has at least contributed more towards its solution than many of her contemporaries, certainly much more, it seems to us, than Dr. Bellesheim, or his translator.

It is only right to mention that an excellent index adds much to the value and usefulness of the work, and that we sincerely trust that it will be sufficiently appreciated to encourage its author to publish a third and concluding volume.

Marriage and Divorce in the United States, as they are and as they ought to be. By Rev. D. CONVERS. (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1889.)

THIS instructive and carefully compiled book deserves attention amongst us at a time when efforts are being made to tamper with our marriage laws. In the United States premises affecting practical life work themselves out to their natural conclusion more rapidly than with us. We thus have an opportunity of learning what conclusion to expect when we admit the premises from which we have seen them start, and which we have partially accepted; in this we refer to the latter part of the subject with which this book deals. The legislators in the United States seem to have commenced in many States with accepting the Scotch law; but there are variations in this respect. For each State is governed by its own marriage laws, and there is no general law paramount in all the States. This, however, is common to them, that everywhere a religious ceremony makes a good and valid marriage; a civil marriage effects this in most States; whilst in some no ceremony at all is required. Maryland is the only State which makes a religious ceremony essential.

'There is a large group of States in which the law is well settled that no ceremony at all is required. People marry themselves, and need no

official. They need no witnesses, although it may sometimes be hard to prove the marriage without them' (pp. 19-20).

When such is the law it is obvious that there is a very thin partition between lawful matrimony on the one side and seduction, under promise of marriage, on the other. This operates in more ways than one, for

'when parties are under an agreement of future marriage, if then they have copula, which is lawful in the marriage state alone, they are presumed, in the absence of any showing to the contrary, to have arrived at the period of actual marriage, or to have transmuted their future to present promise, because the law always leans to the good rather than the evil construction of equivocal acts. This in a State requiring no forms would make them married in law. Nor would it be otherwise though one only meant marriage while the other meant deception and fraud. Nor yet would it be different though one or both still looked forward, the same as before, to a future solemnization in form' (p. 33).

Of the working of this law he gives several illustrations :

'In a California case a girl of thirteen declined at first a proposal of marriage on account of her youth, but accepted later. No ceremony was performed ; no claim was made that they ever even exchanged consent. But on the ground of promise and consummation the Supreme Court held them to be married' (p. 35). 'To illustrate another presumption of the law. When people dwell under one roof as man and wife, and are considered in the neighbourhood to be such, the law will hold them to have actually married each other, lest it should be driven to deem them criminal' (p. 47).

The standing rule with the courts is :

'The law presumes in favour of marriage, and will assert it, if there be any reasonable possibility of it. The law presumes innocence, and will disregard probability or even a moral certainty of guilt' (p. 57).

But the most startling illustration of this is found in decisions of the courts in opposition to the marriage law of the State. Thus,

'In a State where the law allowed that males of eighteen and females of sixteen may be married, provided that males under twenty-one and females under eighteen shall first obtain the consent of their parents, a girl of sixteen married without such consent. Of course the courts held that it was binding and valid' (p. 126). 'In several States and territories (either by express enactment or by saying nothing to alter the common law) the age of consent is for the male fourteen, and for the female twelve' (p. 127).

But the difference in the legal age in different States and the working of the law operates most injuriously, as it makes what is legal in one part of the country illegal in another, though both are parts of the same nation and under the authority of the same supreme government.

'A boy under the age of consent in his own State going into another, marrying some child there, openly perhaps, who has heard that in her home boys younger than he is can lawfully marry, has it in his own power to desert her any time before he is of age to marry. His personal

capacity to marry is settled by the law of his domicile. How is a silly, romantic girl to know that? She has been told, truly, that in her home boys can marry under his age. The step is taken. He tires of her, and coolly leaves her, and, on her remonstrating, brutally tells her she is no wife of his; but she and her child must bear their mark of shame till death! That case would be one never valid in law. But if the ceremony was had in his own State, even then it would put her at his mercy until both were of the age of consent. It would be valid as long as he stayed with her, but void the moment he turned his back upon her' (pp. 131-132).

Under these circumstances it will surprise no thoughtful person to find that divorces are rapidly multiplying; and it is with respect to divorces that the United States are a warning to us. In the twenty years, 1867-1886, there were 328,716 divorces in the United States, the number rising from 9,937 in the first of those years to 25,535 in the last. About twice as many divorces are granted to wives as to husbands.

'Divorce is the woman's remedy. Is it because she feels more the failure of domestic happiness than her husband does? An unhappy marriage for him is the failure of an episode in his life, but is the ruin of her epic' (p. 170).

The causes for divorce are becoming more and more trivial. Whilst adultery was the reason in the case of 29,480 women and of 38,156 men, desertion freed 51,438 men and 75,119 women, and drunkenness 1,432 men and 12,411 women. It cannot surprise any one to learn that

'in the last nine years twenty-nine persons have applied for a divorce within the first six months after their marriage, and thirty-seven within the next six months' (p. 175).

The most popular head under which a plea for divorce is asked for is cruelty, and this is now made to mean almost anything.

"Cruel and inhuman treatment to endanger the life of his wife" is the language of the Iowa statutes, which leads one to expect that there the very highest degree of cruelty only would be allowed as cause; but the court interprets the language thus: "If austerity of temper, petulance of manner, rudeness of language, a want of civil attention, occasional sallies of passion, do threaten bodily harm, they amount to legal cruelty" (p. 187).

A recent writer in the *Westminster Review* instructs us how some of these words have been construed by the courts. A wife obtained a divorce on the ground that her husband had never offered to take her out riding; another because her husband does not work himself; while a third alleged that her husband came home at ten o'clock at night and kept her awake talking, sometimes until midnight. To show the boundless extent to which the law may be made to reach,

'we quote a learned judge: "Everybody knows that there may be a refinement of cruelty practised on the part of one of the parties towards the other, unconnected with gross and abusive language or epithets, or with anything personally violent or threatening, which may render the

marriage state absolutely intolerable, and the discharge of the duties of married life an impossibility." Under this nearly everything can be cruelty' (p. 190).

When our Divorce Act was passed we placed ourselves on a slippery incline, and we need to take the greatest care that its provisions are not extended and facilities for divorce increased, as some amongst us are anxious that they should be. We would strongly recommend anyone who has doubts on the subject to read Mr. Convers' book, which we trust may have a circulation in this country.

The New Code: its Authorship and Tendency. By JOSEPH NUNN, M.A., Rural Dean, Rector of St. Thomas, Ardwick, Member of the Manchester School Board. (Manchester : Thomas Smith, 1889.)

THIS spirited pamphlet deserves to be well known. Its writer is an experienced controversialist, who has always taken a keen interest in the education question, and firmly upheld the rights of the voluntary schools. He reminds us that Sir W. Hart-Dyke made the following statement in the House of Commons : 'The object of the proposed alterations is simply to endeavour to carry into effect many of the changes advocated by the Majority and Minority Report of the Education Commission.' On which Mr. Nunn remarks that

'there are changes in the Code, which neither of the Reports advocated, e.g. the abolition of the pupil-teachers' grant. It would have, at any rate, been nearer the mark to have said that the changes were to carry out part of the Minority Report. If certain of the recommendations of the majority have been adopted, the qualifications and safeguards by which they were accompanied have been altogether disregarded.'

He proceeds to show at some length that the Report of the Education Commission has been practically thrown aside, and that some recommendations of Mr. Cumin, the permanent secretary of the Education Department, given in his evidence before the Commission, contain every important alteration that is to be found in the Code. He then asks : 'What is the tendency of the *New Code*? It is clearly to bring all schools more and more under the power of the department. The power of the inspectors is largely increased, but this power is exercised under the control of the department.' Mr. Cumin proposed a rate-aided scheme, the effect of which he believed would be to 'put an end to all the voluntary schools.' Mr. Nunn asks whether this code is intended to have that effect. We hope that the pamphlet will be extensively read.

Essays on the Work entitled 'Supernatural Religion.' Reprinted from the *Contemporary Review* by the BISHOP OF DURHAM. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1889.)

EVERYONE who read these charming essays as they appeared in the *Contemporary Review* will be pleased to have them in a collected form. The work to which they are a reply has passed through six or seven editions, and its plausible sophisms might have had an influence

which they did not deserve if they had not been answered by a master of the subject with which they deal, and a scholar whose scholarship could not be questioned. The vein of irony which runs through Bishop Lightfoot's criticisms on the faulty scholarship which pervades the work on supernatural religion is amusing as well as instructive, and no one can rise from a perusal of these essays without feeling how complete an answer the writer has given to the shallow, but sometimes attractive, arguments which the advocate for scepticism has put forth in his book, the style of which must have had elements of popularity to secure the large circulation which it has obtained. Readers of such books as *Supernatural Religion* and *Robert Elsmere* would do well to study the solid refutation of the superficial philosophy with which they abound, here furnished by the Bishop of Durham. We trust that this volume will have the wide circulation which it merits.

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PRINTED BY

SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
LONDON